

THE INDIAN REVIEW

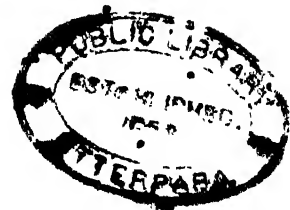
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THE CENTURY OF HOPE

BY

SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.

“THE Century of Hope.”* is a fitting sequel to the books, “The Living Past” and “Progress and History.” The first two are from the graphic pen of Mr. F. S. Marvin, the last is edited by him with an introductory essay on “Progress.” In his “Living Past” he described how and what of the past from ancient times had merged in and become the vital factor of the progress of western civilisation up to the present times. He followed it up by “Progress and History” defining and tracing the lines of that progress in the history of that civilisation brought down to the end of the nineteenth century. The present book is intended by the author to show that that century has left to the twentieth a legacy of hope for progress by its achievements and tendencies. Such a book was badly needed at the present time, when, in spite of the Peace made at Paris and the League of Nations established, with the professed objects of preventing wars, securing peace, making the world safe for democracy, securing the liberties of small and weak nationalities, and advancing the cause of self-determination, freedom, and of internationalism, in future, Europe seems still, what a prominent English journal described the other day “a continent of whole-hearted haters, haters of Poland, haters of Italy, haters of Roumania, haters of Turkey.” It is enough to depress one as to the future when the peace treaty is regarded in many quarters with serious misgivings as a patch-work with President Wilson’s Fourteen Points mutilated. It is also no healthy sign of democracy when the Labour Party is, in Europe, and the United States of America out for strikes, for less work and more wages, and a crusade against capitalism ;

when industrialism threatens to pass into Bolshevism and “direct action”, meaning distrust of Parliamentary Government, representative institutions, and constitutional agitation for the redress of grievances ; more than all, one’s faith and hope for the future are shaken when even so learned a body as the British Science Association is supposed to advocate the advance of science for trade and war when it ought to give a lead to the average man by upholding the cause of knowledge in general and science in particular on higher grounds than those of utility. These discouraging symptoms of the present situation, manifesting themselves immediately after the close of the war and the declaration of Peace, are regarded by many thoughtful persons as being full of portent for the future of Europe and with it of the world. And, when we judge them by the light of the fact that the war came on in 1914 as a natural result of certain reactionary forces and factors of the nineteenth century, it looks a phantasy to describe that century as “the century of hope.” True while that century was running its course and nearing its close, it used to be said that what the eighteenth century had discovered and preached as the goal and working principle of civilisation and called it “Humanity and the brotherhood of the human race,” the nineteenth had begun to practise and was striving to realise by its achievements such as the abolition of slavery, the growth of industry, the advancements in science, the spread of education and sanitation, the extension of the franchise and representative institutions, the development of a free press, a healthy literature, the discovery of mechanical inventions, and so forth. All this was no doubt progress in the direction of the goal of humanity and human brotherhood emphasised by the precepts of the 19th

* *The Century of Hope.* By Mr. F. S. Marvin : Oxford at the Clarendon Press : Oxford University Press : Humphrey Milford.

century. But, on the other hand, the principle of nationality which also became the aim and established fact throughout Europe in the nineteenth century and led to the doctrines of the open door, and of Imperialistic ideals resulting in the exploitation of Africa and Asia by the West, of the dark races by the white in the attractive garb of "the white man's burden," made Europe an armed camp, of secretly hostile nations, thrust the ideal of humanity into the background, under the influence of the biological sciences and the Darwinian theory of "survival of the fittest." Favouring selfish and commercial and aggressive ideals, these ultimately led to the War of 1914-1918. Where and what then, is the evidence of the nineteenth century as "The Century of Hope" for the twentieth and after?

PRESENT PESSIMISM

The value of Mr. Marvin's book and its publication at this juncture lies in the fact that it endeavours to supply a thoughtful and reasoned answer to that question raised by the pessimistic temper of the time. Whether the answer is conclusive must depend on the meaning we attach to the word "progress," and the human conditions which, in any given period of history, make for it. Adam Smith made increased population, industry and commerce the test of progress. Lord Bryce made the happiness of the average man its standard. Both definitions have failed to stand the test. Adam Smith's because the more a people multiplies with the increase of its material prosperity through its growth of industry and commerce, the more that growth has tended to eliminate the ideal of humanity and foster that of exploitation of one race by another.

Lord Bryce's standard of progress suffers from vagueness inasmuch as it is uncertain what makes average men happy. Happiness, after all, is a state of the mind, not a product necessarily of external circumstances. The question, therefore, arises—what makes a people happy, if happiness is the test of progress? It is with reference to this query that the anecdote with which Mr. Marvin begins his book on "Progress and History" becomes pertinent for the purposes of his treatment of the nineteenth century as "the century of hope."

HUMANITY IS PROGRESS

The anecdote runs thus. One day while Mr. Marvin was having a walk with three friends, one of whom was a philosopher, the second a journalist, and the third a lady, he asked the

company what exactly "progress" meant. The philosopher defined it as increase of knowledge; the journalist as increase of power; but the lady suggested that neither increase of knowledge nor increase of power, necessary as they were for a people's civilisation, by themselves conditioned progress, if they were not moulded and dictated by an increased and actively increasing sense of humanity. Mr. Marvin thought the lady had hit off the truth of progress. And so, on the line of that truth he worked at and edited the essays in "Progress and History." In that meaning of the word, we discover the essence of the teaching of the *Bhagavad Gita*, in which, while both the path of knowledge (*The Jnanamarga*) and, the path of power, which is action (*The Karma Marga*) are extolled for happiness in this life and salvation in the next, they are both declared conditioned by the path of universal love, meaning, humanity, as their vital essence and, therefore, saving grace. Christ clinched the whole meaning of progress when he said "Seek ye the Kingdom of God and all things shall be added unto you", and rested that Kingdom in love for all, hatred for none.

HISTORIC VISION OF HUMANITY AS PROGRESS

This spiritual view of progress, guiding the secular movements of a people, forms the standard by which Mr. Marvin sets out to describe the nineteenth as the century of hope. And in describing it he avoids, (as he tells us at the outset, the mistake of both the chronological historian, who treats history "as a mere narration of the sequence of events" without regard to the general purpose or coherence of the whole," or the idealistic writer of history, who considers the "whole as the evolution in time of one or two general ideas" and evacuates "these of nearly all their content or personal passion, accident and mistakes." The former method makes history purposeless; the latter, ~~fruitless~~ fruitless. The true historian is he who so marshals the facts and events of his period as to include both the virtues and vices, the lights and the shades of it, and sees in them as a whole—in the successes and failures, the wisdom and follies of the period—some central purpose working by stages to further the cause of humanity, overruling evil for good. For the purposes of his treatment of and judgment on the tendencies of that period, he utilises the doctrine of *evolution* as the condition of progress by holding fast to the cardinal truth of Sociology that while Nature has made man for change from time to

time and so "a mighty stream is carrying him and his society on, working, and steering to the chosen goal," it is the human will, directed by man's reason and reasoned experience which turns that stream of Nature into progress towards the ideal goal. He recognises that where that will, so directed, is either wanting or weak, the people drift and progress is retarded. This was how Macaulay wrote his histories; but he lacked the soul of the spiritual sense. Green, the author of "A History of the English People", practised his craft with that soul for his vision; and Mr. Marvin has followed the track. Taking humanity standing as the crown of knowledge and power, as the ideal inherent in progress, he sets out in his "Century of Hope" to discover how that ideal has operated during the last 100 years in Europe, and how and why, in spite of the dark blots of the age, it still outlives to light up hopes for the future of western civilisation and with it of mankind.

SPIRIT OF HUMANITY MUST RUN IN ALL OF A
PEOPLES LIFE

The book must be read in its entirety to be appreciated, and it must be read with the other two books of the author. I refrain, therefore, from giving here any thing like a synopsis of the twelve chapters of "The Century of Hope."

It will be more to the purpose of this review to draw attention to the points which, in my opinion, emerge from a study of the book. Taking the humanitarian ideal as the main constituent of a people's progress, it follows that that ideal should influence all other ideals, whether social, industrial, political or otherwise or else it fades. The twelve chapters of Mr. Marvin's "Century of Hope" illustrate that point. For instance, the chapter on "The Political Revival" of the nineteenth century shows how the extension of the franchise in the United Kingdom first to the middle classes—the ten pound householder as he is called in history—and later on to agriculturists and artisans, were the outcome of the religious revival of Wesley's Methodism, and the pressing need of relieving the poverty and distress of the people. It was the same with the literary spirit of the age—Wordsworth, Shelley, Carlyle, Dickens, all wrote for "a life of freedom and beauty" and unsadful happiness. It is the man at the plough, the woman at the hearth, the workman at the plummet—Wordsworth's "Nature's man who formed the central figure of literature." The rest of the chapters follow that line of

thought and teach us the lesson that unless the spirit of humanity runs in and waters all the concerns of a people's life, there is no hope for that people's progress. Here I may quote a significant remark of Mr. Marvin. He says with reference to the political and other movements of the nineteenth century that "there are two points about all these and similar movements which should be laid to heart as soon as possible, and often recalled,"—(1) that "they are varied symptoms of one common and general movement of the mind of man" and that, therefore, (2) "the same people who interest themselves in one branch of philanthropic work are nearly always led, so far as their times and power permit, to extend their efforts to kindred subjects." Mr. Marvin cites in illustration the example of Howard, the prisoner reformer, and Mrs. Elizabeth Fry. He might have added the examples of Lord Shaftesbury and Bentham as even more telling. The former was a stern and unbending Tory in politics, yet it was his humanitarian spirit which led to the factory laws, and it is his agitation which is regarded as the starting point of democratic politics and socialistic theories and practice in England (see Dicey's *Law and Opinion in England*). Similarly, Bentham as the apostle of Utilitarianism, sneered at religion and sentimentalism, but his theory of legislation was dominated by the sentiment of humanity which he crystallised into the phrase, "each man counts." Hence it gained the active sympathy and support of the Evangelical party, who dominated the politics of the time and had slavery abolished.

GOLDEN AGE IS IN FUTURE, NOT IN PAST

Further, all these activities and movements of the nineteenth century, which were directed to the realisation of the humanitarian ideals of the eighteenth by raising the outlook and uplifting the status of the masses and promoting the flow of one life among them and the higher classes, rested their "golden age" in the future, not in the past. It is a commonplace that we cannot break with the past. That commonplace has often proved a hindrance to progress especially in India. The conflict between the past on the one hand and the present and future on the other is always with us; and progress is realised by a reconciliation between the two. The reconciliation, however, can be effected only by closing the best of the past and building the future on so much of it as is righteous and as such *sanatana* as our Rishis call it, that is to say,

ancient, and ever abiding as the enduring principle both of individual and of national life. As Mr. Marvin puts it, "what we need is a temper or a principle which will take us above this unceasing clash," (between the past and the present and future), "some ideal for the sake of which we shall be content to abandon our father's house even if we love it, some plan to guide us in building the new one for ourselves if we are compelled to do so." Accordingly, in the nineteenth century, "since the reforming pioneers of the Revolution" in France, "a hundred and fifty years ago, men have been living for the future and believing in it as they had never done before. We have been living for the future and living in hope."

INDIA'S CENTURIES OF HOPE

These essential constituents of progress which emerge from a study of Mr. Marvin's book suggest for us in India the important enquiry: Is the nineteenth century, which Mr. Marvin holds out for the West as "the Century of Hope," equally so for India?

The good and bad of that century have no doubt affected India. But a hundred years of progress are too short a period for a vast and ancient country such as India to afford a guarantee that the coming years will be therefore necessarily a continuity of that progress and its hopes. Even in the case of Europe, with which Mr. Marvin deals, he does not write of the nineteenth century as the *starting point* of hope for the twentieth. He takes into account the forces of humanity as the ideal of progress which operated in the centuries preceding and which, because they so operated, paved the way for the humanitarian ideas and practices of the nineteenth. In short, he traces the soul of the moving springs of the present derived from the nineteenth century to "the living past" going back to the ancient times. That ought to be the test for India too. For us also in this country the last hundred years with all their awakening, intellectual, social, political, industrial, and religious, should mean nothing certain, nothing stable, but merely and so far oddies in the current, unless such hope as we can reasonably derive and do derive from that awakening on account of India's contact with the West is backed up by the hopes, if any, of the centuries that preceded.

PROTESTANT MOVEMENTS OF INDIA

Readers of the *Indian Review* need perhaps be hardly reminded that in 1895 the late Mr. Justice Ranade coined the catching appellation of "Protestant Hinduism" to hearten the cause of

social and political reform in India. He traced its origin to the *Bhakti* school i. e., the Saints of the cult of Devotion, who came from all castes in India, particularly the lowest and despised, in the 16th century after Christ, and who tried to democratise the religious and social polity of the country by protesting against caste, rites and ceremonies, against animal and human sacrifices, against the Yoga system of austerities, and preached and practised a life of love for God and man. It was a humanitarian movement. That protestant movement said Mr. Ranade, covering a period of 60 years or so, led also to the political movement in Maharashtra, glorified by the heroic patriotism, wise statesmanship and martial spirit of Shivaji. To Mr. Ranade it formed a Century of Hope for India. Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, however, followed by pointing out that it was not, historically speaking, correct to say that the protestant movement of Hinduism had begun so late as the 16th century, A D, i. e., about 20 centuries after the Aryans had settled in India and that if it were true it had so begun, the fact was not creditable to the genius of Indian civilisation. The true fact, said Sir Ramkrishna, is that protestant Hinduism, which, in the 16th century culminated in the humanitarian ideals of the *Bhakti* school, had begun 20 centuries earlier, first with the Upanishads as a protest against the animal sacrifices of the Vedas and in favour of the path of knowledge and contemplation as the ideal of progress. The next protestant movement was that of Buddhism, which, agreeing with the Upanishads in their opposition to animal sacrifices, disagreed with them as to their gospel that knowledge and contemplation saved man; it rested its idea of progress in the ethical ideal, i. e., right conduct by purification of the heart and restraint of the passions. That ethical movement of progress was followed by the *Bhakti* movement which held that faith and love meant progress. This was the culminating point in the progress of humanity, as the ideal inherent in progress for India.

THE VEDIC IDEAL MOVES IN INDIA

It is wrong to say that that cult, to which Mr. Ranade gave the name of protestant Hinduism, was an original growth of the 16th century and had no roots in the past. There have been those who think that the best that is in Hinduism of the present times—its humane spirit—is due to Buddhism. The late Sir William Hunter, who has made his name memorable in Indian annals by his "Imperial

Gazetteer of India," and whose weekly articles in the columns of *The London Times* on Indian questions after his retirement from the Indian Civil Service down to the time of his death attracted considerable attention both in England and here, committed himself to the view that Buddha had once for all fixed the standard of life for India by his Gospel of Renunciation. Even the late Svami Vivekananda succumbed at one time to that view, forgetting that but for the Vedas, there could not have been the Upanishads, but for the Upanishads, there could have been no Buddha, but for Buddha there could have been no *Bhakti* school of protestant Hinduism in India and but for the *Bhakti* school, there could have been no Shivaji and no Guru Govind and the political upheaval which they pioneered. In short, each was a natural sequence of its immediate past in the stage of progress, while it professed to be a protest against it. The roots of all these protestant movements of Hinduism from the Upanishads to Buddhism, from Buddhism to *Bhakti* lay in the Vedas, because the central point of the Vedas rested in their gospel of *Gita*, the law of righteousness, and it is the seed of that gospel that fructified first, according to the Upanishads, as righteousness meaning to be right with God by contemplation, next, according to Buddhism, as right conduct by self-restraint and service of humanity, and lastly, according to the *Bhakti* school, as a life lived by faith in and love of God and the service of man. This is "the living past"—to use Mr. Marvin's phrase—applied to the West—which has moved India for twenty centuries. It is living in the present of India with the ideal of progress as humanity—to use another phrase of Mr. Marvin's, also applied to the West—because, in the midst of much that darkens India's civilisation during the last 20 centuries, the fact stands to its signal credit that the labour of those centuries has resulted in the gospel of *Ahimsa paramo dharma*—abstention from injury to others is the highest religion or duty, and in the gospel of *peace* as the creed of creeds.

DEFECTS OF INDIA'S PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS

It is true that this ideal, which from the living past has been struggling across these 20 centuries to move India's life up to now, has failed to realise itself actively in several departments of that life. For one thing, the Hindu, in the name of the gospel of *Ahimsa*, refuses to be cruel to and killing the bug or the

serpent but does not see the cruelty of infant marriage, enforced widowhood, the rigid exclusiveness of caste, and so forth; he tamely submits to despots in politics and priestcraft in religion and moves listless in face of autocracy, whether in the state or society.

This failure of India's humanitarian ideal to invigorate the people so as to enable them to feel it keenly and practise it actively in all the relations of life, particularly political, is best accounted for if we appreciate the force of the points which I have specified above as emerging from a study of Mr. Marvin's book. It will take beyond the limits allotted for me in these columns to dwell on those points at length. Briefly, the humanitarian ideal of India has not fructified especially in her political conditions of the last 20 centuries, first, because it has been in practice of a passive character. It was unfortunate for India that that ideal was formulated in the word *Ahimsa*. Phrases, whatever the men who pride themselves on being practical may say in ridicule of them, have made and unmade men, nations, kingdoms, and institutions. Bentham's "One man, one vote" and Rousseau's "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" have done more for the growth of the democratic spirit among the masses than all the reasoning of the books. Mr. James Blaine is said to have lost his race for the American Presidency through his ill-timed phrase "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." It is a great thing for a people to have their ideal put into the table of a catching phrase. The word indeed must be made flesh or else it withers. But before it is made flesh it must be conceived in the womb of society. So a great idea condensed into a catching phrase rouses better than anything else the emotions of the ideal in the average man and appeals to him most effectively as the "tremendous dialectic" or audacious logic of his unsophisticated mind and heart. It was good, therefore, that India's ideal of humanity was phrased in a formula which has become a household word. But, unfortunately it was so phrased as to give the ideal the impress of a negative character and tend to make it a passive virtue. When an ideal takes a passive turn, it loses half its vigour. Under its influence men acquire the habit of temporising with its obligations whenever the calls for its practice arise. It makes us Hamlets, not Hampdens. Hence "the mild Hindu," of whom Sir William Hunter wrote as "the product of Buddhistic teachings incorporated

into Hinduism." This passive spirit of humanity signified by the word *Ahimsa* was apparently perceived by the Bhakti school. Its saints either do not use the word but express the idea of humanity by the terms *Daya*, *Kshama* and *Shanti* (love, forgiveness and peace) which are positive virtues bringing out the active character of the ideal or, when they do use it, they as, for instance, the Maratha saint Jnaneshvara who is regarded as the father of Maratha nationality, distinctly explain that *Ahimsa* means not merely abstaining from injury to others but actively doing good to and uplifting the low, the ignorant, the weak, the sinful, the fallen, and the despised.

NO ORGANIC UNION OF PEOPLE

This Bhakti movement, however, lasted for too short a time—for only 60 years—to repair the defect. And the habit of temporising with the ideal which was its necessary result led to timidity; that timidity led in its turn to a cleavage between the intellectual classes and the toiling masses. As pointed out by Dr. Hornle and Sir Ramakrishna Bhandardkar, Buddhism collapsed because there was no organic union between its priesthood and laity, no inseparable bond with the broad strata of the secular life of the people to make the gospel of humanity flow as one stream boldly and fertilise all the ranks and gradations from top to bottom. When Buddhism collapsed and was replaced by Brahmanism, the mischief became worse. The great Shankaracharya says in one of his works that he has to compromise truth as he really discerns it to please "the ignorant people." It was not the philosopher and the prophet raising the average man to his level but rather going down to the level of the latter and lowering his ideal to put them in good humour. We see the tradition and trace of it in the gospel of those who now either oppose political and social reform or are indifferent to it. They say: "we must take the people with us." Instead of taking the people with them, they allow the people to guide them. The humanitarian ideal, which is the inherent condition of progress is a spiritual ideal, because society as a union of men is a spiritual cohesion; i.e., a union of their spirit materialised in their organisations and institutions. And the first condition of a spiritual cohesion is the spirit of *fearlessness* in the pursuit of an ideal. That is why the *Bhagavad Gita* places *abhaya* i.e., fearlessness, as the first of the virtues of a commonwealth. Hence Sir

Ramakrishna Bhandardkar was right when in 1895, in explaining why India's progressive movement with its ideal of humanity from the time of the Upanishads down to the years of the Bhakti period had failed to fructify as it deserved, pointed out that it was marred by "the want of that dashing and fearless spirit which carries out the convictions of the heart in spite of external resistance."

THE KALİYUGA IS INDIA'S GOLDEN AGE OF HOPE

He might have added that it failed also because for centuries the philosophers and thinkers of India have led the masses to rest the Golden Age in the past, not in the future, by constantly dinning into their ears the doctrine that this age as the age of Kali is the age of sin, decay, and corruption. That false auto-suggestion has weakened the national mind by robbing it of all hope. It is the poets and saints of the Bhakti school who protested against that belief on the *Kalīyug* and deified it as the Age of Hope. In their religious teaching the ideal of humanity inherent in progress emphasised as it had not been before in India as the ideal towards which the *Kalīyug* more than the ages which preceded it was marching with its watchwords of humanity and progress and all as equals before God and Man. That Bhakti movement has been succeeded by Indian contact with England and the West. This coincidence in India's history with her awakening during the nineteenth century and now is the herald of our hope for the future derived from the past twenty centuries of our ancient history. To India, there one, that century may be described as "the Century of Hope" provided we build our future on the aspirations of the present by improving on the Vedic ideal of righteousness developed into the Bhakti ideal of humanity as the constituent element of progress. But for that we must possess and practice the virtue of fearlessness emphasised by the *Gita* as the prime condition of national growth. The virtue of the democratic spirit of the Bhakti school carried into and spiritualising our political, social, and economic, in fact, all the sides and strata of our national life is our hope for the future. To that end Mr. Marvin's books are very helpful on account of their suggestiveness and the healthy mental atmosphere their study creates with the moral impulse that study inspires.

ANGLO-INDIAN EDUCATION.

BY

MR. J. D. MATHIAS, M.A., L.T. .

URS is an epoch making age indeed! We have been "privileged"—I say so advisedly.—to witness the biggest war in history and to suffer or profit by its results. There has never been a bigger convulsion in the world than the one we have just passed through, when civilization itself seemed to be tottering to its very foundations. Institutions that appeared to be rooted in granite have disappeared in a single night! So great were the forces, political, social and economic, that strutted about the world ready to engulf it! But fortunately for us, the world has withstood the shock of those forces and is now undergoing a process of reconstruction, based on the principles of humanity, justice, equality and liberty.

In India, this reconstructive process may be succinctly summed up in three important documents which are, in my opinion, three landmarks in the onward and upward progress of India in the direction of self-determination and self government. They are these, first, the *Forman Report*, second, the *Industrial Commission Report*, and third, the *Calcutta University Commission Report*. The success of the two former will necessarily depend upon the manner in which problems connected with the latter are approached. There has been much public discussion on matters educational, since the publication of the University Commission Report, and this surely is a happy augury for the future. Communities are seen to-day vying with communities in providing the greatest possible facilities for the educational advancement of their respective units. At long last the Anglo Indian community also seems to have woken up from its lethargy in this respect. This is as it should be. The University Commission Report has also been instrumental in causing the formation of Committees—by the bye, we live in an age of Commissions and Committees and nothing of importance is done without—all over India, for the purpose of discussing the suitability or otherwise of the various recommendations of the commission to the needs of their respective provinces. I am glad to note that the subject of European and Anglo-Indian education has also found a special place in the report and as such will certainly fall within the purview of the committee appointed by the Government of Madras.

Referring to the subject of European Education the University Commission observes, firstly that the want of adjustment between the European Secondary School courses and the requirements of the University is one of the causes why Europeans and Anglo-Indian so rarely attempt University courses, secondly that the younger members of the European Domiciled Community should be brought into association during the years of their University and technological training, with the Young Indians with whom they will afterwards be brought into association in business or in other way and thirdly, that the European School system should be continued upon present lines of organisation but in order to meet effectively the needs of the Domiciled Community, it is necessary that the European Secondary School system should be more closely co-ordinated with the University system. In reviewing the needs of the European Schools, the committee appointed for the purpose cannot do better than proceed along the lines indicated above, because the same remarks may well be applied to the state of things in the Madras Presidency also.

It is a matter for much satisfaction that there are at present more young men and young ladies of the community in the University classes than ever before. But in this respect things are not what they ought to be or can be under more favourable conditions where the European School system is so worked into the general system that the two link up at a suitable stage leading on by easy gradation to the University. Now that the authorities concerned have assigned schools for the Domiciled Community a recognised place in the general scheme of education, it behoves those interested in European education to examine the European School system with a view to bring the same into line with the general educational system of this Presidency. One who knows it will surely admit that the present curriculum of studies of the European High Schools is shut up, so to say, in a blind alley. It leads nowhere. The separation of Indian Schools from European Schools took place in 1906 when the Matriculation examination was still the test of fitness for University education. And the European High School syllabus drawn up then corresponded broadly with that of the Matriculation class and is still in operation in European

Schools, whereas the Matriculation syllabus itself has long since been replaced by that of the S. S. L. C. preparatory to Intermediate education. This divergence between the two systems of education has acted as a potent deterrent to the Scholars of European Schools, desirous of continuing their further education in the University. Since a vast majority of Scholars now reading in European Schools are destined to make India their future home, one would naturally expect to see a closer co-ordination between the two systems in as many points as possible.

The European High School course extends over two years, whereas the corresponding school final course extends over three years. This gives a decided advantage to the sons of rich Indians who can afford the luxury of getting their children educated in European Schools, which are allowed to have on their rolls non-Europeans to the maximum limit of fifteen per cent of their total strength. Another point of very great advantage is the fact that there is no minimum age limit for candidates appearing for the High School examination whereas candidates for the S. S. L. C. examination should complete their sixteenth year at the time of appearing for the same. One would no doubt find it difficult to justify these special privileges enjoyed by the children of the rich—only such children have access to European Schools because of prohibitive fees—in the matter of education. I see no reason why all such invidious distinctions should not be levelled up on grounds of equality and justice.

With a view to provide additional facilities for the higher education of the Domiciled Community, I would suggest that one of the existing High Schools should be raised to the grade of a College, which will help to render transition to the University a mere matter of course to scholars from European Schools. Institution of scholarships in larger numbers, both private and public would also be another means of drawing the poorer members of the community to the portals of the University. I do not agree with those who say that the European School system should be bifurcated so as to provide two grades of schools, catering for the two classes of pupils the authorities are called upon to educate, namely, for those who will proceed to the University and for those who will not. The suggested bifurcation is, in my opinion, not only unnecessary and impracticable but inadvisable also. I am fully convinced that the liberal education provided in the Secondary Schools equips the scholars sufficiently well for the various business of life. What is now

wanted is, more youngmen of the Domiciled Community, in the various professions, such as, medical, educational, engineering, legal etc., and in the several departments of Government service, in order to obtain for the community, its due share in the administration of India. Therefore, the future welfare of the community lies in the direction of higher education and nothing else.

An adjustment of the date of the High School examination, so as to bring it into line with that of the S. S. L. C. examination, is also urgently required in the interests of collegiate education and I say so because the long holiday from December to July enjoyed by High School candidates under present arrangements has in many cases, exercised adverse influences upon their higher education. Some well meaning critics have often pointed out that the number of European Schools, in the Madras City, is far in excess of the real needs of the community, and have therefore suggested the application of the principle of concentration of effort and conservation of resources in regard to such Schools. The Director of Public Instruction has also frequently remarked in his reports on European education upon the overlapping of schools in Madras. These and other problems connected with European education in this Presidency require careful investigation which we may expect from the committee of educational experts appointed by the Government of Madras for that purpose.

INDIA AFTER FIVE YEARS' ABSENCE.

BY MR. A. YUSUF ALI, I.C.S.

Wrapped in thy mantle of beauty,
Crowned with the snow of thy hills,
Rejoice in the roar of thy rivers,
Or dream in the blue of thy Jhils *

Motherland! Greet thy lone wanderer,
Grant smiles, — if it be but a few,
Both thou and thy children have tasted
Of sorrow distilled like the dew.

This cannot dim thy bright lustre,
Nor absence thy dear love dethrone,
Enshrined as the choicest of blessings,
In the hearts of thy children— thine own.

Who can set limits to freedom?—
Thy endless succession of Plains • •
Will give us thy boundless horizons,—
Where the mighty Eternal remains.

* Lakes.

ISLAM, ITS PAST AND FUTURE

BY

MR. V. B. MEHTA.

It is nearly fourteen hundred years ago now that Al Islam was born in the deserts of Arabia. It is a religion of fire, for it was meant for the Arabs, a people as quick and impulsive as fire. The sands of the desert in Arabia burn, burn the whole day under a fierce sun, and yearn for water that never comes. And so naturally, the people inhabiting the country of these sands were gifted with great, insatiable longings and desires like the sands of their desert. They lived aloof and apart from the world at the time when the Hindus were resplendent with the doings of the Mauryas and the Guptas, when Alexander had penetrated into the East with his Macedonian hordes, when Hannibal was thundering at the gates of Rome, and when the Achemenians and Sassanians of Persia were humiliating Rome in Asia. They were content to be spectators then, - perhaps feeling like the Ecclesiastes that all these things were but vanity, - or perhaps, because they were unconscious of their own genius. Then came Mohamed the Koransite and united them with the bond of a simple, democratic, and highly practical religion, - which was partially founded upon Islamism. This union of the Arabs was something like the eruption of a volcano which throws out lava, and ashes all around, or like a mighty tempest which makes the sea forget its old, old bounds and inundate all the surrounding land. The Arabs rushed upon the world then with the cry of 'There is no God but one God, and Mohamed is his Prophet.' Their belief was intense and their valour matchless, and so, empires and kingdoms fell before them as they had never before fallen before anyone. Within eighty years after their Prophet's death, the Arabs had created a greater empire than the Romans had done in eight hundred years. Rome, the terror of Europe was shorn of half her possessions and the mighty Empire of Persia was shivered to atoms by them.

Wherever the Arabs went, culture flourished. Those children of the desert possessed two qualities to a surprising extent—the quality of assimilating all that was good and great in other nations, and the quality of transforming all that they had assimilated into something brilliant and almost new. On account of these gifts they were able to combine the cultures of India, Persia, Greece, Egypt and China. With

ideas borrowed from the architectures of Byzantium and of Persia, they started the "Saracenic Style" which for etherealness, aerialness, infinite grace, and infinite delicacy is suggestive of 'fairy lands forlorn,' of women dreamt of but never seen, of ideal passions, and moods. With the union of the philosophists of the Hindus and the Greeks, they produced thinkers and philosophers like Averroes and Avicenna, whose teachings undermined the doctrine of Papal infallibility in Christian Europe, and thus made the Reformation possible. The present day knowledge of chemistry, physics, mathematics, astronomy, and medicine would have been impossible without the labours of the Arab Scientists. All the graceful, fantastic and brilliant elements in Modern European literatures have been due to the influence of the Arab literature. The culture centre of Europe from the eighth to the eleventh century was Cordova which was then known as 'The jewel of the world.' Finally, it must be mentioned that the Modern European culture which boasts so much of treating woman chivalrously and of giving her a high place in society, is after all but the echo of the Hispano—Arab chivalry.

Arabian culture took root and flourished in many parts of the world, - in Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo, and Cordova. It was also instrumental in fashioning the spirit of the culture of the Persian and Turkish races.

Next to the Arabs, the Persians are the most important nation in Islamic history. It is a strange happening that the Persians never became a great military people after their Islamization in the seventh century. All their genius which was formerly devoted to the cultivation of the science of war and government was turned to the cultivation of knowledge and the sense of beauty from the day that the Empire of the Sassanians tumbled down at Nehavend. The Court of the brilliant Abbassides was thoroughly Persian in tone and spirit. More than half the great musicians, poets, philosophers, architects, and scientists of Baghdad in her greatest days were of Persian origin. Then from the tenth century onwards, Persia began to shine - not any more as an appanage of the Arabs, but as herself. During the six or seven centuries that followed, she produced her wonderful poets, philosophers, jurists, and scientists. She developed

her sense of art, and because to the Islamic peoples what Italy was to Europe at the time of the Renaissance. The culture of the Persians spread everywhere. Her poets inspired the genius of the Ottoman poets, and the Urdu and Persian poets of India. Her school of painting travelled to Spain and India. Her gardens became the models of gardens in Egypt, Spain, Afghanistan, and India. Her architectural ornaments—like the blue tiles and the *pietra dura* work came and influenced the Moghul architecture of India. If Arabia can be called the brain of Islam, Persia is its soul.

Of the other Islamic peoples there is not much to be said. Peoples like the Afghans, the Seljukian, Turks and others were brave, wonderfully much, but they had no great creative or constructive genius in them. They produced great heroes like Mohamed of Gazni, Alp Arslan, Malek Shah, Saladin, but did little to advance the science, art, or the philosophy of the Arabs and the Persians. The most prominent of these Islamic peoples are the Ottoman Turks. They became masters of a great empire within a very short period of time, by producing a series of remarkable rulers and leaders like Bayazid I, Mohamed II, Selim the Grim, and Suleyman the Magnificent. But nature has denied to them any other gift—except that of physical strength. They kept up the tradition of Islamic valour after the degeneration of the Arabs, but they were not capable of founding a second Baghdad or Cordova. Their literature cannot be compared with Arab or Persian literature in originality, or fertility of invention. They could give birth to no Averroes or Avicenna. They saw and imitated the Byzantine style of architecture, but were not capable of building another Alhambra. There is however one point which the European historian should notice, and that is,—that the Ottoman Turk, though no scholar, unconsciously helped to educate Europe. For, by capturing Constantinople in 1453, he forced the Greek scholars to flee to Italy where they were instrumental in starting the movement known as the 'Renaissance'—which is the starting point of the Modern European culture and civilization.

It is not the purpose of the present article to write about the achievements of the Indian Moslems. It might only be said here *en passant*, that they rank in refinements, originality, and creative faculty after the Arabs and the Persians and before other Mohammedan peoples in the history of Islam.

The civilization of Islam looks at present as a waning civilization. Whether it will become extinct—like the civilizations of Greece and Rome, Assyria and Egypt, it is difficult to predict. Of the part it has taken in moulding the history and life of mankind, much can be said. It gave a simple religion to the world much more exalted and kindlier than that of the Hebrews, more virile, more directly monotheistic than that preached by Christ. This religion united men more successfully than perhaps any other religion has ever done. It brought out the qualities of bravery in its followers so well, that for the last twelve hundred years no man has dared to associate 'cowardice' with a Mohammedan. Islam also led the world in science for eight hundred years. It taught philosophy to the benighted Europe of the Middle Ages. The present educational system of Europe owes more to the Arabs than to the Greeks or Romans. Islam has produced one great epic and some wonderfully beautifully read poetry which has inspired the poets of Provence, Germany, Italy, and of Hindu India. It has enriched the industrial arts of the world—arts of metal-carving, damascening, etc. Its architecture is the delight of those who love the fantastic, the faery, the fanciful. Its stories are read greedily over all the continents of the earth. The pomp and splendour, the generosity and nobility of its Kings have become a byword in human society. Let us also add in all fairness that its vices have been unduly exaggerated by its enemies. That Islamic society had its vices is not to be denied—for, which society has been free from them?—but that they were worse than those of other Societies, we emphatically deny. The vices of some of the Ommeyyads or Abbassides or those of some of the Turkish Sultans find their parallels in the vices of some of the Roman Emperors, the Roman Popes, the Russian Czars, and the rulers of many other European countries besides.

The immediate future of the Islamic peoples is a subject on which one might be allowed to speculate, now that Turkey will unfortunately become an almost negligible and a semi independent Power. It was in the early part of the sixteenth century that Sultan Selim wrested the title of 'Caliph' from the moribund Abbassides. From that time until now, the Turkish sovereign has somehow managed to be looked upon as the lawful 'Caliph.' The fact that he was master of the largest and the strongest empire in the Islamic world, and that he was really the 'Guardian of the two cities of Mecca and Medina' helped him to legalize that

which was originally an act of usurpation. During the nineteenth century, Turkey was shorn of many of her possessions, but her position in the Islamic world was not affected thereby. Constantinople remained the headquarters of Islam. Then came the Great War, of five years ago, in which the Sheriff of Mecca declared his independence. The two holy cities of Islam thus passed out of the rule of the Turkish Sultan. Whatever terms may now be imposed on Turkey by the Allies, one thing may be almost taken for granted—that Arabia will not henceforward form a part of the Ottoman Empire—in which case, the Turkish Sultan would *ipso facto* cease to be the 'Caliph'—for he must be the 'Lord of Mecca and Medina'.

Besides Arabia, there are other parts of the Turkish Empire which will become either 'independent' or be placed under some Mandatory Power. Egypt will become British. Great Britain will be the Mandatory Power in Mesopotamia. Palestine might become a Hebrew State again. And Syria will be under French influence.

For the other Islamic countries outside the Turkish Empire, there is no glorious dawn awaiting immediately. Morocco will be more under the heel of France than even now. Afghanistan is too small and backward to do anything effectively. And Persia, with her apathy and internecine warfare, cannot be expected to shine

like a lamp in the night which is overwhelming the once glorious and resplendent world of Islam.

Having no strong leader to look up to, the Islamic peoples all over the world will now become more 'national' and less 'Islamic.' That is, they will now prefer to evolve on national lines, and help to strengthen and glorify the country in which they are living rather than think of severing 'extra-territorial' men. The Arabs of Arabia will now try to make Arabia great. The Arabs of Egypt, the Persians, and the Arabs of Mesopotamia will all be inspired more by purely national ideal. In the same way, the Indian Mohamedans will henceforward feel more 'Indian' than before, look upon the Hindus and Parsis with more brotherly feelings—since their extra-Indian interests will become narrower and narrower with the passing of time. The 'country' will become more important than 'religion' to them. This kind of evolution, we might mention, is not unknown in history. For when Western Europe was united by the bond of Roman Catholicism from the eighth to the sixteenth century, the sense of nationality was very feebly developed among the European peoples. But after the 'Reformation,' when the Papal power began to wane, the idea of nationality began to develop with great force till in the nineteenth century it reached the summit of its development.

The Study and Teaching of Economics in India

By DR. JOHN MATTHAI, M.A., D.S.C.

THE study of Economics in a University generally covers, or ought to cover, three stages or parts—(1) Post-graduate—for training in research, with or without a degree, (2) Under graduate—preparing by instruction and examination for a degree, and (3) Extra graduate—for the benefit of persons who as a rule are not eligible for admission to the University, by the provision of diplomas.

The three are vitally connected with each other. Without a well developed post graduate department, there will be no real, creative life in the University. It is the post graduate work of the University which sets the tone of the whole intellectual life of the University. A regular under graduate course is necessary for equipping teachers and advanced students, and it also keeps alive the importance of the study in the minds of students generally. An extra-graduate course helps to extend the scope of the University and it brings into the University a very valuable practical element,

which is nowhere of greater importance than in the study of the social sciences.

1. Post Graduate Work.

The essential of post graduate work are—

- (1) Expert direction.
- (2) An atmosphere of fellowship.
- (3) Adequate stipends.
- (4) A well equipped library.
- (5) Facilities of publication.

(1) Every University should aim at having at least two men of sufficient reputation and experience in research and direct post-graduate work. Where the direction is in the hands of one man, there is apt to be a narrowing of interest—an undue insistence on particular points of view—which is a danger in the case of a many sided study like Economics.

(2) There should be a sufficient number of advanced students to form a real fellowship—not less than half a dozen.

(3) Whether it is possible to have a sufficient number of advanced students will depend largely

on the number and amount of stipends available. It is necessary to aim at getting the best men possible. For that stipends should be offered equal in amount at least to the initial salary in the Provincial Civil Service. Also, an advanced student must have a reasonable chance, if he succeeds in doing really good work, of a sufficiently attractive career as a lecturer or professor. This will to a considerable extent depend on whether there is provision for a full under-graduate course in Economics in the University. So long as Economics finds no place except as part of a larger course, so long the best men will be turned away from advanced work for want of opportunities.

(4) An economic library consists for the greater part of standard books and Government publications. It would be a good idea if in a city like Madras, the University and the Government, especially the Development Departments, such as Agriculture, Industries and Co-operation, could unite in organizing a Central Library of Economics for their common use.

(5) Publication is essential to research partly as a means of diffusing knowledge and attracting criticism and partly to provide the student with the incentive of reputation. Works of purely local interest and of moderate excellence may be published locally. But, where a student has done work of at least respectable quality on a subject of general interest or of exceptional quality on a subject of local interest, he should be helped to find an English publisher, or an Indian publisher accustomed to doing business abroad.

II.—UNDER GRADUATE WORK.

The study of Economics will never come into its own in India until a full under-graduate course is organized leading to a separate degree in Economics. Such a course is necessary (1) to impart an adequate knowledge of Economics and Political Science, in view of the coming industrial and political changes (2) as an evidence of the importance which the University attaches to the study of Economics, (3) to provide men of sufficiently intensive training for advanced work, and (4) to create suitable openings for men who have done successful work as advanced students.

The difficulty at present is a practical difficulty, namely, the lack of teachers. But as long as the University makes no separate provision for the study of Economics, there will be little inducement for colleges to entertain the necessary staff or for men to train themselves as teachers. We cannot wait for a separate degree till a sufficient staff has been first secured, because in reality they work mutually as cause and effect.

III EXTRA-GRADUATE WORK.

A diploma course stands somewhere between a vocational and a liberal course of study. It must bear a definite relations to the particular profession or line of work which the student follows or desires to follow. At the same time it is not intended to train him in the technique of the profession. If this view is right, a diploma course will probably fulfil its object best if it is split up into separate courses dealing with the Economic aspects of particular lines of work instead of being organized as a single general course. The following separate courses may be suggested—(a) Co-operation, (b) Social Service, (c) Commerce—each leading to a certificate of proficiency. This will not necessarily mean a corresponding increase of staff, because some of the subjects will be common to the three courses.

The great danger with regard to the study of Economics not merely in India but in every country is that it is apt to get out of touch with the real life of the country. In Natural Science the students' workshop, is the laboratory. In Economics the workshop is the community itself. And nothing is of greater importance than to keep him in close relation to the growing life of the community.—[Paper prepared for the Indian Economic Conference]

HOMELAND

BY

MR. ALEX. J. DANIEL

Weary and lonely and aimless I roam,
 Friendless and homeless I long for my home;
 Oh 'tis the Homeland, that dear land of mine,
 Sweet land of mine that I long for and pine!

Friends may forsake thee and nations disdain;
 Foes may oppress thee and leave thee in pain;
 Could it e'er be that my love to thee cease,
 Land of my glory, oh! Home of my peace!

Pray for thy children united to be;
 Pray for their ne'er-failing service to thee;
 Then shall behold thee the nations of earth,
 And shall adore thee oh! land of my birth!

Oh for a glimpse of my Homeland so fair!
 Oh for a breath of its sweet-scented air!
 There let me live and oh there let me die;
 There in sweet silence my dead bones shall lie.

Riches and glory I claim not for me,
 Better in Homeland a poor man to be;
 'Midst seeming plenty I wander in vain;
 Take me then back to my Homeland again.

THE DEBT CLEARED.

13

BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

(Translated from the original Bengalee poem by Professor Mohini Mukhopadhyaya, M. A.)

'HEFT from the royal treasury! Bring bound the thief, otherwise no escape of you, *Kotwal*, your head will be severed from the trunk.'

By the royal mandate, the watchmen searched for the thief from house to house and from road to road.

In the outskirts of the town in a mouldering temple lay asleep Bajrasena, a foreign merchant of Takshashila, he had come to Kasi to dispose of his horses, but robbed of all his valuables, he was turning homewards broken-hearted. Him the watchmen caught for the thief, bound hands and feet with iron-chains, he was led to the prison.

At that moment Shyama, the queen of beauties, was passing her vacant hours by her closed window looking curiously at the crowded stream on the road, —a dreamy flow of crowd it was before her bewildered gaze.

All in a sudden she was startled, and shuddered and said, 'whose is that stalwart figure, casting the beauty of Mohindia to shade, led in strong chains like a thief? Go, city girl, post haste, tell the *Kotwal* in my name that it is Shyama who calls him. And request him to come to this little cell only once with his prisoner.'

This invitation sent a thrill through the heart of the anxious *Kotwal* by the magic of Shyama's name.

Hurriedly he entered the room with Bajrasena the prisoner, in his wake, his head down cast and cheeks flushed in shame.

'Unmasked—for favour, and that quite untimely, to my unworthy self,' began the watchman with a smile, 'at present I am for the King's business, O lovely one, permit me to go.'

All on a sudden Bajrasena held up his head and began, 'what's this play, my beautiful one, what's this play of yours? What curiosity has made you bring me bound here from the wayside and add insult to an injury to an innocent foreigner like myself?' Shyama heard this and said, 'Ah my foreign traveller, it's not a play. Would that I could take off the chains from your body to mine by giving away all my golden ornaments. My inmost heart keenly feels the insult that you have suffered.'

With this, she seemed to have wiped off all the disgrace from the foreigner's body with her two wet eye-lids. She told the watchman, 'Take all

that I have, only set free the innocent prisoner in return.' He, however replied, 'I am sorry I cannot act up to your request, such an impossible affair it is. The exchequer has been robbed and without somebody's blood, the King's wrath will not be appeased.' But she held the watchman by the hand and imploringly began, 'But keep the prisoner alive for two nights only and that's everything I request you to do.' 'I will obey your word'—replied the watchman.

At the end of the second night, she opened the prison and entered the cell with a burning lamp in her hand and found Bajrasena in chains, remembering the holy name of the Deity against the execution-day.

Through a glance from the woman, the watchman came and untied the chains in no time.

With wonder struck eyes, the prisoner beheld that bright, tender and incomparable face blooming lotus like. In a hoarse voice he said, 'After the dire night of misfortune, who is it that rises in my prison-cell like white vesper-handed aurora!—O the life of the dying, the deliverer, the kind goddess of fortune in this stern-hearted city!'

'Me kind—hearted!—waves of laughter called up that hideous dungeon with a sensation of new fright. Laughter—mad and terrible peals of laughter—lost themselves in a hundred ways in an ocean of tears.

She cried and said, 'All the stones on all the ways of this huge palace,—not a single bit of them is so hard as Shyama's heart!' She caught tight Bajrasena's hands and took him out of the prison.

By the eastern side of the forest, by the banks of the Baruna, the dawn was ripening at that time. The boat lay bound by the bathing-ghat.

The beautiful woman took her stand on the boat and said 'Come, O come, my foreigner, my beloved, remember this that I launch myself with you to the same tide and cut off all other ties, O the lord of my heart, my life and death.'

They untied the boat.

By both the banks, birds began their joyous, festive songs from forest to forest. He held up the lady's face with his hands and covered his breast therewith and exclaimed, 'Tell me my beloved, by what treasures you have freed me. I wish to know, my fair foreigner, by how much is this poor, penniless man indebted to you.' But

the embrace was made closer and said the beautiful one, 'Not yet that word'.

The boat glided on with the full swing of the wind and the swift flow of the tide. The burning sun reached the meridian. The wives of the village had returned home after their bathing ablutions in wet clothes with 'holy water' in their brass-vessels. The morning assembly had long broken up; all noise had ceased along both sides of the river and the highways were devoid of passers by.

Under the *bata* tree was a *ghat* of stone, where the pilot bound his boat for bath and meals. Shadows of woods stood mute and noiseless, all day long were humming lazy droves alone.

When midday-wind became redolent of the sweet odour of ripe grains, the cover of Shyama's face was removed on a sudden,—and the full fever of love made his breast ache, his voice became choked up and he whispered into Shyama's ears, 'you have freed me from chains only for a time, binding me in eternal chains thereby. Let me know in full how you have managed this impossible task. This is my vow, My dear, that I will repay you even by my life, would that I could know what you had done for me'.

The beautiful one covered the face with her garment and said, 'Not yet still that word'.

When the day's boat of light gathered up its golden sail and went down to the harbour of setting, Shyama's boat touched a shady bank amidst the evening breeze.

The fourth digit of the moon was about to set and a dusky light was playing in long lines on the motionless water, and the gloom under trees was shuddering with the chirping of crickets like strings of a harp. The lamp was put out, and in the southern breeze under the boat's window deep breathing Shyama reclined on the shoulder of the youth. A mass of her dishevelled fragrant tresses fell at random in soft, crispy, gloomy abundance on the foreigner's breast like the magic web in a deep drowsiness. In a faint voice did Shyama utter, 'Hard, very hard the work I have done for you, my dear, and harder still is the work to tell it to you to-day. But I shall be brief, and when you have heard it only once, please wipe it off from your mind.'

'A youthful lad he is, Uttiya by name, disappointed in my love, restless and mad. My importunities made him take up the scandal of your theft on his own shoulders and he gave up his life for my sake. In this my life, this is the greatest sin, O my greatest, I have committed for your sake, and that is my glory'.

The faint moon went down—the woods stood mute and motionless with the deep slumber of hundreds of birds. Slowly—very slowly the linked arms of the beloved fell slackened from the woman's waist: a hard separation noiselessly intervened between them. Speechless Bajrasena sat mute and stark like a figure of stone. Shorn of his embrace, Shyama tumbled down with her head about his feet like a torn creeper. A massy, pitch black darkness crept about the water from the river-side.

Suddenly she held fast the young man's knees with her hands, the wretched, fearless woman cried out in a parched voice, 'Excuse me, my husband, excuse me for what I have done for you,—the just punishment for this sin may be severe at the hand of God but let it not be at yours'. Bajrasena shook off his feet and stared at her and said, 'What have you to do with this my life?' Bought for your sinful act, this life you have disgraced for ever. O vicious woman, fie to my breath which is indebted to you. Fie to the winking of my eye lids'.

With this, he started up. The boat was launched to the unknown by the riverside with its woods in darkness. Dead leaves murmured under feet and every moment the woods became startled and aware, under a windless atmosphere, fragrant with the odour of herbs and woods. Trunks of trees spread out their manifold, hideous and distorted shapes in the darkness, all the quarters of the compass became choked up, as it were; the wild place chained about with creepers spread out its hand in silent protestation. The worn out traveller sank down to the ground. But who was it that stood behind him like an apparition?

In darkness, his mute sore footed companion had followed him in his wake through that long, weary way.

The traveller closed his two fists and thundered out, 'Still thou won't leave me!'

Like a flash of lightning, the woman ran up to him fell at his feet and covered his entire body, like waves in a flood tide, with her disordered garments and mass of hair, with her kiss and embrace, breath and touch and long drawn sigh. Moistened and tremulous was her voice and it was about to be suppressed. 'Never, never will I give you up,' repeatedly cried she, 'punish and wound me to my heart and make an end of my reward and punishment?'

The darkness of the woods, with no planets and stars above, seemed to have blindly felt a terror.

Hundreds of tree-roots seemed to have been hocked with fear from inside the earth. For a moment the last imploring voice was heard through a suppressed and tortured breath,—and the next moment somebody fell down motionless on the ground.

When Bajrasena returned from the woods, the first glimmering of dawn played, like a flash of lightning, on the temple trident on the other side of the Ganges. He passed the livelong day like an indifferent maddop on the lovesome sandy river-banks. The blazing mid-day sun beat about his body like a fiery whip. The village maid, with her pitcher, beheld his plight and interrogated him in a pitiful tone, 'who are you, houseless, — come, do come to our house.' But he responded not. His heart was about to burst out in thirst, but still he touched not a drop of water from the river-bank. When the day declined, his body burning with the fever heat, he ran into the boat with the speed of an insect running into flame, in a state of violent fever.

A single netlet he saw on the bed. A thousand times he hugged it to his bosom. And its humming noise began to prick his heart like a net, and forked arrow. The blue-woven garment lay on one side, he heaped and crumpled it and thrust his face therein and lay down motionless absorbing to the end with one breath its soft, beautiful fragrance in mad frenzy.

The fifth digit of the moon was about to set

behind the *Saptaparni* tree under cover of its branches. With both the arms extended, Bajrasena was crying out, 'Come, O come, my love',—his gaze fixed at the woods. But whose apparition it was that appeared like a phantom on the riverbank out of the pitch black darkness of the woods!

'Come, O come my love'—'I have, my dearest!'—and Shyama fell down at his feet and cried, 'Pardon, O pardon me! Why my flint-hearted life is not punished at your loving hands!'

For a moment alone Bajrasena looked at her face, only for a moment he extended his arms to clasp her, but he started the next instant, threw her back and thundered forth, 'why hast thou come, why hast thou come back!' He took out the anklet from his bosom and threw it away like a piece of live-coal, and the blue-woven garment he kicked out from his side. His body, like one of fire, began to burn him from under his feet,—he closed his eyes and turned away his face and said, 'Away, away, leave me, away with thee!'

The woman bent down her head and for a second remained dumb. And the next instant she knelt and bowed down to the feet of the youth; and then she descended down the river-bank and slowly vanished through the dark woodland way, just as a fantastic momentary dream loses itself into the nocturnal gloom when sleep is no more.

THE CEYLON NATIONAL CONGRESS.

THE inaugural session of the Ceylon National Congress was held at Colombo on the 11th, 12th and 13th of December last, at the Public Hall, under the presidency of Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam. The following bodies were represented by delegates in the Congress—

The Ceylon National Association, the Reform League, the Galle Association, the Kandy Association, the Kegalle Association, the Batticaloa Association, the Matura Association, the Panadura Association, the Sabaragamuwa Association, the Indian Association, the South Indian Association, Ceylon Muslim Association, the Jaffna Association, Negombo Association, the Social Welfare Association, the Chilaw Association, the Radulla Association, the Indian Merchants Association, the Lanka Mahajana Sabha, the Servants of Ceylon Association, the Local Ratepayer's Association, and the Tamil Union, Nuwara-Eliya.

Mr. Senanayake, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his welcome address laid stress upon the necessity for such an organisation to reconcile differences and pour oil on troubled waters.

Sir P. Arunachalam, in his Presidential address declared that the Congress was the fulfilment of dreams cherished from the time that he was an under-graduate at Cambridge, and that within the English fold, the Ceylonese could attain the fullest development of their national life.

"Many of us are firmly convinced" observed Sir Ponnambalam in presenting the case for Ceylon in the matter of political reforms "that Ceylon is ripe for responsible Government, such as Australia, Canada, South Africa, Newfoundland enjoy, and would make a good use of the powers if they were granted to her, though no doubt blunders will occur as even under the present

form of government. But we are at present asking for much less than responsible government, we are asking for a step, but a substantial step, towards the realisation of such government by Ceylon as an integral part of the British Empire. The first resolution, which will be submitted to you by Hon. Mr. P. Ramanathan, the elected representative of the Educated Ceylonese in the Legislative Council, states the minimum that will satisfy us—a Legislative Council of about fifty members, of whom at least four-fifths to be elected according to territorial divisions on a wide male and restricted female franchise and the remainder to consist of official members and of unofficial members representing important minorities, the Council to be presided over by an elected Speaker, and to continue to have full control over the budget, and without any such strange division as its proposed for India of reserved and transferred subjects; an Executive Council consisting of the Governor assisted by official and unofficial members, of whom at least one-half to be chosen from elected Ceylonese Members of the Legislative Council and to be responsible for the administration of Departments; and the Governor to be one trained in the Parliamentary and public life of England. "We venture to hope that our moderation will be appreciated and will be met in a friendly and sympathetic spirit."

The President estimated rightly the value of the higher appointments, urged the restoration of the ancient village system and declared that labour conditions in Ceylon ought to be brought into conformity with the Peace Treaty.

The most important resolution was that of the Hon. Mr. P. Ramanathan which runs as follows:—

This Congress declares that, for the better government of the Island and the happiness and contentment of the people, and as a step towards the realization of responsible government in Ceylon as an integral part of the British Empire, the Constitution and Administration of Ceylon should be immediately reformed in the following particulars, to wit:—

1. That the Legislative Council should consist of about 50 members, of whom at least four-fifths should be elected according to territorial divisions upon a wide male franchise and a restricted female franchise, and the remaining one-fifth should consist of official members and of unofficial members to represent important minorities, and the Council should elect its own speaker as President.

2. That the Legislative Council should continue to have full control over the budget and there should be no division of reserved and transferred subjects.

3. That the Executive Council should consist of the Governor as President assisted by official and unofficial members, of whom not less than half shall be Ceylonese unofficials chosen from the elected members of the Legislative Council. With the view of affording

them administrative experience, such Ceylonese members should be made responsible for the administration of Departments placed in their charge.

4. That the Governor should be one who has had Parliamentary experience, and training in the public life of England, the better to fit him to discharge the duties of a constitutional ruler and to help in the smooth working of the political machinery under the altered conditions.

5. That there should be complete popular control over the administration of local affairs in the provinces, districts; towns and villages by a wide extension throughout the island of Municipalities, Urban and Rural District Councils and Village Councils, with elected Chairmen and substantial majorities of elected members.

6. That a proportion of not less than 50 per cent., rising up to 75 per cent., of the higher appointments in the Ceylon Civil Service and the other branches of the public service should be reserved for Ceylonese.

Mr. Jayawardene, in seconding this resolution said that in Ceylon, communal representation was a great mistake and thought that division of Governmental functions into reserved and transferred subjects was unwise.

The second resolution on Local Government was moved by Dr. Sandarasagara.

It was urged by one of the speakers that their formula should be—*"There should be as far as possible complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them or outside control."*

Mr. Pereira moved that the present system of taxation be amended and that a commission be appointed to undertake a comprehensive revision.

The next resolution was on education and demanded efficient vernacular education, better and more efficient elementary education, sound business and commercial education and liberal grants from Government for all these. Mr. P. de S. Kubatne moved the fifth resolution urging the establishment of a University for Ceylon. A resolution on the necessity for improving labour conditions was moved next. There were several other important resolutions on the right agricultural policy for Ceylon, improvement of Ceylonese industries etc. An interesting feature of the Congress proceedings was the speeches of ladies. Dr. Miss Nallamma Munugean on female franchise; Mrs. R. Sagarajasingham (daughter of the President) on Ceylon University and Miss Ganguli on child labour.

The first session was thus a complete success. The resolutions passed at the Congress were many and important. They were carefully prepared and the speakers treated the subjects in a very reasonable spirit. The speeches were of a high order and were on the whole characterized by moderation.



SIR P. ARUNACHALAM KT., M.A



HON MR P. RAMANATHAN, K.C., C.M.G.



HON. NAWAB SIR SYED SHAMS-UL-HUDA
President, M. E. Conference.



MESSRS. MAHOMMED ALI & SHOUKAT ALI.
The Released Internees.

An attempt is made in the following pages to give a bird's eye view of the proceedings of the Indian and Ceylon National Congresses, the Moderates' Conference, the Moslem League and various other gatherings that held their sessions in Christmas week. About forty Conferences in all have had their annual meetings, and it is hoped that the lay reader who cannot be expected to have the time to study their proceedings will appreciate the brief yet succinct summaries provided in this and the ensuing numbers of the *Review*. [Editor, *Indian Review*.]

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The thirty-fourth Session of the Indian National Congress assembled at Amritsar on Dec. 27. About fourteen thousand people attended and the delegates numbered eight thousand. The Royal clemency had made it possible for the released internees to be present—a fact which added to the enthusiasm of the proceedings. Mr. Harkishen Lal, Pandit Ram-bhuji Dutt, Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal were received with great ovation.

Swami Shraddhanand, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered an address in Hindi in the course of which he dwelt on the occurrences in the Punjab and Delhi, showed how they have cemented Hindu-Muslim unity and declared that the incidents of April last had accelerated the political advance of the Punjab by fifty years.

Referring to the Reform Act the Swami urged the Congress to recognise its liberal features while agitating for more. The country should recognise Mr. Montagu's services, said the Swami, and ought to feel thankful to him. He then passed on to condemn the firing on innocent people, deplored the excesses committed by the mob, and concluded with a note of peace and goodwill:—

"My purpose in reminding you again of all these events is not to raise hatred in your hearts against the British nation which has given us a Ripon, Bright, Bradlough, Wedderburn, Hume, and Cotton and a Hardinge, Montagu, Besant and Andrews, and we should remember that O'Dwyer, Dyer, Johnson and O'Brien belong to the same race, and if they harboured anger against them, they would be harbouring their enemies. They must cast off root and branch, anger and ill-will towards the authors of the incidents of April last, and learn to conquer anger with peace, evil with good."

After the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee Mr. Hasan Imam proposed the election of the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru as President and was supported by Mr. B. Chakravarty, Mr. Tilak, Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar and Mr. Bhagatram of Jullunder.

The President in the course of a lengthy address referred in considerable detail to the occurrences in the Punjab. "India had suffered

much," he said, "at the hands of an alien and reactionary bureaucracy, but the Punjab had in that respect acquired most unenviable notoriety." He traced back to the days of Lord Curzon and the Partition of Bengal, criticised the administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, condemned the Rowlatt Legislation and Martial Law and dilated at length on the sufferings of the people in that unlucky province. Alluding to the "lesson of the Punjab" he said:—

"Much has of late been said and written about the Punjab, much still remains. But the lessons which the crowded events of the year have to teach us and the English people are clear. To us they point to the path of steadfast endeavour, the path of sacrifice and patient ordeal. That is the only way to reach our goal. To Englishmen they teach the oft-repeated truth that tyranny degrades those who exercise it as much as those who suffer under it. And so it is that England, of old the champion of liberty, assumes a different guise in parts of her own dominions. England went to war to fight for the freedom of small nationalities, and yet a big nation under her sway continues to be unfree. In Belgium the German doings were condemned, but in India we still have the pure milk of Prussianism. And the man governed by the Prussian idea is much the same whether he is in the West or in the East. The logic of force is the only argument which appeals to him; military necessity justifies all severities. The object is always to strike terror and an act however "frightful" appears to him "merciful." Ordinary morality and humanity do not influence him and cruelty itself becomes laudable. It is for England to learn the lesson and put an end to conditions which permit these occurrences in her own dominions. If our lives and honour are to remain at the mercy of an irresponsible executive and military, if the ordinary rights of human beings are denied to us, then all talk of reform is a mockery."

The whole address in fact is coloured by the sombre view engendered by the unfortunate events in the Punjab; and the President's regard to the Reform Act was rather cold. His treatment of the subject was strangely meagre as will be seen in the paragraph printed in another place in this issue. But just as the eve of the Congress came the Royal Proclamation, with its gracious message of peace and goodwill and clemency and its inspiring appeal for co-operation—a document of rare statesmanship which should make many a militant man revise

his judgment. The President thereafter added to his original address :—

"Through the surrounding gloom has come a ray of bright sunshine which has cheered up many a suffering individual and family in India. His Majesty the King-Emperor has on the eve of this great meeting been graciously pleased to send out to us a message of His Royal clemency; to be exercised by the Viceroy in the name and on behalf of His Majesty, to all political offenders suffering imprisonment or restriction on their liberty. It is the sentiments of affection and devotion with which His Majesty and his predecessors have been animated that have consoled us in our misfortunes. It is for us, fellow delegates, on our own behalf, and on behalf of the people of India whom we represent, to convey our sincere homage to His Majesty and our humble appreciation of His Royal benevolence. I have no doubt that you will discharge this Royal duty in a befitting manner, and send out a hearty welcome to His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, who is to visit our country next winter. Let us gratefully join His Majesty in his hopes of the future and in the fervent prayer to the Almighty God that by His wisdom and under His guidance India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment and may grow to the fullness of political freedom."

The President urged in his address the demand for a "declaration of Indian rights." He then referred to the subject of commissions in the army and navy, to the Khalifate question, to the interests of Indians overseas and to other topics. In concluding he said :—

"But what is our ultimate goal? We want freedom of thought, freedom of action, freedom to fashion our own destiny and build up an India suited to the genius of her people. We do not wish to make of India a cheap and slavish imitation of the west. We have so far sought to liberate our government on the western model. Whether that will satisfy us in the future I cannot say. But let us bear in mind that western democracy has not proved a panacea for all ills; it has not yet solved the problems which surround us. Europe is torn asunder by the conflict between labour and capital, and the proletariat is raising its head against the rule of the classes. It may be that when we get the power to mould our institutions we shall evolve a system of government which will blend all that is best in the East and the West. Meanwhile, let us beware of the errors of the west and at the same time cast out the evil customs and traditions which have clung to us."

At the conclusion of the address the delegates of the different provinces assembled to elect their representatives on the Subjects Committee which usually prepares the draft resolutions for discussion in the open Congress. The Subjects Committee assembled on the morrow and there was a long and heated debate on the Royal Proclamation, the Reforms and the Punjab occurrences in which Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Tilak, Mrs. Besant, Mr. Arundhanee Pant and others took part.

The Congress resumed its sittings on the 29th when Pandit Gokarnath Misra read messages of sympathy from the Ali Brothers, the Indians in Canada, Mr. Adamson, Chairman of the British Labour Party, the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, Mrs. Naidu and Lala Lajpat Rai.

A resolution thanking His Majesty for the Gracious Proclamation and welcoming the Prince of Wales to India was then put from the chair and carried unanimously.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi then moved :

"(a) This Congress protests against the attempt being made in South Africa, and particularly in the Transvaal, to deprive Indian settlers of the rights of property and trade hitherto enjoyed by them, and trusts that the Government of India will secure the repeal of the recently enacted legislation and otherwise ensure the protection of the status of the Indian settlers in South Africa. (b) This Congress is of opinion that the anti-Indian agitation now going on in East Africa is utterly unscrupulous, and trusts that the Government of India will safeguard the right of free and unrestricted emigration from India to East Africa and the full civil and political rights of the Indian settlers in East Africa, including the East African territory conquered from Germany."

Mr. Gandhi first spoke in Hindi in support of the resolution. Speaking next in English he read a message addressed to the Congress by Mr. Andrews (see page 51 for full text) regarding the situation in Africa. Mr. Andrews stated that moral depravity was now attributed to Indians and alleged in support the anti-Indian agitation now going on in East Africa. His indignation had grown deeper at it since he had seen with his eyes how unjustified the attack on Indian moral character had been. Mr. Gandhi warmly commended the resolution for the acceptance of the Congress.

This resolution having been seconded by Mr. Cama, a delegate from South Africa, Mr. K. Natarajan, Mr. S. P. Thakore from East Africa and Mr. B. N. Anantani, delegate from Zanzibar was passed unanimously.

Pandit Malaviya then proposed :—

(a) This Congress views with grateful satisfaction the Viceroyal declaration that the existing indentures in Fiji are likely to be cancelled at the end of the current year and hopes that a final declaration to that effect will be made by the Government of India before the end of the year, and this Congress further hopes that indenture emigration in any form whatsoever whether under the same or other name, will never be renewed.

(b) This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the valuable and selfless services rendered by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the afflicted in the Punjab, to the cause of indentured Indians in Fiji and

elsewhere and the services rendered to the Indian settlers in East and South Africa.

The Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma having seconded and Mr. Rawani Dayal supported, the resolution was carried unanimously.

On the 30th the session began with a brief address by the President to the representatives of the Press to keep the proceedings of the Subject Committee strictly confidential.

Mr. B. Chakravarty moved:—

That having regard to correspondence between the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the Hon. Pandit Malaviya and Mr. M. K. Gandhi and between Lord Hunter and the Hon. Pandit Malaviya this Congress is of opinion that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor's action in not permitting in the Committee room the Punjab leaders even as prisoners under custody to assist and instruct counsel in the same manner as Government counsel was instructed by officials whose conduct was under investigation of the Disorders Inquiry Committee, constitutes a serious injustice and that it left no other course open to the Sub-Committee of the Congress to take than the one taken by it. This Congress, therefore, endorses and approves of the firm and dignified action taken by the Sub-Committee and appoints commissioners to make an investigation and submit a report.

Prof. Ruchiram spoke in Hindi and Maulana Fazl-ur Rahman in Urdu and the resolution was adopted.

Mr. Gandhi next moved:—

This Congress while fully recognising the grave provocation that led to the sudden outburst of mob frenzy, deeply regrets and condemns the excesses committed in certain parts of the Punjab and Gujarat resulting in the loss of lives and injury to persons and property during April last.

Mr. Gandhi first spoke in Hindi and later in English. He asked the Congress to recognise the solemnity of the occasion. There was no greater resolution therefore for Congress than the one he had moved. The whole key to the future lay in their accepting the resolution and acting up to it. He could quote chapter and verse that the mob intended and did commit violence at Ahmedabad, Viramgaon, Bombay and other places, but he agreed there was grave provocation from Government. Government went mad, and the people on their part also went mad. They should not return madness with madness.

Swami Shraddhananda spoke in Hindi and said that the foundation of a new era had been laid by acknowledging their own mistakes. Mr. Pal also supported the resolution which was passed.

Mrs. Besant then moved:—

That in view of the fact that neither the Hunter Committee nor the Congress Commission has finished its examination of witnesses and issued its report, this Congress while expressing its horror and indignation at the revelations already made and condemnation of

atrocities admitted, refrains from urging any definite steps to be taken against offenders. Yet having regard to the cold-blooded calculated massacre of innocent men and children, an act, without parallel in modern times, it urges upon the Government of India and the Secretary of State that as a preliminary to legal proceedings to be taken against him, General Dyer should immediately be relieved of his command. Resolved further that this Congress desires to place it on record that in its opinion the Government of India and the Punjab Government must in any event be held responsible for the inexcusable delay in placing an authoritative statement of the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh before the public and His Majesty's Government.

In moving the resolution Mrs. Besant said that when the massacre occurred some of them were in England and heard nothing. It was only due to the Seva Samati of Allahabad and to questions put by Pandit Malaviya that they got a glimpse of what had happened. Surely they had a right that Government should have placed all the facts before the public and His Majesty's Government. As regards the other parts of the resolution, they indicated the criminals from the story they had given, and on their own words. For the present they asked that General Dyer should be relieved of his command. Mrs. Besant appealed to the audience to purge all their hearts of hatred, and trust in British justice.

Mr. B. G. Tilak, in seconding the resolution, said for the present they were simply asking for the recall of General Dyer. They were not asking just then for trial or impeachment. The Congress Committee was still enquiring. As soon as the enquiry was completed a Special Congress Sessions would be held and the result of the enquiry would be placed before them to decide upon a course of action.

Rai Sahib Ruchiram Sahni next moved:—

That in view of the oppressive regime of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Punjab, and the admitted facts brought out before the Hunter Committee, that be approved of and endorsed General Dyer's massacre at Jallianwala Bagh, this Congress calls upon His Majesty's Government to relieve Sir Michael O'Dwyer of his present duties in this country as member of the Army Commission as preliminary to legal action being taken against him.

The speaker addressing in Hindi pointed out that the brutal conduct of Sir Michael had impaired our faith in British justice.

Messrs. Shaikat Ali and Mahomed Ali who came at this time also supported the resolution which was carried.

On the 31st Mr. Abbas Tyabji took the chair in the absence of Pandit Motilal. Mrs. Besant read a poem sent in by Mrs. Naidu entitled "By love serve one another."

Dr. Satyapal moved the resolution recording the appreciation of the action of Sir Sankarar Nair in resigning his office as a protest against the introduction of Martial Law in the Punjab.

Pandit Gokarn Nath Misra then moved :

"(a) This Congress offers its respectful condolence to the relatives of those persons, whether English or Indian, who were killed, and sympathy to those wounded or incapacitated during the April disturbances. (b) This Congress further resolves that the site known as Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar be acquired for the nation, and be registered in the names of Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru as trustees, and that it be used as a memorial to perpetuate the memory of those who were killed or wounded on 13th day of April last during the massacre by General Dyer. In order to give effect to the intention of the Congress the following are appointed a committee:—The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Swami Shradhdhanand, Dr. Kitchlew and Lala Harikishan Lal, with power to devise the best method of perpetuating the memory of the dead, to have a proper scheme of trust prepared, and to collect subscriptions for the purpose and otherwise to carry out the object of the trust."

The following further resolutions were put from the chair and passed :—

"This Congress is of opinion that it is impossible to have real peace in India until the legislation popularly known as Rowlatt Act, which was passed in the face of unanimous opposition in the country, is repealed; and it therefore respectfully urges upon the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India to advise His Majesty to veto the said Act, or otherwise to secure its repeal."

"This Congress enters its emphatic protest against the action of the Government of India in prematurely passing the Indemnity Bill, even though the acts, in respect of which indemnity was granted were the subject of investigation by an official enquiry commission, and in spite of the strong opposition by the press, numerous public bodies and non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council."

"In view of the fact that full effect has not yet been given to the general amnesty clause of the gracious Proclamation of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and that persons in the Punjab tried by Martial Law Commissioners, summary courts, area officers, and tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act and detainees, deportees and all political prisoners in Bengal and other parts of India, including the Andamans, have not been released, this Congress expresses its earnest hope and trusts the fullest effect will immediately be given to the letter and spirit of the Royal Command."

At this stage Pandit Gokarnath announced amidst cheers the receipt of a cable from Lala Lajpat Rai to the effect that he had sailed from America for England en route to India.

Mr. Syed Hussain then moved for the recall of Lord Chelmsford :—

"That in view of the fact that Lord Chelmsford has completely forfeited the confidence of the people of

this country, this Congress humbly beseeches His Imperial Majesty to be graciously pleased immediately to recall His Excellency."

This was seconded by Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar who said that whatever there was of value in the reforms would be reduced if this Viceroy should be allowed to continue. The Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma questioned the wisdom of this wholesale denunciation and urged that His Excellency's administration had not been altogether a failure. He was followed by Mr. Bomanjee Dr. Kitchlew and Jitendralal Banerjee who thought that the resolution was altogether too mild and that Lord Chelmsford only deserved to be prosecuted for high crimes and misdemeanours. After a number of speeches the resolution was put to the vote and declared carried.

The next day began with the discussion of the resolution on the Reforms. The text of Mr. C. R. Das's resolution will be found in page 56.

There was a heated debate in which Mr. Tilak, Mr. Pal, Mrs. Besant and Mr. Gandhi took part. We give the gist of the debate in another page in which Mr. Gandhi challenged Mr. Tilak's position. Pandit Malaviya accorded his whole-hearted support to Mr. Gandhi in deleting the word "disappointment" in connection with the reforms and adding a word of gratitude to Mr. Montagu for his labours. Pandit Malaviya said it would be "a calamity—a misfortune"—if the house should divide over this question. A compromise was then effected which was agreed to by all except Mrs. Besant whose amendment having been pressed was voted. The resolution as compromised was then carried. The additions to Mr. Das's resolution were :—

(D) "Pending such introduction, this Congress trusts that, so far as may be possible, they so work the reforms as to secure an early establishment of full Responsible Government, and this Congress offers thanks to the Rt. Hon. Mr. E. S. Montagu for his labours in connection with the reforms."

Moreover, various other resolutions came in. Mr. B. C. Pal moved one on the Khilafat question. Those on the Declaration of Rights, repeal of the Press Act, promotion of Swadeshi, appreciation of Lala Lajpat Rai, and Mr. Horniman and those expressing gratitude to the Labour party and the Moslem League besides others relating to the organisation of Congress propagandist work were put from the chair and carried.

The next Congress was invited to Nagpur.

Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao proposed a vote of thanks to the Reception committee and the Congress dissolved after the closing speech of Swami Shradhdhanand and Pandit Motilal Nehru,

THE ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE.

The twelfth session of the All-India Moslem League assembled at the Bande Mataram Hall, Amritsar, on December 29. Before the commencement of the proceedings it was announced amidst tremendous cheering that Dr. Ansari had received a telegram that Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shoukat Ali had been released and that they would be at Amritsar on the 30th.

Among those on the platform were the President Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Mahomed Ajmal Khan, leading congressmen like Pundits Motilal Nehru and Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Gandhi, Mrs. Besant, Mr. V. S. Sastri and others.

Dr. Kitchlew, who was appointed Chairman of the Reception Committee while in prison, welcomed the delegates in Urdu. He referred to his arrest and imprisonment and thanked the people for their efforts in securing his release. The 9th of April he said would be long remembered in Amritsar. It was on that day that the unity of the Hindus and Mahomedans was expressed by the people in a real and genuine manner and from that day the two communities had become one in heart and soul. He regretted however that this expression of unity was misinterpreted by the authorities and people were put to untold indignities and insults. He referred to the incidents of the 13th April when people were killed at Jallianwala Bagh and said that he was hearing all these ghastly accounts inside the jail and sending his prayers to God for the innocent people. He expressed his indignation that Sir Michael O'Dwyer (cries of shame, shame,) had approved of all these actions and supported the military authorities.

It was a shame, he continued that people were arrested indiscriminately and put to jail and flogged and made to crawl. He then condemned the action of the mob in murdering Europeans and proceeded to discuss the Reform Act. He said that it was a great disappointment that Government did not accept all their proposals. The act was a first step to responsible government but he was confident it could go much further. He asked the Mussalmans to accept it, but they should continue to agitate for more and more powers. Dr. Kitchlew then referred to the Khalifate Question and requested Government to keep the integrity of the Turks and the Sultan of Turkey intact. Arabia, Asia Minor, and other holy places of Islam must be left to the Mussalmans and the powers of the Sultan of Turkey over these places as Khalifat-ul-Masih should not be transferred to any other hand.

Maulvi Sunanillah who was elected to act as chairman while Dr. Kitchlew was in prison then read his speech in Urdu.

The President having been duly installed then delivered his address also in Urdu. After dealing with the occurrences in Delhi and the Punjab he pointed out that they were due to a series of blunders. He then referred to Lord Hunter's Committee and said :—

Considering the fact that the findings of the Hunter Committee will, at most, have a moral effect, we cannot have any very high expectation of it, nor can we fail to observe the more or less inconsequential nature of its labours, for has not the Indemnity Act taken the wind out of its sails, by guaranteeing immunity to officials whose appalling infractions would, in a court of law, have assumed the magnitude of grave crimes.

The President's remarks on the Reforms will be found in another place (p. 56) and we have just room for a paragraph in which he complains rather pessimistically that the promise of August 20, 1917, has not been fulfilled :—

I regret to say that the Bill fixes the period of our political schooling at ten years, which, compared with other courses of instruction, appears to be long and tedious, especially because we are left in a state of uncertainty. At the conclusion of this period, supposing the Parliamentary Committee does no more than make immaterial recommendations, at the end of ten years, it would not be possible to predict the number of decades for which India may have to wait for the attainment of complete Self-Government. This uncertainty could be disposed of by adhering to the Congress League Scheme. Unless there is a definite promise that India will get Self-Government within 15 or 20 years, it is futile to expect India for ever to continue to value the modest gift of the Reforms Scheme.

But the secret of the success not merely of the Reform Act but of all the work which is being done by Indians in India and abroad lies, as he rightly says, "in Hindu-Muslim Unity." On this subject the Hakim said many excellent things which we print elsewhere in this issue. (p. 44)

Regarding the question of the Khalifate over which Muslim opinion has been unanimous he said :—

We Mussalmans desire it to be distinctly understood that we regard both Mecca and Medina as being in non-Muslim hands, because the *Sharif* himself appears to be a creature of Christendom. The other Holy Places are situated in similar or even worse circumstances.

Indian Muslims have not swerved from the path of duty, and have remained firmly loyal. It is confidently hoped that they will continue to display in the future, the patience they have so far shown, and unflinchingly adhere to their primary civic duty.

The plight of Turkey was nearly enough to break the hearts of Indian Muslims, when news of the

Anglo-Persian agreement (calculated, in our opinion, to seal the doom of another Muslim Power) proved to be the last straw of the load of Indian Muslims' anxiety.

On the conclusion of the address messages of sympathy were read by the General Secretary notably one from Lala Lajpat Rai who cabled "Fullest sympathy. Our Hindu Moslem Unity must be fostered."

The following resolutions were then put from the chair and carried :—

The All-India Moslem League tenders its homage to the person and throne of His Majesty the King-Emperor and assures him of steadfast and continued loyalty of the Mussalman community of India, (2) that this meeting of the All-India Moslem League places on record its sense of deep loss which the community had sustained by the sad and untimely death of late Sheikh Mohammad Umar, Bar-at-law, of Amritsar, and Secretary, Anjuman Taragji-i-Talim Mussalman in Amritsar, (3) that this meeting of the All-India Moslem League expresses a sense of deep grief at the sad and untimely demise of the late Nawab Syed Mohammad of Madras.

The second day began with the reading of the Report of the League by Mr. Zahur Ahmed the Secretary. The Report gave a short history of the work done by the Council and the members of the All-India Moslem League during the year. Dr. Ansari expressed appreciation of the work and the Report was then passed and accepted.

The President then put the revised draft of the Constitution and Rules of the League before the members for their consideration and requested the visitors not to vote or to take part in the discussion. Mr. Mumtaz Hussain, Bar-at-law, Mr. Bakat Ali and Mr. Junah took part in the discussions and consideration of the amendments was postponed to the next day.

The Conference then proceeded to discuss other resolutions and passed :—

This session of the All-India Moslem League while thanking the Governor of Bombay for announcing in the Council the strict neutrality of Government in religious matters and in issuing a public warning to that effect, strongly urges the necessity of a sifting enquiry by H. E. the Governor into the complaints of improper conduct of certain Sindh officials in connection with Khalifate question.

Mr. Masudul Hasan then proposed : . . .

That in view of the strong desire of the Muslim community to have definite provisions for protection of its interests, the league urges upon the Government that following safeguards be adopted in the forthcoming reforms :—(a) Mussalmans should be adequately represented in the public services of the country, (b) Mussalmans should have representation on Government Committees in the same proportion as the representation accorded to Mussalmans on the Legislative Council in the provinces concerned, (c)

Urdu the language and Persian character should be maintained in Courts and public offices in those provinces where they are in vogue, and Urdu should be employed as a medium of primary education in the aforesaid provinces. (d) That Mussalmans should be afforded facilities and protection and help in the observance and performance of their religious rites, ceremonies and usages without any restriction.

There was a heated discussion over this, Mr. Aga Sardar opposed it on the ground that these matters ought to be settled by private conferences with the Hindus.

At this stage the Ali Brothers, Dr. Kitchlew and Moulana Abdul Basi entered the Hall and there was a great uproar. Asked to address the Conference Mr. Shaukat Ali made a rather forceful speech, dwelt on the deplorable fate of Muslims and appealed to them "to come forward and save Islam." He then dwelt on the Turkish question and asked the Mahomedans to stand firm. Mr. Mahomed Ali in the course of his speech referred to his internment, and dwelt on the religious decadence of Islam. He asked the Mussalmans whether they should fear General Dyer's flogging and crawling or God who was the King of Kings. He spoke of the dedication of his life to the service of Allah and made a moving appeal for faith and sacrifice.

The third day began with the resolution regarding co-operation with the Congress. The resolution appealing to the Government was negatived and in its place the following was adopted :—

The All-India Muslim League resolves that the All-India Congress Committee be asked to appoint a committee at an early date to confer with the committee of the Council of the League in order to arrive at an understanding on questions arising out of the Reforms Act, 1919, and the demand for complete Self-Government.

Dr. Ansari then moved a resolution urging that cow killing be avoided on Bakrid festivals as a mark of respect for Hindu feeling.

The President then moved.

The All-India Moslem League representing eighty million Mussalmans subjects of His Imperial Majesty King George V Emperor of India, expresses its sense of gratitude for the spirit in which the Royal proclamation has been addressed to the princes and people of India on the occasion of giving Royal assent to the Government of India Act, 1919.

The League trusts that the rights of Indian people to direct their own affairs and safe-guard their interests, without which progress of the country cannot be consummated, will be secured ere long under His Majesty's loving sympathy and earnestly joins in his Majesty's prayer that India may grow to the fulness of political freedom in the near future.

Further the League feels confident that the Royal act of clemency in granting general amnesty to

political prisoners and detenus would go far to remove the bitterness existing between the people and those responsible for the government of the country.

And lastly the League assures his Imperial Majesty of a cordial and hearty welcome which the people of India would accord to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales during his visit to their country in the coming winter.

In putting this Resolution to the acceptance of the League the President said that they ought to accept gratefully all that was contained in the Reform Scheme but must not forget that it was "both inadequate and unsatisfactory."

The Hon. Mr. Syed Raza Ali next moved the following Resolution which was carried :—

In view of the fact that the enquiry in the Punjab disturbances is yet pending this meeting of the All-India Muslim League refrains from expressing its opinion in the matter at this stage, but cannot help drawing the serious attention of the British Parliament to the shocking disclosures made by General Dyer in his evidence before the Hunter Committee and the hope that Parliament will take early steps to see that justice and British reputation for fairness are fully vindicated.

The Hon. Maulvi Abdul Rahim moved :—

(1) This meeting of the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that in view of the admissions made by General Dyer in his statement before the Hunter Committee, he is not fit to remain in command and should be immediately relieved of his duty as a preliminary to legal proceedings being taken against him.

(2) This meeting of the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the entire policy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer is under enquiry and in view also of the fact that he approved of General Dyer's cold blooded and calculated massacre in the Jallianwala Bagh, he should be relieved of his connection with the Army Commission as a preliminary to legal proceedings being taken against him.

Mr. Mumtaz Hussain moved that "H. E. Lord Chelmsford has forfeited the confidence of sections of the Indian population and he should be immediately recalled." This was seconded by Sheik Shaukat Ali of Lucknow and supported by Hadiqui Zaman and was carried.

The session closed after passing the following Resolutions one after another :—

In view of the fact that full effect has not yet been given to the general amnesty clause of the gracious proclamation of his Majesty the King-Emperor and that persons in the Punjab tried by martial law commissioners, summary courts, area officers and tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act and detenus and deportees have not been released; this meeting of the All-India Muslim League expresses the earnest hope and trusts that the fullest effect will immediately be given to the letter and spirit of the Royal command.

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League shares with the entire Muslim world the wide belief

that his Imperial Ottoman Majesty Sultan Waheed-ud-din is the recognised Khalifa of Islam and places on record its deep-seated and unshakeable devotion to the sacred person of his Imperial Majesty as a successor of the Prophet and the head of Islam.

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League expresses its deep disappointment at the disregard shown by the British Government to the repeated representations made by Indian Mussalmans through their representatives in England and India regarding the question of Khilafat, holy places and Jazirat-ul-Arab and feels constrained to express that no settlement contemplating the dismemberment of Turkey would ever satisfy Indian Mussalmans but keep them in a state of perpetual dissatisfaction and discontent, for the grave consequences of which they shall not be responsible. Under the circumstances the Mussalmans would be fully justified in carrying on all possible methods of constitutional agitation open to them including a boycott of the British army if it is likely to be used outside India for Imperial and anti-Islamic purposes.

The All-India Muslim League expresses its deep sympathy with the political aspirations of the nationalists of Egypt to get the principle of self-determination applied to their country in accordance with the terms of the Peace Conference and is grieved at the methods adopted to thwart their ambitions.

While fully appreciating the labours of the right Hon. Edwin Samuel Montagu, Secretary of State for India, in connection with the Government of India Act of 1919 the All-India Muslim League deeply regrets that full responsible government for which India is fit has been withheld both in the provinces and in the Central Government and that the principle of self-determination has not been applied to her in accordance with her demands. It, therefore, considers the Reforms inadequate and unsatisfactory and trusts that Parliament will establish full responsible government in India at the earliest opportunity. In the meantime the League calls upon Indians to demonstrate their capacity for complete self-government by availing themselves of such opportunity as is now offered to them in the reforms recently enacted which that League recognises to be a definite step towards the goal of full responsible government.

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League places on record its deep-seated belief that the new era resulted in by the gracious Royal Proclamation cannot bear fruit unless and until full liberty of thought and expression is granted to the people of India and the various restriction placed on that liberty by the manner in which the Press Act has been and is being administered and the various other obstacles placed upon Indian journalism in general and Muslim journals in particular, are immediately removed.

That the All-India Muslim League voicing the Moslem public opinion adheres to the principle of separate representation for the Muslim community and strongly urges upon the Government the immediate necessity of applying the said principle to local bodies in provinces where it has not yet been applied.

That the meeting of All-India Muslim League urges on the attention of the Government the imperative necessity of repealing the Press Act, the Defence of India Act and the Rowlett Act.

THE MODERATES' CONFERENCE.

The second session of the All-India Moderates' Conference was held at the Town Hall, Calcutta on the 30th December. About 650 delegates from different parts of the country attended the session. Among the distinguished delegates and visitors on the dais were the Maharaja of Burdwan, Sir K. G. Gupta, Justice Chowdhuri, Sir R. N. Mukherji, Sir Nitaitan Sircar, Sir Ali Imam, the Rajas of Santosh and Dighapatia; the Hon. Mr. Shafi, Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary and others.

The Rev. Mr. Nag read messages regretting inability to attend and wishing success to the Conference from the Nawab of Dacca, the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Nawab Abdur Rahim, Sir Bipin Krishna Bose, & Babu Amvika Charan Mazumdar.

Sir Benode Mitter who welcomed the delegates as Chairman of the Reception Committee, began his welcome address with a reference to the absence of Sir Dinshaw Wacha—one of the "War-worn Veterans" and expressed deep sympathy in his bereavement. "I am an humble camp-follower" said Sir Benode;

"but though compelled by circumstances in the past to linger behind, my zeal for the common cause and my desire to serve my motherland has always remained and will always remain undiminished and unabated, and may I not add that I claim to possess a hereditary interest in our great cause."

He then passed on to render grateful thanks to His Majesty for the Royal Proclamation and congratulated Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha on the successful way in which the Reform Bill was piloted. He also mentioned Lord Selbourne and Lord Southborough, Sir Michael Sadler and Sir Stanley Reed, Mr. Curtis and Mr. Basu as deserving special thanks in connection with the passing of the Reform Bill and he traced the genesis of the movement for Reform to Sir William Duke of whom has now fallen the mantle of Sir Thomas Holderness. Sir Benode laid stress on the need for co-operation with the civil service and spoke of the new opportunities for service.

The new Act will bring about a great change. It has placed before us great opportunities for serving our country. Hitherto, Indians had no share in the actual government of the country. We were in the position of mere critics. Now a fair portion of the actual government of the country will be made over to us. We must forget to be mere critics and forget to oppose everything and propose nothing.

The chairman's remarks on the Reforms are given in page 55. He pointed out the difference in outlook and methods between the Moderates and Extremists and said that effective joint deliberation in the Congress has become impossible as

the Congress has been turned into an organization merely "to register the decrees of the Extremist executive bodies."

The welcome address over, Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee proposed Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar to be elected President. After reviewing his services, Mr. Bannerjee said:—

Ours is a growing party, ours is no longer a voice like that of one crying in the wilderness. It is now resonant with the note of triumph achieved in a cause pregnant with vast potentialities to the motherland. We, of the Moderate Party, claim that we have saved the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme from being wrecked by wild extravagance and senseless criticism. The country is veering round to our views. There are tides in human affairs, and one of these tides have set in our favour and with an irresistible current let us take advantage of the situation.

Mr. Parekh, Sir Gangadar Chitnavis, Dr. Tej Bahadur Saprú and others supported and the resolution was carried.

Sir Sivaswami Aiyar in his Presidential address made a survey of the political situation and said that the Reform Act as now passed was a decided advance on existing conditions and gave them great opportunities for acquiring practical knowledge of the art of Responsible Government. The Act provided for ten years' apprenticeship in provincial administration, and was only intended as a transitional measure.

(That part of the address relating to the Reform Act is printed elsewhere in this issue, p 54.)

Referring to the hopes of the extremists that if the Bill was thrown out the Labour Party who would soon come into power in England would introduce a much more spacious measure, the President pointed out that this belief was in reality based upon a number of assumptions of a very unreliable character. He then dealt with the question of a proper nomenclature for the Conference and discussed the Punjab occurrences at some length.

We do not know what the findings of the Enquiry Committee may be; but if we may be allowed to voice the wishes of the people we should ask, (1) for reparation for all serious hardship and suffering caused by unwarranted acts of severity, (2) for steps being taken to bring to justice any officials, high or low, civil or military, who may be found to have acted unreasonably and in excess of their powers or authorised such acts, (3) for the provision of safeguards against the recurrence of such things in the future and (4) for the abolition of flogging in the Indian Army. Let us see what reasonable safeguards it is possible to suggest. One remedy which may perhaps be thought of is that in dealing with internal outbreaks the civil authorities should only invoke the aid of military forces, but should not allow the introduction of martial law.



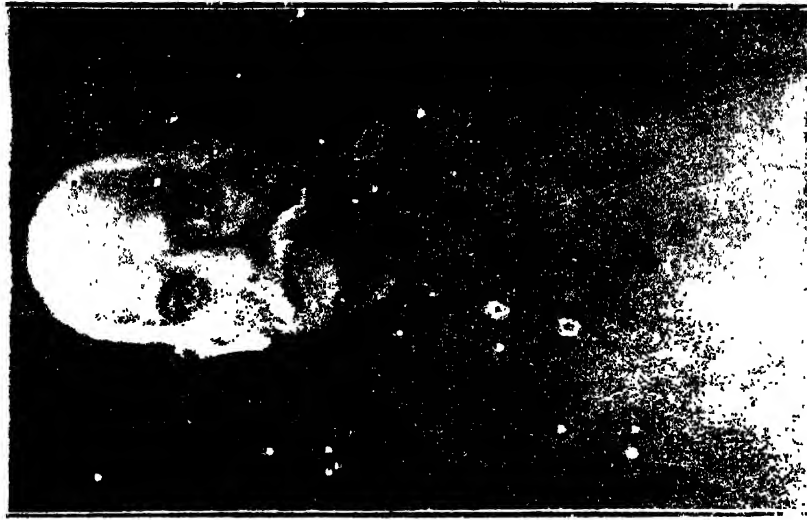
SIR BENODE MITTER.
Chairman, Rec. Com. Moderate Conference



SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI IYER.
President, All-India Moderate Conference



SWAMI SHRADDHANANDA
Chairman Congress Reception Committee



H.N. PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU
President, National Congress

He then passed on to consider questions of national defence, the position of Indians abroad, and other matters relating to education and economic development and the freedom of the press. In concluding he said :—

I am confident that full provincial autonomy will be reached in 10 years and that a considerable measure of responsibility will be granted at the end of the first decade. The goal of full responsible government may not improbably be attained within 20 years. The Declaration of Rights of the 20th of August 1917, the Report of the Joint Committee, the Statute and the ever memorable Proclamation of His Majesty the King-Emperor will together constitute a Charter of our liberties and by far the most momentous Charter in our history. The fulfilment of our hopes will be mainly dependent upon our own achievement in carrying out the Reforms. Let us hope that the appeal of His Majesty for co-operation will be loyally responded to alike by the officers of government and by the people and their representatives.

When the Conference met the next morning Messrs Srinivasa Sastri, C. P. Ramaswami and Dadhar who arrived from Amritsar after attending the Congress were also present. Resolutions conveying homage to His Majesty, welcoming the Prince of Wales and expressing gratitude to Mr. Montagu, Lord Sinha, and the Joint Committee were put from the chair and carried. Mr Surendranath Banerjee next moved :—

While regretting the omission to introduce some measure of responsibility in the Central Government this Conference welcomes the Government of India Act of 1919 as a definite and substantial step towards the progressive realisation of responsible Government. This Conference appeals to all sections of the community, European and Indian, officials and non-officials, whole-heartedly to co-operate for the successful working of the Act.

He said that the Act represented the first distinct and definite stage towards the progressive realisation of responsible government. He repudiated the suggestion of extremists that the moderates were out for getting offices and deprecated controversy and agitation at the start. Sir Lingadhar Chitnavis seconded and Mr Parekh supported the Resolution. The Hon. Mr. Sastri in further supporting said :—

It was a pity that one of the leaders of the Congress had said that the extremist party should occupy all seats in the house for the purpose of showing that the Reform was unworkable. This would lead to perfect anarchy.

Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Efran Ali also spoke on the subject. Mr. Campbell Howes who followed, said in the course of an interesting speech :—

While the House of Commons were being solemnly warned that British brains and capital would never consent to risk their future in a reformed India, we Englishmen in this country were investing largely in the new industrial concerns which all of us, European

and Indian, hope, will make of India's trade future some thing inconceivably bright in the annals of nations, and not only have Englishmen in India seized the very moment of the Reforms controversy to prove their faith in the future of the country, and the good sense and business capability of Indians but to-day, after the Reforms Act has received the Royal Consent, we hear of vast shipbuilding enterprises actually contemplating emigration from the banks of the Clyde to the banks of the Hooghly. Facts are stronger and more convincing than words and whatever may be the tone of my community's official statements, nothing could more clearly prove that neither in India nor in Great Britain, do British business men fear for India's future."

He further continued :—

"This friendly co-operation, this meeting of Indians and Europeans on the directors' boards of so many new companies, this joint taking of business risks appear to be a happy augury for the future. Good business men of one community have been brought into close business relationship with equally capable men of another community. They will not be slow to appreciate the good sense of those with whom they work. Already these business meetings (comparatively new to Calcutta but the recognised thing in Bombay) are producing social effects, and the friendship of the boardroom is penetrating the drawing room."

Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer moved the resolution relating to the question of Turkey and sympathising with the cause of Muslims. He was seconded by Mr Banerjee, Moulana Abdus Subhan, Khan Bahadur Abdul Salam and others.

The next Resolution ran as follows :—

This Conference wishes to record its emphatic condemnation of the outrages committed by the mobs at several places in the Punjab and elsewhere and its deep sympathy with the victims and their families.

This Conference while in no way wishing to anticipate the decision of the Hunter Committee must express its sense of profound horror and indignation at the manner in which the situation which arose in the Punjab in April and May last was dealt with by the officials concerned as disclosed in their own evidence.

This Conference is of opinion that it is imperatively necessary :—

1. to make amends for the outraged feelings of the Indian nation and that British honour and justice should be vindicated by taking steps to bring to justice any officials, high or low, civil or military, who may be found to have acted unreasonably and in excess of their powers or to have authorised such acts;

2. that reparation should be made for all serious hardship caused by unwarranted acts of severity;

3. that safeguards should be provided against the recurrence of such things in the future.

This Conference authorises its All-India Committee—

1. to take such action as may be necessary on the publication of the Report of the Hunter Committee;

2. to consider the necessity of the following safeguards among others and taking such further action as may be necessary :—

- a. that the introduction, exercise and duration of Martial Law should be subject to the same constitutional limitations as in England :

b. that Martial Law should not be introduced unless it is impossible for the civil courts to sit and exercise their functions;

c. that the power of creating new offences for breach of regulations and providing penalties therefor should not be delegated to military officers;

d. that if Courts Martial are allowed to sit when civil courts are sitting any person not subject to Naval Discipline Act or to Military Law who is charged with the contravention of any Regulation should be allowed the option of a trial by the civil court;

e. that the remedy of Habeas Corpus should be made available in all parts of British India.

3. to further the object of the Resolution by arranging for a deputation to England or otherwise.

In moving this resolution Dr. Sapru gave a resume of the official evidence before the Hunter committee. He hoped that condign punishment would be accorded when the proper time came to all who had conducted themselves in an iniquitous manner. Dr. Sapru was seconded and supported by Mr. J. N. Roy, Nawab Abdulla Khan, Mr. Gadgil and Rai Bahadur Radha Charni Pal.

Then the resolution on the Press Act was moved by Rao Saheb A. P. Patro. Mr. G. A. Natesan in seconding, pointed out that under existing Act journalists were denied the elementary right of self defence. Babu Panchkowri Bannerjee supported the resolution in Bengalee after which it was carried *nem con.*

The Conference also passed two resolutions relating to Indians abroad :—

a. This Conference strongly protests against the attempts made in South Africa to deprive the Indian settlers of rights hitherto enjoyed by them by means of the Asiatic Trading and Land Amendment Act and by other Legislation of a similar character calculated to drive them out of the country.

b. This Conference appeals to the Imperial Government to affirm and protect the unrestricted rights of Indians to emigrate to British East Africa and the African Colonies which have been taken from Germany and to support the Indian settlers in these Colonies and all future Indian immigrants in the unrestricted exercise of their civil, municipal and political rights.

Yet another resolution urged the immediate abolition of flogging in the Indian army.

Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary moved a resolution urging the recognition of the claims of Indians to bear arms in the defence of their country. The grant of the King's Commissions to Indians on a liberal scale and the need for the organization of the territorial army were also urged. The Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri seconded the resolution while Mr. Hunter and Mr. Alexander supported it.

Resolutions in support of the Boy Scout Movement, the political franchise of the subjects of

Indian States in British India and thanking Sir Rash Behari Ghose for his munificent gift to the Calcutta University were also passed.

The rest of the resolutions referred to the organisation and working of the Liberal Party. They will be found in another place in this issue.

The resolution on the work of the Liberal Party for the year 1920 ran as follows :—

1. That the Council be instructed to do all that is necessary and possible in connection with all action that has to be taken under the Government of India Act of 1919 and the reports of the Punjab Enquiry Commission and the Indian Army Commission, as well as to bring about the repeal or a radical amendment of the Indian Press Act.

2. That the Council be further instructed to organise a deputation to proceed to England to urge before the statesmen and publicists there the views of the Conference on the aforesaid subjects, and do such other work as the Council may decide.

A programme of constructive work was also drafted. It was thought desirable that the various provincial organisations of the National Liberal Federation should consider the following subjects and frame suitable programme of work :

1. The placing of the principles of Land Revenue settlements on a Legislative Basis.

2. A definite programme of development of irrigation if necessary by borrowed capital.

3. Development of Provincial Railways and Reform of the present method of Railway administration and of the Railway tariff so far as it affects each province.

4. An immediate expansion of free Elementary Education with the ultimate goal of introduction of Compulsory Education at an early date.

5. Reforms connected with the Elementary, Secondary and Higher education (Collegiate and Technical.)

6. Development of Agriculture and the improvement of the economic condition of the agriculturists.

7. Reform of the Excise administration with a view to minimise gradually the consumption of liquor and with a view to the ultimate introduction of total prohibition.

8. Development and expansion of Industries and the organisation of better credit for the rural classes.

9. The amelioration of the condition of the backward classes and the improvement of the present condition of labour and the housing of the poorer classes.

10. Retrenchment of public expenditure and reform of existing methods of administration with specific reference to the improvement of District administration.

11. Organisation of medical relief and sanitation.

The Conference appointed the Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani "as General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation for the year 1920."

Mr. G. A. Natesan then invited the Federation to meet at Madras next December. The Conference dissolved with a closing speech from the chair.

•INDIAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

The Third Annual Conference of the Indian Economic Association was held at the Senate House, Madras, on the 31st December 1919 and on three days following, under the auspices of the Syndicate of the University. The proceedings began with a message from His Excellency the Governor of Madras who assured the Conference that there was no question of more vital importance than the economic one just then, not only to India, but to the whole civilised world and hoped to derive useful information and practical suggestions from the discussions.

The first session of the Conference was presided over by the Hon. Mr. R. Littlehales, the Director of Public Instruction. In the course of his opening remarks, he said that

We have not in Madras, as in Bombay, the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, but we have here an Institute of Commerce which, I hope, will be affiliated to the University when the University reaches the state of instituting a special degree in Commerce and Economics. The Institute is at present housed in the Law College buildings but I hope that before long it will have a habitation of its own near the centre of the business part of the city. A Sub-Committee of the Senate of this University has already been appointed to consider *inter alia* the institution of a degree in Commerce, and I think I speak without fear of a majority contradiction when I state that one of the recommendations of this Committee will be that the responsible authorities should set out upon a co-ordination between the work which is now being done by Dr. Slater in connection with the University and that which is now being done in the Government Institute of Commerce and that ultimately a degree or degrees in economics and in commerce should be instituted in this University.

There is one view that I should like to have discussed at this meeting. It is whether a course of study which includes language, economics and commerce could not be formulated which would give as excellent a general training as any courses which are now accepted by our Universities in India as qualifying for a degree. We are apt, I think, to consider the study of economics and commerce too much from the vocational aspect, and I trust that your visit will do much to further the interest and advance the studies in economics and commerce in Madras and in other parts of India and go some way towards the improvement of conditions which such interest brings on its wake, improvement to the individual, improvement in social and economic conditions and improvement to the general population.

Among the subjects discussed in the course of the first session were (1) Prof. Lyons' (of Indore) paper on "The Projecting Lantern in the Teaching of Economics" and (2) Dr. John Mathai's paper on "The Study and Teaching of Economics." Prof. Lyons urged that sense-knowledge from concrete teaching is limited in

the field of economics, but there is a practicable substitute for it in the use of the projecting lantern under proper conditions. Dr. Mathai pleaded for the creation of regular post-graduate research work, the reconstruction of the under-graduate course of preparation and examination and the provision of extra-graduate teaching.

The three are vitally connected with each other. Without a well-developed post-graduate department, there will be no real, creative life in the University. It is the post-graduate work of the University which sets the tone of the whole intellectual life of the University. A regular under-graduate course is necessary for equipping teachers and advanced students, and it also keeps alive the importance of the study in the minds of students generally. An extra-graduate course helps to extend the scope of the University and it brings into the University a very valuable practical element, which is nowhere of greater importance than in the study of the social sciences.

There was also a paper submitted by Mr. G. Satyanarayanamurthy of Mannargudi on "The Organisation of Studies and the Teaching of Economics in India."

The 2nd session was presided over by the Hon. and Rev. E. M. Macphail and was devoted to the discussion on subjects of social and welfare work. Dr. Harold Mann of Poona read a very interesting paper on the effect of "The Rise of Prices on Rural Prosperity," in which he succeeded in showing that the general effect of a rise in prices has been generally disastrous to the village, though it benefited a few families. A rise of prices without a rise in wages may enrich a few, but is disastrous to the village as a whole. But if wages also rise to a corresponding extent with prices, the people who depend on land alone and work with their own labour are much better off, the non-cultivating proprietor is not appreciably affected, except in so far as he has large debts, but the general effect on the village population is to lower their economic position. In all villages a rise in prices will tend to emphasize economic differences, and thus the maintenance of low prices by any means may be a matter of far more serious concern to Government than has been hitherto realised.

Besides Dr. Mann, Mrs. Whitehead, C. B. E. read a paper on "Welfare Work in Madras City," in the course of which she deplored the absence of trained welfare-workers in India. She pointed out that mere schemes are not going to raise the poor, but the power of a simple humble friendliness in which the workers shall profit as much as the poor. Other papers, like "A Madras Slum," "Problems relating to the Paraiyas in the Tanjore District," "The Influence of war on the Seurashtra

Community in Madura," and the Housing of the Poor in the City of Madras were also read.

The third session was presided over by Prof. J. C. Coyajee of Calcutta and devoted itself to the discussion of Indian currency problems. By far the most interesting and instructive of the papers was (the paper on) Our Currency Problems by Mr. B. F. Madon. He is strongly insistent that we must do without more silver and suggests as remedies for the present situation (1) A much freer use of the one-rupee note, (2) temporary suspension of the cashing of currency notes (3) issue of plenty of fractional currency to insure the one-rupee note being cashed in such subsidiary coinages without discount.

He suggests two other remedies which will go to meet the objections raised against the 2nd proposal. These are (1) instead of total temporary suspension of the cashing of notes, the cashing be continued to a limited extent by making the rupee legal tender only up to Rs. 15. or (2) the reduction of the proportion of pure silver in the rupee and the bringing of its silver contents down sufficiently to prevent the temptation to the melting down of the coin. The last proposal should not be called debasing the rupee. If our export trade is given a fair chance, there is a certainty of a heavy favourable balance of trade again next year. Large amounts of note currency will issue here in payment of these exports and if the cashing of the notes has not been suspended a very large quantity of rupee coin will have to be found to meet the encashment of the notes. The situation will grow worse; and the only way out of it is to turn out a coin that will not pay to melt. This is no new measure and has been tried in other countries that run a gold exchange standard system. The key to the whole situation of the rupee problem is in devising means to lower the Indian price of silver to just below the point at which it would pay to melt down the rupee for ornaments. Government is at great pains to buy silver in London and New York and make gigantic efforts to mint it into coin and the Rupee census for 1918 shows that in spite of large coinage during the year, the active circulation was 80 million less than in the previous year. Mr. Madon urged that the mints would be far better employed in turning out subsidiary coins which are so badly wanted and the presence of which would greatly help to keep our small notes at par; and that it would be more sensible to pass the silver on to the trade as million and thus prevent further encroachments

on the supply of coin in circulation. The rupees will continue to disappear from circulation, unless we make the operation unprofitable or supply fresh silver direct to the market at a lower rate than what the melted rupee would cost.

Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe of Indore put in a plea for the currencies of the Indian states. (See page 48)

Mr. J. A. Wadia also read a paper on "The Problems of the Indian Currency."

The 4th Session was presided over by Prof. C. J. Hamilton of Patna. Papers were read by Prof. J. C. Coyajee of Calcutta on "The True Sphere of Central Banks," by Prof. Basu on "The True Sphere of Central Co-operative Banks," by Mr. C. P. Sundara Rao on "Co-operative Finance and Supervision" and by Mr. Hemingway (whose paper was read by Dr. Slater) on "Indent Co-operative Trade by Primary Societies".

The last session devoted itself to the discussion of problems of post-war finance and taxation. In the course of the session, a most interesting essay was read by Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar of Trivandrum in which he advocated the levy of a universal inhabited house duty as an imperial tax, and the introduction of a universal inheritance tax applicable to personality as well as to real property and graduated on an economic as well as a consanguinity scale. He considered also the possibility of doing away with the land-tax altogether and the substitution of a universal income tax levied on all incomes and graduated according to the source, the character and the amount of the income. He also said that the trend of modern opinion is strongly in favour of a graduated tax on personal expenditure as an ideal. Other papers were read by (1) Sardar Kibe on "British Indian Sea-Customs Duties and Indian States", (2) Prof. T. K. Sahani on "The Adaptation of the Indian Tax System to the Need for Increasing Expenditure", (3) Mr. E. V. Sundara Reddi on "Provincial Finance" and (4) Prof. K. Battacharya on "Post-Reform Finance".

Interesting and fruitful discussions took place in the course of the Conference. The members of the Indian Economic Association were invited to visit the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills on the first day. They were shown over the Triplicane Urban Co-operative Stores on the last day and were invited to an evening party at Government House on the evening of the last day, by Her Excellency Lady Willingdon. The Syndicate of the Allahabad University invited the Conference to meet next December at Allahabad.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE.

The sixth annual session of the All India Conference of Indian Christians was held at Cuttack on Monday the 29th ultimo. There was a large gathering of Indian Christians from different provinces. Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukherjee presided.

Rev B Das on behalf of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates and the President in his speech referred to the special position of the Indian Christian and the need for careful deliberation upon the problems they were called upon to face.

Resolutions were then moved from the chair thanking His gracious Majesty for the Royal Proclamation, and Mr. Montagu for the Reforms. Lord Sinha and Sir Sankaran Nair were congratulated on their recent elevation and the Governor of Madras was also thanked for recognizing the claims of Indian Christians by his recent nominations in the Legislative Council.

The Resolutions having been carried unanimously the Secretary Prof. S. C. Mukherjee reported on behalf of the Law Committee the progress of work done during the year. A joint committee of the All-India Christian Conference and of the National Missionary Council consisting of the Bishop of Bombay, Rev. Dr. J. C. R. Diving, Rev. H. Gulliford, Bishop Robinson, Mr. S. C. Mukherjee, Hon'ble Mr. M. D. Devadoss, Mr. B. N. Athavale and Mr. H. David prepared a new draft of the Indian Christian Marriage Act having collected various criticisms on the existing Act from Missionary and other Christian bodies.

On the recommendation of the Special Committee the following resolution was adopted :—

That the Conference places on record its appreciation of the decision of the National Missionary Council and of Government to vest the property of the former German Mission in three Boards of Trustees with a view to transfer them to Missions or Churches and of the decision to make the Church in Chota-Nagpur autonomous with the help of an Advisory Committee which will aim at transferring its whole work in course of time to the autonomous Church ; and

That a Committee consisting of the Hon'ble Mr. M. D. Devadoss, Prof. S. C. Mukherjee, Rev. S. K. Tarafdar and Messrs. K. T. Paul, P. Chongchiah, V. Chakarai and J. D. Asirvadam (convener) be appointed to watch the interests of the Indian communities connected with the former German Missions with a view to secure for them the control initially of as much of the work and the property of the Missions as possible, and ultimately of the whole.

The Punjab troubles were thoroughly discussed by Principal J. P. Cotelingam and Prof. S. C. Mookherjee while the Hon. Mr. M. D. Devadoss spoke on the Reforms and moved for the adoption of the following Resolutions :—

The All-India Conference of Indian Christians is of firm belief that adequate communal representation by separate electorates in the Imperial and local legislative assemblies is absolutely necessary for safeguarding the interests and developing the welfare of the Community under existing conditions, and earnestly requests the Imperial and Local Governments and the Secretary of State for India to grant this legitimate claim.

Resolved.—That a Committee consisting of several gentlemen be authorized to memorialize the Governments concerned and send deputations to wait upon the local and Imperial Governments and the Secretary of State, and to empower one or more to represent the views of the Conference before the Joint Committee of the Houses of Lords and Commons in order to secure for the Community adequate separate representation.

Another Resolution urged the removal of disabilities of Indian Christians in the Mysore state and a deputation was appointed to wait on H. H. the Maharaja.

On the afternoon of the 30th there were present at the Conference the Rev. Dr. D. J. Fleming the Rev. J. H. Maclean and Miss Allen of the Rural Education Commission appointed by the British Conference of Missionary Societies and the Board of Foreign Missions in America. The Conference went into committee with the members of the Commission to consider various questions relating to elementary education especially in villages.

The Conference also adopted a number of resolutions on Rural education, temperance and the award of scholarships for industrial training.

RAJPUT MAHASABHA.

The Rajput Mahasabha held its session at Aligarh on the 23rd December. His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir presided. Raja Suraj Pal Singh, chairman of the reception committee, whose father Raja Balwant Singh founded the Mahasabha and gave 12 lakhs to the Balwant Rajput High School at Agra, was enthusiastically welcomed. Raja Suraj Pal Singh gave a garden party to 2,000 Rajputs. The Rajas of Tirawa, Pratapur, Rehwa, Kuthar, and many leading Rajaputs attended. Thakur Sudai Beersingh, secretary, is to be congratulated on the Rajputs' arrangements for the successful conduct of the conference.

NON-BRAHMIN CONFEDERATION.

The Third session of the South Indian Non-Brahmin Confederation was held at the Justice office, Madras on Monday the 29th December Dewan Bahadur A. Subbarayalu Reddiar of Cuddalore presided.

The Hon. Dewan Bahadur P. Theogaraya Chetty in welcoming the delegates referred at some length to the importance of industrial and commercial enterprises. Why is it, he asked, that:—

with a population of 285 millions India is not able to direct her own destinies in the world? Why is it that we import 66 crores worth of manufactured cotton goods, while exporting cotton to the value of 41 crores? India is extraordinarily rich in coal and iron. But the import of iron and steel goods come to the value of 66 crores. Silk manufactures totalled 3 crores, matches 89 lakhs, paper 1½ crores, biscuits, cakes, patient food and preserved milk 1 crore and 35 lakhs, soap 75 lakhs, earthenware and porcelain 65 lakhs, boots and shoes 80 lakhs, cement 90 lakhs, glass and drugs 130 lakhs. There are several branches of industry for which the raw material is shipped from here to foreign countries and which we receive back in the shape of manufactured goods. What is there wanting in this country preventing us from converting the raw materials into finished goods and thus keeping in our own country all the wealth which is appropriated by those who carry on the transport, the manufacture and exporting trade from the other side? What I ask for is enterprise, organisation, scientific knowledge, equipment and last but not least character, which will both create confidence and maintain confidence in one another.

He then compared the European with Indian enterprise and labour and concluded with a reference to the condition of Indian emigrants abroad.

At the conclusion of the welcome address the Kumararaja of Challapalle proposed Dewan Bahadur A. Subbarayalu Reddiar to the chair. Rao Bahadur K. V. Lingam then read some messages of sympathy after which the President read his address.

Mr. Reddiar began with a reference to the death of Dr. T. M. Nair, the founder of the movement and discoursed on the new era that is dawning in the country. He condemned both Moderates and Extremists alike and spoke in eulogistic terms of the services of the Non-Brahmin deputation in England. He held that they had won communal representation.

It is not enough that you have secured for them communal representation. You have to continue your earnest work for them in finding a sufficient number of seats in the Council and in finding for them

potent representatives to fill up the seats in order that the cause of the people may be safe in their hands.

He then passed on to consider the Reform Act and said:—

At the present stage of the country's progress the Reforms sanctioned by Parliament are by no means small or inadequate. On the other hand they are not only ample but also far-reaching. The Parliament will certainly have a watchful eye over your doings. The Parliament will like naturally to know if in the coming probationary period you as representatives of the people exercise a sound sense of responsibility in steering self-government over matters entrusted to your care. I cannot lay too much emphasis on this. Your representatives will have to take scrupulous care in working out the Reforms.

He then defended the Civil Service which he called "the most able and conscientious that the world has ever seen." He paid a tribute to Lord Willingdon's sympathetic words, expressed gratitude to His Majesty for the gracious Proclamation and concluded with a cordial greeting to the Prince of Wales.

The President then put to the meeting resolutions expressing loyalty to the throne, welcoming the Prince of Wales and bemoaning the death of Dr. Nair. Other resolutions were also passed, urging the necessity of sending a deputation to England early next year for making representations regarding Rules to be made under the Reforms Act; expressing sincere gratitude to the King-Emperor, for the gracious amnesty granted to political offenders; and urging on the Government the necessity, on receipt the Hunter Committee's report, of taking such steps as might be found necessary to allay alarm and vindicate justice; "loyally accepting the Reform Act as a substantial step towards Responsible Government" thanking the Joint Committee and Houses of Parliament for recognising the principle of separate representation of the non-Brahmins of Madras, and affirming its conviction that this object could only be achieved by separate non-Brahmin electorates; and finally appointing a committee for considering and making representations on rules to be framed under the Act.

Resolutions were also passed dealing with the rural population and advocating the establishment of agricultural farms, new schools, co-operative credit societies and a definite programme of rural sanitation etc. Regarding free and compulsory education it was resolved:—

This Confederation is of opinion that for the general progress of the country and for the successful working

of the Reform Act and for the creation of an enlightened electorate, a system of free and compulsory education should be inaugurated, and urges that a beginning be made immediately (1) by introducing compulsion in all municipal and union areas, (2) by increasing largely the number of schools in rural areas, (3) by the establishment of training schools, (4) by making the curriculum and the period of attendance and the rules relating to the construction of school buildings sufficiently elastic to suit the local needs and conditions, and (5) by giving scholarships to the educationally backward and the depressed classes as is done in Mysore.

Equally important are those relating to labour:—

That the following alterations and additions be made in the present Factory Act:

1. The working hours in all factories be reduced to ten.
2. That female labourers should work two hours less than those fixed for the male labourers.
3. One hour recess should be given for the mid-day meal.
4. On Sundays and bank holidays no mills should work.
5. During nights no factory should work.
6. Adequate and hygienic lodgings be provided for the mill hands by the mill-owners.
7. The organisation of Labour Unions which are managed by labourers themselves should be recognised by mill-owners.

The question of Indians abroad and the controversy touching the Khalifate called for a couple of important resolutions which the confederation passed unanimously:—

(a) This Confederation views with indignation and alarm the outrageous treatment accorded to Indian emigrants in South Africa and Fiji, and thanks the Government of India for their firm, consistent and patriotic attitude on the subject, and trusts that they will continue to persevere in their present course, till justice is done; (b) This confederation considers the report on the colonisation of East Africa as one-sided and as unjust to the Indians, as any action taken on the lines suggested will be deeply resented in India; (c) In justice and fairness to India, whose soldiers have taken a prominent part in conquering East Africa and in consideration of climatic and physical conditions, this Confederation urges upon His Majesty's Government that East Africa be reserved for colonisation by Indian subjects of His Majesty.

This Confederation urges that, in the interests of peace and order in India, the question of the Khalifat and the future of Turkey should be settled by the British Parliament and Allies in accordance with the repeated declarations of British statesmen and in a manner which will be acceptable to the vast Mahomedan population of this country.

HUMANITARIAN CONFERENCE.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi presided over the fourth session of the Humanitarian Conference which was held at Amritsar under the auspices of the Bombay Humanitarian League. Mr. Gandhi's presidentship had attracted a great crowd and the theatre was full long before the time fixed for the Conference. Lala Dunichand, Chairman of the Reception Committee in welcoming the delegates and others said:—

"The humanitarian movement was no longer a movement based on pure sentiment but was bound to solve practically the many difficult problems that confronted economic India of to-day. The most important of those problems was the supplying of pure milk and "ghee". They had plenty of these in the remote and near past but now-a-days those articles had rather come to be regarded as mere luxuries and beyond the reach of all but the well-to-do classes. If the brain of country was not engaged in finding out means to remedy this state the time was sure to come when those articles might entirely disappear from Indian dietary.

Mr. Dunichand advised abolition of all kinds of animal sacrifice and referred in warm terms to the humanitarian activities of Mr. Horniman.

Mr. Gandhi made an improvised speech on humanitarianism which was listened to with rapt attention.

After the loyalty resolution was put from the chair, Mrs. Besant moved a resolution placing on record the valuable services rendered to the cause of mercy by Mr. B. G. Horniman. Mr. Gandhi then put the following resolution to vote and it was carried:—

That this Conference respectfully expresses its deep sense of indebtedness and obligation to their Holinesses Shri Shankaracharya Swami, Maharajahs and such other religious preceptors for their orders to their followers to disavow animal sacrifices in the holy names of religion as they are opposed to the true spirit of the Shastras: (2) to those Princes and Chiefs who have authoritatively prohibited animal sacrifices on religious occasions and appeals to those leaders who believe such sacrifices to be against the spirit of religion authoritatively to pass orders on their disciples and followers to abstain from such practices.

Resolutions endorsing those passed at the previous sessions were also carried. Mr. Gandhi himself felt it impossible to address so large a gathering and he brought the proceedings to a close with the appeal:—

That if they had any regard for him they would follow vegetarianism and abstain from killing animals of any sort. The people of the Punjab he continued were flesh-eaters, and it would be a happy day indeed to see them understand the value of vegetarianism. He also spoke of *ahimsa* in detail and the importance of preserving milch and dry cattle which were the wealth of the country.

THE SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

As usual the Indian National Social Conference met at the Congress pandal at Amritsar on Sunday the 28th and was attended by about 8,000 people of whom over a thousand were women. Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram welcomed the delegates in Urdu. In the course of his speech he emphasised the need for widow remarriage reform in Hindu Society. Lala Hansraj the well-known founder of the D. A. V. School and leader of the Arya Samaj movement who was elected President made an eloquent speech in Urdu on the Social Reform movement. Then Mr. Devadhar read a message from the General Secretary, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who in the course of a stirring message made some suggestions for the expansion of the scope of the social reform movement so as to include problems of social reconstruction such as mass education, rural sanitation etc.

By so enlarging this Conference and the scope of social reform, we shall not be trenching upon the sphere of political bodies or purely industrial and economic organisation or sanitary institutions, provided we adhere faithfully to and keep prominently before our minds' eye the distinguishing aim of this Conference, which is to touch, purify, elevate, and invigorate the political, industrial and municipal life of the country by developing its domestic and social forces, which are the feeders and makers of that life. It is said we live in times of democracy, when the age calls for equality of opportunity for all, high and low, rich and poor. Democracy, is more a social, than a political force and must find, to be healthy, its life, first in our home life and social life to make our political and industrial life wholesome. That is the call of the times to us from the spirit of the Age and may the Social Conference meeting under your blessed auspices help the spirit by a hearty response for the inauguration of the New Era.

Accordingly a resolution widening the scope of social reform as suggested by Sir Narayan was proposed by Mr. K. Natarajan seconded by Mrs. A. B. Gokhale and supported by Dr. Satyapal was unanimously passed.

An All-India Council of 100 willing workers in the cause of social reform was appointed to give effect to this resolution. Other resolutions dealing with the status of women, including franchise, women education, training and remarriage, abolition of caste, inter-marriage, temperance, with a view to total prohibition, depressed classes elevation, and other subjects were passed. Among the lady speakers were Pundit Sujjavats and Mrs. Hasrat Mohani.

The resolution on woman franchise runs as follows :—

That this Conference accords its hearty support to the demand for the enfranchisement of Indian women.

While expressing its regret and disappointment at the fact that this claim has not been conceded in the new Government of India Act, it trusts that no time will be lost in affording the necessary facilities to Indian womanhood in exercising the ordinary rights of citizenship for which the Conference notices with great satisfaction a genuine desire on the part of women themselves. This resolution should be submitted to the proper authorities.

A condolence resolution at the demise of Verasalingam Pantulu and other social workers was also passed.

The proceedings were in Urdu and Hindi.

THE THEOSOPHICAL CONVENTION.

The Theosophical Convention took place at Benares on the 23rd Dec. Mrs. Besant who arrived from England only that morning congratulated the society on the good work it has done during the year. She referred to the new Egyptian Section, the work of the Moscow Lodge, and the new Irish, Canadian and Argentine Sections. The President then dwelt on the work lying ahead of the Indian Section.

Theosophical ideal is rapidly spreading towards the West but India should do much to help the West in grasping fundamental principles of human growth, so well understood here. The ideas, here common place, are new there, especially the idea of society and the relationship between the classes.

The following is a summary of the Annual Report of the Theosophical Society for 1919, read at the Convention by Rai Bahadur Purnendu Narayan Sinha, the General Secretary :—

The Report shows how vigorous has been the work in the south, especially in Malabar, which leads the country. A special feature has been the many schools and classes and reading rooms opened by the Theosophists during the year. New social centres and Scout centres have been opened by the Theosophists. In one place alone six thousand patients were treated at the dispensaries, including cholera cases, with eighty permanent cures. In another place 1,685 men and women were treated. There have been maintained other dispensaries and also much work has been done among the prisoners in the jails and the depressed classes. Other kinds of social work have also been taken up by T. S. members. Social work was done by Theosophists, including the stopping of animal sacrifice. In one place a hundred goats, and a thousand fowls were saved by a Theosophist. Translations of Theosophical literature have been numerous. There were ten journals published in various vernaculars and were subsidised by the Indian Section in 1919. Nine permanent buildings are being built by the Lodges in different parts. Eight ladies' lodges have been recorded. Comparative figures show a thousand net gain in membership and fifty new lodges and centres. The total membership is now nearly ten thousand.

Among the topics that formed the subject matter of enquiry by the Calcutta University Commission was one relating to the medium of instruction, viz. :—“(i) Do you hold that English should be used as the medium of instruction and of examination at every stage above the Matriculation in the University course? (ii) (a) If your answer to (i) is in the affirmative, do you consider that University students have, on their entrance to the University, an adequate command of English? (b) To what extent do you think that English should be used as the medium of instruction in secondary schools for those students who are being prepared for the matriculation? (c) Are you satisfied with the kind of training now given in English before entrance to the University? If not, what improvements do you suggest? (d) Would you draw a distinction, both in school and University, between practical training in the use of the English language, and training in the study of English literature? (e) Do you think that the matriculation examination in all subjects should be conducted in English? (f) Do you think that English should be taught to all students during their University course and, if so, what kind of teaching would you advocate for those students whose general course of study may be other than linguistic? (iii) If your answer to (i) is in the negative i.e., if you think that English should not be used as the medium of instruction and of examination at every stage in the University course above the matriculation, what changes would you recommend, and at what stages in the University and pre University course?” In answer to this the following opinions taken from the Report may be read with interest.—[Editor “Indian Review.”]

SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D.

i. My answer is in the affirmative; the general drift of ideas conveyed by the University education that is given to Indians is European and English. The vernaculars have not yet been fully developed and adapted for the expression of these ideas. A suitable literature, in what I may call European subjects, has not yet sprung up amongst us. In this state of things education and examination through the medium of the vernaculars cannot, I believe, be effective; and if the use of the vernaculars is forced upon us it is apt to lead to the formation of a mongrel dialect—half-English, half-vernacular. Again, if the vernaculars are used as the media of instruction there will be insuperable practical difficulties, especially in the presidency of Bombay, where the principal vernaculars are Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Kanarese, and Urdu. Our colleges are resorted to by students speaking all these dialects, and in each subject teachers able to teach through these languages will have to be secured. The substitution of vernaculars for English must be left for the future.

ii. a. I do think that they know English enough to understand the lectures delivered by professors though they may not be able to speak English fluently and idiomatically.

b. English and vernacular should be combined in giving instruction in secondary schools. The vernacular should be used to ensure that what is taught is understood by the pupils; or to impress the subject clearly on their minds. But in the two highest standards which, in our presidency, are the sixth and the seventh, greater use of English as the medium should be made.

c. In the training given in English before entrance to the University there is much room for improvement. Students should be required to read more English in the shape of the histories of Greece, Rome, England, and India.

d. There is oftentimes an inability to speak English fluently or to use it with ease in writing in the case of persons who have gone through a pretty long course in English literature. Attention should, therefore, be

directed to the teaching of the use of the English language in speaking, as well as writing, separately and distinctly from the teaching of literary works.

e. I think that, in consequence of the difficulties entailed by the multiplicity of vernaculars, especially in the Bombay and Madras presidencies, the matriculation should, in all cases, be conducted in English.

f. English should be taught to all students during their University course as a general rule. As to students who have taken up a line other than linguistic they should be taught English like all other students up to the Intermediate examination of our University. When they take up a special subject after that the English of the books on that subject will be sufficient to give them further instruction in that language.

* BARU AMVIKA CHARAN MAZUMDAR.

i. It is a ~~used~~ question which has undergone long discussions since the days of Rajah Ram Mohan Ray. Considering all the *pros* and *cons* English should still continue to be the medium of instruction, though not in every subject, not to the extent to which it is carried at present; e.g., Sanskrit, Persian, or Arabic should be taught as independent languages, and not as mere auxiliaries to English education. A passage in English may well be asked to be translated into Sanskrit, Persian, or Arabic, as the case may be; but to ask a candidate when testing his merit on these subjects to translate a passage in these languages into English is to test his knowledge in English, and not in any of these languages. Generally speaking the medium of instruction in any country to be effective should be the mother tongue of the people of that country. But, here, the Bengali language has been considerably improved and enlarged through the medium of the English language, but it is not yet sufficiently rich to dispense with that medium. If an adequate impetus be imparted towards the further growth and development of the vernacular languages a time may come for a change in the medium of instruction imparted by our Universities.

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER, K.C.S.I.

i. I see no necessity for using English as the medium of instruction and examination at every stage above matriculation in the University course for all time to come. If suitable text-books can be brought into existence in the leading vernaculars English may cease to be the medium of instruction and become only a compulsory second language but, at present, the question seems to be not within the range of immediate practical politics.

ii. a. The majority of students who enter the University do not have an adequate command of English.

b. I think the experiment should be tried by adopting the vernaculars as the medium of instruction throughout the secondary school course, even for students who are being prepared for the University. The result of relegating English to the position of a compulsory second language cannot possibly be worse than under the present system. On the other hand, the strain upon the student will be less severe, and he may be able to make better progress both in regard to the command of English and in regard to real knowledge of the other subjects of instruction.

c. The system of teaching now followed is quite unsatisfactory. With regard to a foreign language like English I am a great believer in the value of the express teaching of grammar—the use of a dictionary and the employment of translation. Very few students use the dictionary in schools or colleges, and fewer still own a dictionary. I have very grave doubts whether, without the habit of using a dictionary and the help of translation, it would be possible to acquire clear and precise ideas as to the definitions of foreign words. Another defect in the present system of teaching in English is said to be due to the increase in the quantity of matter prescribed and the consequent inability of teachers and students to concentrate attention upon a few good text-books. In the perpetual conflict between examiners and examinees the increase in the quantity of matter was thought of as one of the methods of preventing cramming. Another method which has largely come into vogue in schools and in the University is to set a large number of questions by way of criticism of the author or books studied, but what has happened is that teachers and students have found means of circumventing the examiners. A number of books of criticism are recommended to be read by students and this by itself possibly may have a good effect, but more effective means of baffling the examiner are found by dictating copious notes from various books of criticism with regard to all the possible questions which may be put in regard to the author's views, his style, his treatment of the subject, and his faults and merits. This process of injection of notes of criticism either leaves no time for a study of the actual text of the author, or is supposed to dispense with the necessity for a study of the text. The aim of teaching now is not to enable students to understand what the author means, but to learn what other people have said about the author. This tendency is specially pronounced in colleges.

d. I am in favour of a distinction being drawn between a practical training in the use of the English language and a training in the study of English literature. More attention may be paid to nineteenth

century prose and less to the history of English language or literature and to the study of books pertaining to the earlier periods. The standard of knowledge of English required for the B. A. (pass) degree is now very much higher than that expected for the B. A. (honours) degree except in the case of those who take English language and literature as their optional subject. While laying more emphasis upon a working knowledge of the English language, as it is now written and spoken, I should be unwilling to suggest a complete discarding of works of literature which have a cultural value.

e. This University has practically given up the matriculation examination, but in the corresponding School Final examination English is the language in which the examinations are conducted. English should be the medium of instruction in every subject which is taught in English.

f. English should certainly be taught to all students during their University career. The standard may be that prescribed for the examination in English for the B. A. (honours) student in English.

MR. J. H. ALLEN, M. A.

i. An affirmative answer appears to me to be indicated by two facts:—

A. The culture to be conveyed is Western.

B. India finds a place in the British Empire.

As long as these facts remain English must continue to be the medium of higher education. The outcry for teaching in the vernaculars is a good example of the intrusion of politics into the sphere of education from which, India suffers. Divorced from politics, I doubt if this question would ever have been raised; even adorned with the political halo the vernacular university has failed to allure many Indians, and were there any probability of its taking shape, the ranks of its supporters would, I imagine, be thinned. The world of education needs this diversity of tongues no more than the world of commerce needs a return to the feudal mint. Nor, though I am not concerned with this aspect here, can I imagine anything more calamitous to the political aspirations of the country. And India, the fine flower of whose intellect had been trained through the vernaculars, could scarcely hope to play much part in the councils of the Empire.

ii. d. and f. I am in favour of all students learning some English in their University course; but the amount should vary according as the student is taking honours or a pass course or is going for the B. A. or the B. Sc. For the B. A. pass the emphasis should be about equally divided between English and the special subject. In the other cases the English must obviously be less. What is wanted here, I take it, is the ability to read and write English easily and correctly. In Madras we try to secure this by composition, based on books "set for non-detailed study".

In the B. A. pass, however, English appears to me analogous to the Latin or Greek of a classical training. It has not only a cultured value, but enters more largely into the mental training. There is here room for a certain amount of English literature and literary history.

SIR GOOROO DASS BANERJEE, Kt.

i. I do not hold that English should be the medium of instruction and of examination at every stage above the matriculation.

I think that up to the Intermediate examination stage option should be given to make the student's vernacular (Bengali and also Hindi and Urdu) the medium of instruction and examination.

Prima facie, the student's vernacular ought to be the medium of instruction and examination in every subject except English, as that would enable the student to learn his different subjects well and easily. English also should be learnt by every Indian student not only for its practical importance in his everyday concerns, but also for the rich literature it contains and the value it has towards furnishing a key to the treasures of the world's thought.

The arguments against making the student's vernacular the medium of instruction are as follows:—

A. That that would be less helpful to his learning English.

B. That that would involve the inconvenience of his having to learn two sets of technical terms, one in the vernacular and the other in English, for the higher stages at which English must be the medium.

C. That there are no suitable text books in the different subjects in the vernacular.

The first argument is amply answered by the consideration that the time and energy that will be saved by reason of other subjects being learnt in the vernacular can be devoted, with advantage, to the study of English. The second argument is of too much weight and may be met by English technical terms being retained in vernacular books. And the third argument is answered by the fact that up to the intermediate standard good books are available in most of the subjects in Bengali at least.

ii. a, b, and c. I cannot say that University students on their entrance to the University have quite an adequate command of English. The deficiency is due to the abolition of text-books in English prose and poetry and in English grammar at the matriculation stage. The teaching of English with the help of good text-books in prose and verse and in English grammar should be resorted to.

English should not be used as the compulsory medium of instruction in secondary schools, but it should be left optional with students to use it as a medium. English technical terms should, however, be retained in use.

d. I would not draw any distinction either in the University or in the school (except in the lower classes) between training in the use of the English language and training in the study of English literature. I think the best training in the use of the English language is that which can be given through the study of such portions of English literature as are of cosmopolitan interest, taught, in a well-graduated scale, beginning with simple pieces in prose and verse and rising step by step to pieces of higher standard. The prose and poetical readers compiled under the supervision of Mr. J. E. D. Belfrage and published by the School Book Society formed an excellent graduated series.

e. I do not think that the matriculation examination should in all subjects be conducted in English. In

subjects other than the English language it should be left to the option of the candidate to be examined either through the medium of his vernacular or through the medium of the English language.

f. English should be taught to all students during their University course for reasons stated in my answer to (i), *supra* and they should all study both English language and English literature (portions of great standard works), but the philology of the English language should form no part of the course except for those whose general course of study is linguistic.

iii. As my answer to (i) is in the negative, I would recommend that history, geography, and mathematics be taught in the matriculation and intermediate stages through the medium of the student's vernacular.

DR. HIRALAL HALDAR, M.A., Ph.D.

i. I am strongly of opinion that English should be used as the medium of instruction and of examination at every stage above the Matriculation in the University course. To do anything likely to weaken the knowledge of English of our students would be disastrous to the best interests of the country. I am aware of a movement in Bengal which has for its aim the substitution of Bengali for English as the medium of instruction. This is, to some extent, one of the many expressions of the chauvinism which is such a marked feature of the Bengal of to-day. But I see no reason for changing the system which the pioneers of English education in this country adopted after much deliberation. The analogy of other countries is misleading. The conditions of India are peculiar, and what may be fitting elsewhere is not so here. India is a part of the British Empire, and the most important bond which connects it with that Empire is the English language. The leading citizens of India must be in close touch with the ideals, culture, and civilisation of the West, and this is possible only through the medium of English. I shall, no doubt, be told that English will continue to be taught as before. But it must not be forgotten that students learn English not merely by studying the prescribed text-books in that language, but also by reading books on other subjects written in English and because English is the medium of instruction and of examination. Even so a considerable proportion of students do not properly understand the books recommended by the University because of their imperfect knowledge of the language in which they are written. This state of things will only be aggravated if the proposed change is carried out. Further, in the interests of the Bengali language itself, it is necessary that our students should be well grounded in English. Bengali literature has been enriched only by men who knew English thoroughly well. I am not aware of a single distinguished Bengali prose writer without any knowledge of English. Where, for example, would Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore have been if his culture had been purely indigenous and if he did not draw his inspiration from the art and literature of the West?

ii. I do not think that University students have, on their entrance to the University, an adequate command of English. This has specially been the case since the new regulations came into force.

iii. English should be used as the medium of instruction in secondary schools in the first four classes.

MR. HERAMBACHANDRA MAITRA, M.A.

i. I beg to invite attention to what I have said on this subject in my answer to question 1.

ii. a. University students should have sufficient knowledge of English, to be able to profit by the courses of instruction prescribed by the University, though this may not be "an adequate command of English" from the point of view of those whose vernacular is English, which may be insisted upon in the case of candidates for honours in English, at the B. A. examination.

b. In subjects like Mathematics and Geography instruction may be given through the medium of the vernacular, though English terminology should be retained.

c. From my experience as a teacher I have come to the conclusion that a text book in English should be prescribed as part of the English course for the Matriculation, and history including a history of England, which should be descriptive rather than scientific should be a compulsory subject for the matriculation.

d. There should be no distinction at school between "practical training in the use of the English language" and "training in the study of English literature". A certain amount of training in the study of English literature should form an essential part of the arts course.

e. Matriculation candidates are now given the option of answering questions in history in the vernacular. This may be extended to geography and mathematics, but English terminology should be retained.

f. For those who do not take up a literary course for the B. A. instruction should be given in English composition, and a text-book written in simple English may be prescribed.

T. O. D. DUNN, M.A.

i. Yes; but with the present level of attainment in English at the matriculation stage this is not possible. Much instruction leading to the intermediate must, of necessity, be in the vernacular. Further, I believe strongly that in the study of a classic like Sanskrit there is little to be gained and very much to be lost, by using English as the medium of translation. Bengali has its roots in Sanskrit; and the modern language would gain, from the point of view of scientific analysis, if it were closely connected with the study of the parent language.

ii. a. No; in the vast majority of cases, no.

b. English should be used as the medium of instruction in secondary schools to the utmost extent of the capacity of the staff. The "extent" of its use varies now with different institutions, as follows:—

A. Schools under missionary control, with European teachers, are able to use English as the medium of instruction at a stage four years before the matriculation. The senior classes of these schools may reasonably be described as bilingual. At present, the best of them are girls' schools, with several European teachers.

B. The better schools staffed solely by Indians—Government high schools and certain privately managed institutions—have not yet attained to this standard. English, two years from the matriculation, is scarcely a complete medium of instruction, and cannot be considered so even in the final year of school work.

C. The average "recognised" school does not attain, at any stage, to the free use of English as a medium of instruction.

The subjects taught through the medium of English would be all the subjects of the existing curriculum with the definite exception of the Indian classical languages. Translation from Sanskrit should be carried on in Bengali. This is only fair to the pupil, and the only means of attaining to a scholarly and analytic knowledge of the mother tongue, and the correction of the hideous evil of the "key" by which a boy translates his Sanskrit into the vilest kind of English. There has been much discussion on this question of the medium of instruction. It is frequently asserted that a boy studying the subjects of the school course in the vernacular alone knows more about these subjects than the boy who has been taught through English. This is a specious argument based upon an hypothesis that is probably quite false. How much can a schoolboy learn of anything? And what is the value of the content of his knowledge? Probably very little. The real question is:—to what extent has he been taught to think? This latter goal will be better realised through the medium of English. It is again asserted that, were teachers free to work in the vernacular, they would teach so much more rapidly that there would be more time for more thorough instruction in English. Again specious! Probably true—if the teachers of English were of better qualification. With the present type of man this latter system would involve the disappearance of English altogether.

c. No; there can be no satisfaction with the kind of training that fails to enable boys to use English and to understand it freely in the lecture-room. The improvements desirable are as follows:—

1. The cultivation from the earliest stages of the power of expression in English.

2. The application of simple phonetic laws and the early attainment of accurate pronunciation.

3. The elimination of reading material that fails to provide:—

A. Ideas familiar to young Indian minds.

B. A vocabulary in modern use.

C. A stock of idioms that are familiar to Englishmen.

4. The training of the ear in conversation and in the reproduction verbally, or on paper, of material read aloud in English. This last should be part of the final matriculation test.

5. The elimination of meaningless "gerund-grinding," and the complete abolition of fantastic grammatical terms.

What is needed in the matriculate is the capacity to understand spoken English (not too difficult), the power of expression in English, and the ability to read simple narrative prose.

d. The study of English literature, as such, should be taken up in the latest stages of University work by those who desire it; and this study should be of an advanced kind similar to that of an honours school in English in the modern European Universities. What literature is studied before the above course is possible should be so selected and so handled as to contribute substantially to the practical training of the student in the English language. I would suggest some such system as the following:—

A. In the school—training in the use of the English language only, assisted by the reading of simple English texts arranged to that end. Skilful choice of reading material may enable “literature” to be introduced; but its study will be, as it were, unconscious.

B. In the University: training in the use of the English language only, up to the present B. A. stage, assisted by the reading of English texts arranged to that end. Here, of course, the material selected will increase in difficulty, but it should be consciously and consistently subordinated to the idea of linguistic training. Such material, while it can be of great interest and of considerable range, even of considerable chronological range, will never include Shakespeare's *As You Like It* or Rossetti's *Blessed Damozel*. I am inclined to think there is much feeling on this point; and that Indians are apt to consider it an insult to their intelligence if they are told that “literature is not yet” in the B. A. curriculum. But we have to legislate for the mass; and the results of the present system are deplorably comic.

Briefly, then, I do not recommend any study of English literature, as such, in the school. In the University, up to the stage of the present B. A., I would subordinate all “literature” to the needs of linguistic training. After that stage, for those who desire it, I would welcome a good honours school in English language and literature, with all its customary branches of study.

c. No; with our present system of secondary education I would allow a Matriculation candidate to express himself in any language that his examiners could understand, with the following provisos:—

i. The English papers must be answered in English.

ii. The classical papers must be answered in the mother tongue of the candidate. Of course, it might be urged that this would tend to discourage the study and use of English throughout the school course. But the English portion of the Matriculation examination should be so conducted (with an added test of the student's power to understand spoken English) as to obviate this.

iii. It is highly desirable to teach English to all students up to the B. A. standard. It should not be necessary to continue such instruction in the honours courses of the M. A. If the proposals of point (d), above, are accepted I would have the same course of training in the use of the English language for all students up to the B. A.

MR. M. A. N. HYDARI, B.A.

i. No.

iii. I would have the vernacular as the medium of instruction in high schools and colleges up to the B.A. At the same time, I want to note most emphatically that if English is given up as a medium of instruction it should be always and invariably open for Muhammadan students to have Urdu as the medium of instruction, and in all Government colleges and in the University the Urdu side should be as fully equipped as the other vernacular sides; if this for any reason is not possible it is absolutely necessary in the interests of Muhammadan students that English should continue to be the medium of instruction.

MR. PATRICK GEDDES.

iii. g. In no country is the knowledge of a foreign language so advanced as that of English in India—which shows, of course, some return for the excessive labour which our too pedantic studies involve. I regard, however, even the amazing fluency and accuracy with which I am familiar as too dearly bought—since conventionalised and conventionalising to all concerned. The best Indian literary English is usually that of writers who have passed less fully through the school and college mill.

c. I feel not simply dissatisfied, but indignant, with the undue importance often attached in current English study, as of Shakespeare and other authors, to obscure, or even obsolete, phrases and terms—which in many cases I have heard all over India and which appears to me too often to push pedantry to tyranny, and this to unreason.

As a kindred instance I record my protest against the setting back by this University (not Calcutta) in two successive years for “failure in English” of a young man (my recent assistant and colleague in investigations) who would be among the best honours graduates in natural science in any university, and who is for all practical purposes as much at home in English as most of us—since “weak in his Anglo-Saxon.”

d. While ignorance of English is so obvious a disadvantage that few will fail to acquire reasonable ordinary proficiency, no one can travel in this country without meeting persons of obviously distinguished culture and productivity and hearing of others who come short of this, yet who should not thereby be excluded from the universities. Again, though as a scientific man I have naturally all my life used, and had to use, German, I should resent its absolute imposition (even were this not up to old German authors and older Gothic philology). I hold that no university has a right to act thus, to any save its professed students of philology. I, therefore, welcome the Nizam's initiative of his Usmania University with instruction in Urdu. I even expect that the real and vital uses of English there will not seriously suffer. I also hope to see other vernacular universities; moreover, when these are established, English and its studies will naturally advance in those retaining English, and to a higher standard than is at present possible.

Yet why need any university not be bilingual, or even polyglot, if it pleases? The University teaching of modern languages is already usually conducted in those languages; and students soon rise to the occasion. Accessory tutors are easily found; and lecturers in needed tongues will come forward with the demand for them.

HON. MR. KAMINI KUMAR CHANDA.

ii. a. No; except for post-graduate examinations.

c. No; I would have English as a compulsory second language.

d. Yes; I would have practical training in the English language in the school, and would leave training in literature for the college.

e. No.

f. I would have English for study only, but not for examination.

REV. W. E. S. HOLLAND, M.A.

i. and ii. I would advocate a much larger use of the vernacular in University education so that alternately it may become the principal medium of education. I consider that a chief reason for the lamentably low standards attained in certain directions is due to the difficulty of the medium of instruction. It probably is also not without its effects on the intellectual attainment and capacity of our teaching staff. I consider the Bengali student to be the equal in intellectual powers of the students of an English university; and in diligence he is hard to rival. Yet, the text-books in classical history at the I. A. stage include Smith's "Smaller Histories of Greece and Rome." A large part of college teaching and learning is concerned with understanding the meaning of the English words in which the subject is being studied. There is the less time and strength for the attainments of high standards in the subject itself. I consider that the large number of failures at each successive stage in the University course is due to the same cause. The advance in standard in the particular subject that may naturally be expected at the end of a two-years' course is too much when the difficulty of the medium is borne in mind. Further, freshness and keenness of interest in a particular subject evaporate when the medium through which it is studied interposes such difficulty. The issue is not confined to the mere difficulty of the medium. The whole setting of many of our curricula is so foreign that a subject is learned, not assimilated. Take philosophy. There is probably no branch of learning for which India is (beyond all question) naturally more gifted and disposed. But, instead of starting with the philosophical thought of India, and moving along the (generally pantheistic) channels through which the Indian mind naturally works, leading on to a study of Western philosophy by means of carefully related resemblances and differences, we start with Plato and Aristotle, and so on down the list of European philosophers. A new era of philosophical advance will open the day when philosophy begins to be taught in the vernacular, using the vocabulary of Sanskrit instead of Western philosophy.

We insert slice-wise into the Indian memory (not mind), a great chunk of Western philosophy. It is nowhere related to the system through which he naturally thinks. No channels are laid down for the passage of his thought from one system to the other. The result is he learns our philosophy, but he never thinks it. Our philosophic courses are, in effect, the history of philosophy. And so in nearly a century of our Western education we have not produced a single Indian philosopher of European reputation. A distinguished Indian student who had attained the highest honours in an Indian university told me he could remember the moment and the room in Oxford when he began to think. Enquiries from staff and students alike have revealed the fact that they do almost all their thinking in the vernacular. To be educated in a language which is not the vehicle of thought must cramp intellectual development in all kinds of ways. The foreignness of our whole curricula sterilises our best Indian minds.

To return to the language of instruction. Bengal has a larger population than Japan. Yet Japan, by use of the vernacular, has built up an educational

system that commands the respect of the West. Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, and Telugu with perhaps Gujarati, Malayalam and Kanarese would provide most inhabitants of India with at least a quasi-vernacular. And the first three would educate more than 200 millions of India's population.

I consider that the standard of English as a subject of study should remain pretty much where it is. Further, a sufficient working knowledge of English should be required to enable the student to read and understand the literature of the West. He should be able to study the best works in English on his subject just as many Englishmen can study works in French or Latin. Such a practical working knowledge of English is, further, absolutely requisite for political reasons. But that is no reason why the student should be lectured to or examined in English. If he is to think he will think most freely and fruitfully in his own language.

I should, therefore, require the standard in the school of English literature to remain much as at present. I should demand of all University students such a practical knowledge of English as to enable them to study English writings. And I should allow English as an optional language of instruction and examination. I should allow any lecture and examination papers, other than those in English literature, to be done in the vernacular. Let the student of English history read English historical works. But, let him, if he likes, express his answers in the vernacular. And let his lecturer teach him in the same.

There will be a new outburst of intellectual life in Bengal when throughout their education they think and express themselves in the vernacular. And for its teachers, except in English literature, Bengal need be no more dependent upon England than is Japan.

DR. PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA, M.A.

i. Our aim should be gradually to substitute the vernacular for English as the medium of instruction in colleges. This process of substitution, however, cannot just at present be carried very far. It should commence with those subjects in which there are suitable text-books in the vernacular. Candidates at the examinations may also be permitted to give their answers in the vernacular.

ii. a. Yes; I believe university students, except those who are below the average, have an adequate command of English.

b. The vernacular should be used as the medium of instruction in secondary schools as far as practicable.

c. I am not satisfied with the kind of training now given in English in schools. Improvements may be effected by the appointment of a better class of teachers and a more careful selection of text-books.

d. A distinction ought to be drawn in the school, but not in the University. The greater part of the school work in regard to English should be limited to practical training in the use of the language.

e. The matriculation examination should be conducted in the vernacular in all subjects except English.

f. No; students ought, however, to be encouraged to take up English as an additional subject.

MARK HUNTER, M.A.

i. Yes; most decidedly.

ii. a. I believe—at least so it is said—that Madras students are ahead of most other Indian students in this matter. In the Presidency College, Madras, Intermediate students are, from the first, quite able to follow instruction in English, and to study for themselves any English book likely to be recommended to them. When inspecting up-country colleges I have been told sometimes that the students' knowledge of English was not sufficient to allow of the adoption of what I recommended as intelligent methods of teaching and study; but I think these complaints—so far as they were not a sort of excuse—merely pointed to the fact that a large number of students had been admitted to the college whose school and public examination record showed them to be unfit to enter on a university course.

b. In the higher classes, assuredly, I am not sufficiently an expert to have much of an opinion as to the stage at which precisely English should begin to be the medium of instruction in all subjects.

c. I cannot say I am; avoiding details I would say generally that the teaching is at fault. When an Indian boy begins to learn English as likely as not he is taught by a person of a somewhat low order of intelligence whose own acquaintance with English is exceedingly imperfect; and, at no stage, probably, in the pupil's school life is he taught English by a teacher possessed of any special qualifications for the task. Most schoolmasters are required to teach at least two subjects, English and something else, mathematics, science, or history, and it is for proficiency in the something else that they are appointed. High schools are, in general, staffed with pass graduates and, as all pass graduates have taken English as a compulsory subject, they are all supposed to be able to teach English well enough. In the training college the same mistake is made. There, the normal student learns to teach English (compulsory course) and something else (special optional). No one specialises in the teaching of English. It is right to say that a change in this matter is under consideration.

d. I do not believe that, for university purposes, any such distinction can be profitably drawn. One is very familiar with criticism of a purely destructive character of 'literary' courses in English, and endless exhortations to make our courses more 'practical' have been addressed to us. If anything in the shape of constructive criticism has been offered it has hitherto escaped my notice, and I have yet to see, even in rough outline, any sort of definite scheme for a 'practical' university course in English. After all, for university purposes, the study of language cannot well be separated from a study of books, and books possessing a literary value will always be found to be more suitable than books which have none. The practical ends will themselves be best served if the course in English be a well-conceived literary course. Besides, courses in English are intended to serve cultural, no less than practical, ends. I do not believe there is, in reality, any conflict of aims. A course in English will be of practical value, that is to say, it will give the student what he wants for the successful study of other subjects, and for engaging profitably in practical affairs—capacity to read with understanding,

habits of clear and accurate thinking, facility in expression—very largely in proportion as the course is literary.

e. Yes.

f. I am satisfied with the Madras arrangement, which is:—

Intermediate course.—English compulsory for all; about two-fifths of the whole course.

B. A. pass.—English compulsory for all; about half the whole course.

B. A. honours.—A preliminary course in English for all. It is a one-year course, but engages only a small portion of the student's time during the year. [The complete honours course extends over three (or four) years.] The preliminary course in English consists of a part of the ordinary B. A. course, viz., Nineteenth century prose (with set books) and composition on the subject matter of certain set books. I believe this course to be quite suitable. The professors of science at first regarded it with some suspicion, but they have since testified to its usefulness, and, in the scheme for B.Sc. courses and examinations (pass and honours) recently adopted by the senate, this same preliminary course has been included on the unanimous recommendation of a committee of the senate the great majority of the members of which are scientists.

HON. BABU KISHORI MOHAN CHAUDHURI.

i. In the present circumstances of the country, in which English is the medium of communication in the law courts, public offices, in the legislative councils, and in every place of any importance, it is absolutely necessary that English should be used as the medium of instruction in our schools and colleges.

ii. a. I do not think so.

b. As in the present political condition of the country a good knowledge of English is essential I think English should be utilised for purposes of instruction at as early a stage of education as possible. I believe this is done from class III of our schools but, even with so early a start the result is not satisfactory. This is due to the fact that the structure of the English language is quite foreign to our instinct, and a very large amount of industry and application is required for its acquisition.

c. The training given is probably as good as can be expected with the teaching materials now at our disposal but, even this is far short of what is wanted, and I would advocate a general amelioration of the condition of our teachers in secondary schools so as to make the service attractive to the better class of our educated men. When the teaching material improves a better result is sure to follow.

d. I would.

e. Yes.

f. So long as English is the common language throughout India, and the only source through which a knowledge of almost all the subjects of study is to be acquired, I would teach English to all students, whatever their course of study may be, up to the B. A. classes. When special study begins there is no necessity of teaching English as a separate subject. I want to make it clear that I advocate a careful study of English only in view of the peculiar circumstances of our country.

THE HON'BLE MAULVI FUZLUL HUQ.

i. I am very strongly of opinion that English should be used as the medium of instruction and of examination at every stage above the Matriculation in the University course. I believe that some of the most glaring defects in the present condition of affairs in the University of Calcutta are largely due to a policy which relegates English to an undeserved position of inferiority. English have been unduly, and most unjustly, sacrificed at the bidding of a number of faddists who have been laying undue importance on the question of the study of the vernaculars.

ii. a. I do not think that University students possess, on their entrance to the University, an adequate command of English. This is due to the fact that the study of English is now at a discount in the various schools leading up to the Matriculation in consequence of the policy pursued by the University.

b. English should be used as the medium of instruction in secondary schools for those students who are being prepared for the Matriculation, and the process should begin at as early a stage as possible. My own personal experience teaches me that there should be a reversion, with such modification as may be necessary, to the older state of things, and that, except in the very lowest classes, the medium of instruction should be English. The beginning must be with the vernacular, but English should be gradually introduced, so that when the boy reaches what was known as the fourth class under the old system—that is to say, the class fourth down on the list beginning from the Matriculation—the instruction should be wholly in English. Much will depend, of course, upon the teacher on whom will devolve the duty of conveying instruction in a foreign language in a manner suited to the capacities of the pupils.

c. I am not satisfied with the kind of training now given in English before entrance to the University. I would suggest that the subject of study should be curtailed, and greater attention paid to the study of English. For this purpose, the number of books of study in English should be increased. Boys should be taught the art of paraphrasing sentences from a text into the boy's own English. Great attention should be paid to English composition. I would also recommend a reversion to the older method of prescribing a text-book for the Matriculation examination in English. This text-book should be thoroughly studied, and the examination should be fairly stiff.

d. Yes; I would draw a distinction, both in School and University, between practical training and the study of English literature.

e. Yes; I think that the Matriculation in all subjects should be conducted in English except the examination in the so-called second languages where it may be left to the discretion of the examiners to require candidates to write the answers in the particular second language concerned or in English.

f. Yes; I think that English should be taught to all students during their University course. There ought to be a minimum standard of study of the English language which ought to be compulsory for all University students, whether their general course of study is linguistic or not. For those who want to specialise in English the course of study should necessarily be of a stiffer character.

HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE T. V. SESHAGIRI IYER.

I have strong views upon this question. Too much importance is being attached to the study of English. For general diffusion of knowledge, which the country stands greatly in need of a high degree of proficiency in English is unnecessary and uncalled for. I would make English a compulsory second language in all the classes leading up to the School Final. All non-language subjects should be taught in the vernacular. In the Intermediate class also, although I would require that the teaching should in all subjects be in English, I do not think that the literary subjects in English which are prescribed for intermediate students really help them in acquiring a good knowledge of the optional subjects in which they are required to specialise. No doubt, it must be open to students to specialise in English, but this must be left to their option.

MR. D. K. KARVE.

i. I think the University should have two departments. In one English should be the medium of instruction and of examination at every stage above the Matriculation in the University course. In the second department the vernacular of the province should be the medium of instruction and of examination at every stage above the Matriculation. In this connection, I think, that the principle should be accepted once for all, and the aim should be to bring it into operation, step by step, during the next five or ten years. Examinations and degrees in both the departments should be valued equally.

ii. a. I think that students do not possess an adequate command of English at the time of their entrance to the University.

b. As regards secondary schools my opinion is that the medium of instruction, as also the medium of examination, should immediately be made the mother tongue of the scholar. The unsatisfactory state of secondary education—the complaints of cram, of the meagre knowledge of students, of the inadequate knowledge of English—is, to a large extent, due to the fact that boys of tender age have to learn subjects, even the classical languages, through a foreign medium. It is an established psychological principle that to learn things through a foreign tongue requires far more expenditure of brain-power than to learn the same thing through the mother tongue. Such knowledge is not probably assimilated. The time has, therefore, come to change the medium of instruction, as also of examination, in secondary schools. If this reform is brought about secondary education would be placed on a sounder basis, and this improvement is calculated to better University instruction. For students would come better prepared and better equipped to profit by the higher education at present imparted by colleges.

c. If the above reform is introduced then training in English at the Matriculation can be made more adequate than it is at present; far more attention can be given to the study of English than it has been possible to give hitherto.

e. Except in English all examinations at the Matriculation should be conducted through the mother tongue of the candidate.

f. Yes.

RAI CHUNILAL, BOSE BAHADUR, I.S.O.

i. No.

ii. b. The subjects of history, geography, mathematics, and science in secondary schools should be taught through the medium of the vernacular. Students being relieved of the strain in learning these subjects through the medium of a foreign language would be able to give more time to the study of English proper and would learn these subjects also in a much better way.

c. No.

English should be taught in every school by the direct method by teachers who are duly qualified in this method of teaching.

d. Yes.

All students up to the intermediate standard should have practical training (general knowledge of English, correct ways of writing and speaking English) in the use of the English language.

The study of English literature should be confined to those who specialise in it and should commence at the B A stage.

MR. H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, C.I.E.

i. Yes; except where the subject requires another language such as Sanskrit, etc.

ii. a. Not adequate in general.

b. After the lower secondary stage English should be the medium of instruction, but in the examinations answers in all subjects except English, mathematics, and science, may be optionally given in English.

c. I think the so-called direct method is a share and not likely to give good results. It is the fashion to cry down grammar and grammatical exercises, but without drill in composition, etc., the standard of English acquired has distinctly deteriorated.

d. Yes.

e. On the whole, I think the matriculation should be conducted in English. Only as we have done in our University. I would increase the secondary school period by one year and reduce the college course to three years.

f. In our University we have reduced the English course a great deal for those students who take the B.Sc. course. What those persons who do not wish to make a speciality of English (language and literature) want is a practical knowledge (composition, etc.), and they need not go into the niceties of grammar and philology.

iii. Though I have answered question i. in the affirmative I should like to give a short answer to this also as I think that a parallel course should be instituted and brought to perfection by degrees, allowing a candidate to reach the standard of the B.A. degree culture at least through instruction in the languages of the country. English should all along be studied as a language subject, and instruction in all other subjects should be given in the vernacular. The study of English may well begin after passing the lower secondary stage, or perhaps a year or two earlier. This presupposes that persistent and adequate steps will be taken to provide proper books written in the languages of the country and the employment of teachers who can handle subjects properly in these languages.

HON. JUSTICE SIR ASUTOSH CHAUDHURI.

i. I hold that in a Bengali university the medium of instruction and of examination should be Bengali. The present system has been in existence for a great number of years, and there is an absence of proper text-books in various subjects in the Bengali language. I do not think there is any difficulty, at the present stage, in adopting Bengali for our matriculation students—English being treated as a second language. We ought to aim at replacing English by Bengali in the higher stages. I have recommended thesis writing in the Bengali language for our doctorate degrees for encouraging the study of that language and adapting it for advanced subjects.

ii. a. I do not think that University students have, on their entrance to the University, an adequate command of English, mainly due to the method of examination in that subject.

b. English need not be used as the medium of instruction in secondary schools for the preparation of students for the matriculation. It should be treated as a second language, and adequately taught for that purpose.

c. The training now given in English before entrance to the University is due to the method of examination.

d. I think greater attention should be paid in schools to practical training in the use of the English language, but in the University course to the study of English literature and scientific study of the English language.

e. I think the matriculation examination in all subjects, except English, should be conducted in Bengali. It should be in English so far as the English paper is concerned. Bengali students ought to be examined in Bengali in all other subjects, with the option to those whose language is not Bengali to have papers in English.

f. I think English should, at present, be well taught to all students during their University course. It should be such as to enable them to follow the text books which they have to read, or which may have to be referred to in furtherance of their studies.

HON. MR. A. C. CHATTERJEE, I.C.S.

i. Yes.

ii. a. Not at present.

(b) In four standards (from the matriculation downwards) the text-books, except in languages, should be in English, but the actual teaching should be in Bengali.

c. I am not satisfied; English should be taught as a language, and there should be greater practice in speaking, writing and rapid reading.

d. Yes; at the University. In school English literature should not be taught; training should be confined to the English language as advocated in (c).

e. Yes; except in languages.

f. If a sufficiently high standard in the English language is exacted at the matriculation it need no longer be taught as a separate subject to "non-literate" students, but all text-books should be in English and in each subject the examination should include an essay or composition paper. In written and oral examinations marks should be given or deducted for power or defect in expression in English.

HON'BLE MR. A. I. MAYHEW, B.A.

i. My answer to this question is in the affirmative so far as existing universities and their courses are concerned. I have seen no signs of any widespread demand among the educated classes in this country for any reversal of our present policy in this respect. Until such a demand arises, and until there is more proof than has been adduced so far that the disadvantages arising from the use of the various vernaculars as media of instruction are likely to be less than the disadvantages arising from the use of English, I would deprecate any change. The use of English as a medium of instruction binds together the educated classes of all parts of India and brings them into touch with the Western world of learning. At the same time, I think that there is room for experiment in the development of higher education through the vernaculars. Such experiments would be most useful provided that they are conducted in response to a clear popular demand and without detriment to the further development of higher education through the medium of English. It seems to me possible that such experiments may accompany the development of university work in Native States.

ii. a. The students' command of English at the outset of their academic career is wholly inadequate in the two universities with which I am acquainted. This can most easily and satisfactorily be established by a reference to the answer papers of successful matriculation candidates. The intermediate examination results also confirm what I believe to be the opinion of practically all lecturers in the intermediate classes.

b. and c. English should be used as the medium of instruction so far as is possible in secondary schools preparing for university courses. By "so far as is possible" I mean "so far as is compatible with an understanding by the pupils of the subject matter, and with the avoidance of undue strain on the mental and physical resources of the pupils." Though it is possible that for pupils who do not proceed to university studies instruction through the vernacular in all subjects except English might be the wisest course such a procedure is not practicable in the preparation of pupils for university courses as constituted at present, and as they must, so far as I can see, continue generally to be constituted in future. It is impossible to lay down any rigid rules in regard to the stage at which English should be introduced as a medium. If English were begun earlier, and were taught by more efficient teachers, particularly in the early stages, and if the secondary school curriculum in subjects other than English could be reduced (for University candidates), I think that the use of English in the final stages of the school course would be far more effective and less conducive to cramming. Students well prepared in English could learn quickly in the initial University stages much that is at present taught laboriously and with poor results in our secondary schools. A lengthening of the secondary school course (for university candidates), or the insertion of a new type of institution between the secondary school and university, is obviously attractive to the educationist, but presents economic difficulties that have, so far, been found insuperable.

MR. A. C. DATTA, B.A.

i. It will take a very long time before we shall be in a position to think of a substitute for English as the medium of instruction in the University courses. Unless, therefore, the University functions are to be suspended until the vernaculars reach the standard of requirements for the university teaching English will have to continue as the medium of instruction for university purposes. It, moreover, opens the gate of European thought for the Indian mind, which is more essential than mere instruction in particular subjects.

ii. a. As far as the Calcutta University is concerned I am decidedly of opinion that the students who matriculate are quite inadequately prepared in English.

b. English should be the medium of instruction in all those subjects in which a student will be expected to carry on his studies in English as the University stage.

c. I would certainly draw a distinction between the study of the language and the study of the literature, and should like to see the two studies carried on separately, treated as two different subjects. This may not be quite possible in the school course; but the study of the language should predominate in the school course of English.

f. The study of the English language should be made compulsory for all students at the University. But the study of English literature need not be compulsory except for those who studies comprise subjects related to English literature. (This method was adopted some years ago in the Allahabad University).

DR. N. ANNANDALE, B.A., D.Sc.

i. I am afraid that it is necessary at present.

ii. g. I have already referred to this question in answering question 7.

b. I consider that English as a spoken language should be given a much more prominent place in secondary education, if this is possible; but any scheme for this purpose would be useless unless the standard of teaching were greatly raised and the number of English teachers or of Indians with a thorough knowledge of vernacular English—a form of knowledge very much rarer in Bengal than in Madras—were greatly increased. As an alternative I would suggest that ordinary teaching in secondary schools should be entirely in the vernacular, and that an intermediate central college (i.e., intermediate between the ordinary schools and the University) entirely devoted to the teaching of English should be founded in each district, or group of districts. In cases in which it were possible for schoolboys to obtain a real knowledge of English without being trained in a college of the kind the *viva voce* entrance examination, which I have proposed in my answer to question 8, would perhaps meet requirements. If this examination were held at the end of the long vacation it might perhaps be possible to conduct vacation classes in English at central places or even in hill stations. A "vacation bench" of qualified professors might be instituted for the purpose. Any scheme of the kind would, of course, have the effect of limiting the number of students admitted to the University, but this would be in itself beneficial.

d. I have already drawn this distinction in answering previous questions.

THE HON'BLE MR. P. C. MITTER.

- i. Yes; with the exception of oriental languages.
- ii. a. Yes; but I would lay special stress upon the ability of students to speak English and to understand that language.
- b. English should be a compulsory second language and should be taught by the direct method. Great attention should be paid to ability to converse in English and to understand English.
- c. No; I have already suggested the direct method and the importance of conversational powers in English. I would also lay great stress upon the ability to translate freely vernacular thoughts into English.
- d. Yes.
- e. No.
- f. I have already indicated my views. I would suggest that ability to express oneself in English and to understand thoughts expressed in English should be the main object kept in view.

NAWAB SYED NAWABALY CHAUDHURY.

- ii. b. The student should have sufficient time to be grounded in the language before he comes to the University.
- c. No; the headmaster of every high school should be an Englishman or, at all events, the staff of every high school should have on it an Englishman or an Indian with English qualifications to teach English to the upper three classes. The present defect is primarily due to inefficient teaching. Teachers in high schools are mostly men who, in spite of their degrees, have no command over the English language, and who are the products of the present system where cramming is the sole means of success in a university examination. I would also suggest that examination in English should be more rigid than it is at present. Unless the school system of education is radically changed for the better, there is no hope of having a good set of students in the University.
- d. Yes; from class VII of the school department up to the intermediate instruction in phonetics should be given. Also provision should be made for oral composition. In short, there should be a regular drill for students in the use of the English language.
- e. Yes; except the second language.
- f. Up to the B.A. English should be taught to all students. Students whose general course of studies may be other than linguistic may be given instruction in current English literature.

MR. W. A. J. ARCHBOLD, M.A., LL.B.

- i. Looking at the matter from the point of view of India as a whole, and especially from the point of view of the India that is to be, I am against the use of English as a means of instruction. It is part of a very large question which I should not like to tackle here. But, as things are, most Indians who have a say in the matter seem of the other way of thinking and, hence, English will probably carry the day. What the ultimate result will be, especially as the number of Englishmen in the educational service diminishes, I leave to others to determine.
- (ii) This being understood, and trying to make the best of things as people wish them to be, I would suggest that English be the medium of instruction in the honours classes for B.A. and B. Sc. and in the classes for M.A.

THE HON'BLE MR. J. G. COVERNTON, C.I.E.

i. The arguments for maintaining English as the medium both of instruction and of examination at every stage above entrance to the University on the whole preponderate in validity against those in behalf of the vernaculars, more particularly if Indian universities are to be brought up to modern standards of methods and efficiency, and if they are to be kept in touch with European learning and progress. Where a province has but one vernacular, and that, too, a homogeneous one, it might be possible to allow option in regard to the answering of examination papers, but even those students who selected vernaculars would probably do so because their knowledge of English was inferior and this would handicap them afterwards. They would fall out of touch with first-hand European authorities in the subjects which they studied in vernacular, and would fail to improve their English and to render it generally adaptable for all sorts of purposes. Where there are several vernaculars of equal authority in a province the practical difficulties involved in such a multiplicity of languages must compel the use of English for university purposes.


ii. a. At present it is quite true that students on entering the University have a very inadequate knowledge of English and are mostly unable to understand English as spoken by an Englishman or themselves to speak ordinary English such as is used by Englishmen in everyday life. But if the school course were lengthened and improved, and the boys came to the University older and with more thorough school training, these defects would be removed and students should then be more able to cope in English with their University work.

b. It does not follow that in schools all work should be carried on through the medium of English, provided that ample time is given to English, and especially to practical forms of English, e.g., dictation, reading, and colloquial conversation, all of which at present are far too much neglected in the upper classes of our secondary schools. History and Geography are probably the subjects in which the use of the vernaculars as a medium of instruction in schools may be permitted with the least detriment to pupils. In teaching oriental classics, e.g., Sanskrit, Pali, Persian, there may be possible advantages to be gained by using the vernacular. The adoption of the vernacular in the subjects named above would, I think, promote more rapid progress in them and would probably afford more time for the study of English and all those subjects which are to be taught through English. University candidates should be allowed the option of answering papers in the former subjects in vernacular. If this concession is allowed it must be clearly understood that English is not to be reduced to the position of a so-called second language, and that for Indian students it is not by any means to be confined to a mere training in the study of English literature. As I have said, the great requirement in this respect is a practical knowledge of English, and this cannot be gained by a study of English literature or of the language as a mere academic subject. Pupils leaving school will want English not only for their University course, but for after life, and it is essential that for both purposes they should receive while at school as thorough a training in that language as can possibly be given,

HINDU MUSLIM UNITY

BY

HAKIM AJMAL KHAN.

 THE secret of the success, not merely of the Reform Scheme, but of all the work which is being done by Indians in India and abroad, lies in Hindu-Muslim unity. There is no need to look back as both these communities have fully realised it now that unity alone can be the firm foundation of India's real improvement and future progress. Although war is rightly regarded as a calamity, the share the world-war (now happily ended) has had in forging the links of unity between these two great communities, entitles us to say that the war has bequeathed to India a legacy which is likely to prove the key to the success of the national self-realisation of India. I must, however, confess that there are certain matters which at times come in the way of the full realisation of this blessing. Those who are inspired by a genuine desire to serve their country cannot be affected by any differences of race or creed, which are the same to-day as they were before. Hindu-Muslim relations, however, appear to be infinitely more satisfactory than they have been in past years. The question of Government appointments is no longer capable of engaging our attention to any appreciable degree, and although political rights were the subject of much controversy between them before, the Congress League compact of 1916 went a very long way to settle that matter. Such other matters as the League and the Congress may still require to have an understanding about, will, I am sure, be easily settled between them, on some appropriate occasion.

PRESERVATION OF COWS

I shall, therefore, address myself to the one question, which has an importance quite its own, and which is none other than the problem of the preservation of cows. We have, for some time past, been indulging in indirect allusions and vague hints and to my mind it is high time that this question was dealt with in clear and specific terms with a view to reaching a satisfactory conclusion. Some of the methods, some of our Hindu brethren have at times permitted themselves to adopt for the attainment of their object have, in certain instances, undoubtedly proved highly objectionable, and naturally tending to defeat the very purpose aimed at. But to-day, when both Hindus and Muslims are marching together

through a new era, when various differences are gradually, but surely, being transformed into varied phases of unity, the possibility of the resumption of such fruitless efforts is becoming remote. In fact, we are now inspired by that spirit of patriotism which is sure to prove the key to the solution, not merely of the question of the preservation of cows, but also to the final settlement of all other differences. When two sections begin to co-operate in a spirit of loving comradeship, sharing one another's burdens, the inevitable result follows and their differences passing through various phases of mutual toleration, finally merge in community of interest with timely endeavours. In fact, given the circumstances referred to, the very differences are transformed into the surest basis of united endeavours.

Our Hindu compatriots have for some time past, been making genuine efforts to meet us more than half way, and deserve our sincerest gratitude for their good-will. It is indeed, a testimony to their keen realisation of the needs of nation-building. It, therefore, behoves us, as inheritors of a noble creed, to reciprocate their amiable regard with greater warmth and good-will to demonstrate that our faith teaches us that every good act deserves a better return. Our Hindu brethren enthusiastically and spontaneously observed the Khilafat day with us, and in closing their business to share our sorrow they evinced remarkably large sympathies. They cheerfully bore great commercial loss, only to prove their sincere regard for our sentiments in regard to a matter which was exclusively religious, and could claim their interest in no other way. Can these sincere demonstrations of friendly regard and good-will go for nothing. Most certainly not, nor can they possibly fail to evoke the deserving responses from a people not dead to all noble feelings. Again, what but the promotion of commendable reciprocity and co-operation in exclusive religious matters can be a surer guarantee of India's future welfare and progress? Indeed this is the only point on which we are without the least hesitancy unanimously agreed. The matter which is entirely for Muslims to decide, is what practical step they are going to take to demonstrate their appreciation of this principle,

to reassure our Hindu brethren. Not a soul among Mussalmans would hesitate to vouchsafe the necessary assurance. In fact, they should enthusiastically respond to such a call, and do whatever they legitimately can, to consummate such an object. They should in so far as it lies in their power refrain from acts calculated to wound the susceptibilities of their compatriots.


We are, and should be, fully cognisant of the fact that cow-killing seriously annoys our fellow-countrymen. But before holding out any assurance to them, we must first see in what light our religion views this question. We must also determine the extent to which "Qurbani" is enjoined upon us—irrespective, of course, of the slaughter of cows. According to Islam, Qurbani or sacrificial offering, is only a Sunnat-i-Muwakkidah (a practice observed by the Prophet and emphatically enjoined on his followers) which Mussalmans as Mussalmans, as long as they can afford it, must observe. Now it is a matter of choice to fulfil this observance by sacrificing camels, sheep, goat or cow, which simply means that any of these animals can be fit offerings. Crores of Indian Muslims must be strangers to the slaughter of camels, for the fulfilment of this observance, but none of them can possibly be accused of the slightest religious omission. On the contrary, Mussalmans of Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Tripoli and Asiatic Turkey have been faithful to this observance without ever having slaughtered a cow, and I am confident no erudite theologian or mufti can maintain that these Mussalmans have failed to observe the Sunnat (practice of the Prophet) or have been guilty of any religious shortcoming. If any Mussalman dares to call a religiously legitimate act illegitimate, he certainly commits a sin. I consider it appropriate at this stage, to recount some of the "ahadees" (religious traditions), according to which the sacrifice of animals other than the cow is entitled to preference. For instance, "Ummi Salmah" (the Holy Prophet's venerable wife) says that the Prophet once observed, "if any of you sees the Crescent heralding the month of Zil Hijjah and desires to sacrifice a goat. . . . etc.," which obviously indicates that the Arabs were in the habit of sacrificing goats. According to another tradition our Prophet said that of all sacrificial animals sheep was preferable; if we reserve sheep alone for the offering we will be complying with this tradition. However I would refrain from expatiating upon the religious aspect of this subject as, properly speaking, it relates to the domain of the

doctors of theology. If having regard to all these circumstances, Mussalmans devoted their attention to this subject, of their own accord, and elected to sacrifice animals other than the cow they would have the proud privilege of being regarded the first to take the initial step towards ensuring the internal peace of the country, and they would also, in this way, be repaying the debt of gratitude, under which they have recently been laid by their Hindu compatriots. I earnestly appeal to my Muslim brothers, to consider calmly, what I have said about this question, and if they arrive at the conclusion at which I have arrived, it will be up to them to show what value they attach to the great principle of unity and what practical response they are ready to make (with particular reference to religious susceptibilities) to the forward step already taken by the Hindus in the direction of that goal. If I am asked to specify the practical step to be taken in this direction, I would recommend that the residents of Kashi, Ajudhia, Muttra and Brindaban (the sacred places of the Hindus) should begin the operation of the principle enunciated above, and efforts should be simultaneously directed to the propagation of the same idea in other places. I must confess that it is a question which belongs to the vast and heterogenous population of seven crore Mussalmans, scattered all over India, and our efforts will take time to bear fruit; but this consideration should not discourage us from making an immediate beginning. I am also of opinion, that unless some organized institution is entrusted with the propaganda, we must despair of any practical achievement in this respect. The Muslim League of all the institutions, is by far the most suited for this purpose, and I hope it will offer itself for the sacred work, and perform it with the wisdom and zeal which it deserves. I also hope, the Muslim League will receive adequate and willing co-operation from the zealous members of the Khilafat Committees. In the first place, I trust that my views on this subject will evoke no adverse criticism from any quarter, but in view of the fact that the Muslim community, like all other communities of the world, is composed of men of varied ways of thinking, I shall not mind any onslaught, for I am conscious that my humble suggestions spring from the depth of honesty and sincerity and are not from any motive to please or annoy anyone. (*From the Presidential address to the All India Muslim League, Amritsar*).

INDIAN EDUCATION

BY

THE HON'BLE JUSTICE SIR JOHN WOODROFFE.

E cannot separate the question of university education from that of education in general. The undergraduate has already been made or spoiled in the family, school, or college. Nor, if we pursue the subject to the end, can we avoid an enquiry into political, religious, and cultural questions in general. The fundamental fact is that a Government alien in race, habits, thought, feelings, religion, and general culture, controls the education (more and more strictly in recent years) and essays to teach the people of this country. It has been well said that probably in the whole world there are not two more dissimilar persons than an Englishman and a Hindu. The position is unnatural; and injurious to the true interests of this country. This control may be, and I think has been, directed by self-regarding political motives. But, even if the point of view be one which primarily regards the interests of the Indian people, there is still place for conflicting theories and practice. There are some (the foremost of, whom may be called missionaries of 'race') who, sincerely believing in the superiority of Western civilisation, think that it will be for the benefit of India to impose it on the East. The product of this system is Macaulay's "Coloured Englishman." The drift of education has been in this direction. As my friend Mr. Havell (formerly Principal of the Calcutta School of Art) has rightly said, the fault of the Anglo-Indian educational system is that, instead of harmonising with, and supplementing, national culture, it is antagonistic to, and destructive of it. Sir George Birdwood says of the system that it "has destroyed in Indians the love of their own literature, the quickening soul of a people, and their delight in their own arts and, worst of all, their repose in their own traditional and national religion, has disgusted them with their own homes, their parents, and their sisters, their very wives, and brought discontent into every family so far as its baneful influences have reached."

Since writing the above I have read a speech recently addressed by Sir Subrahmanya Aiyar to the law students at Madras in which pointing out that it seems to be thought that the aim of British tutelage in India is to Westernise its children, he says that the fulfilment of that aim must in the very nature of things, tend to sap all true

life and initiative natural to the people as a distinctly Eastern race destined to evolve on lines of its own. He also refers to a recent issue of the English journal—the *Statist*—to the effect that the object of the present rule seems intended to metamorphose the Indian into "a quasi-English breed." Such a breed, I may add, is likely to lead to half-thinking, inefficient action, and worse.

As nothing is wholly evil I personally believe that some benefits have been gained through the education given but, looking upon the matter as a whole, I concur in thinking that this education has had baneful effects. What else can be expected from a position so unnatural? Wrong education is the cause of physical and mental strain and sapping of moral strength. It is productive of instability leading, in the case of some, to violence, in the case of others to a paralysing inner conflict or a sense of intolerable oppression and, in a large number of ordinary and inferior natures, to imitation, automatism, and subservience. The influences working on the student have been deracialising (if I may use the word to denote destruction of racial characteristics), devitalising, and deforming.

If they have not worked their full evil it is due to the resistance of the racial spirit defending itself against the assaults, increasing in number and strength, made upon it in recent years.

Personally, I should like to see the education of the Indian people in the hands of Indians themselves, without any interference from Government as at present constituted. But, if Government must control education, the principle on which it now proceeds should be changed.

Let us recognise the strength, persistence, and value of the racial characteristics of the Indian people who have survived in a way and to a degree which is not seen in the case of any other country in the world. It is not necessary to enquire into the question of the respective superiority of the civilisation of the East and West. It is sufficient to hold that Indian civilisation is the best for the people whose forefathers have evolved it. Let us stop all attempts, direct or indirect, whether political or religious, to impose our beliefs and practices on a people to whom they are foreign. Let us admit and give effect to the claim of the true Indian patriot that his language, history, literature, art, philosophy, religion,

general culture, and ideals should be given the primary place in the prescribed courses of study.

If education be to educate, what can be educed from the Indian mind and character but inherited racial impressions? Is it education to neglect or suppress these and to cram it with foreign stuff? This observation does not exclude any form of knowledge—Western or otherwise. Knowledge is knowledge whether it comes from East or West. An Indian student is none the less true to his type because his own cultural inheritance has been enriched by what of worth the West can give. It is directed to the positive cultivation of Indian culture and, in other matters, the adoption of an attitude favourable to it. The 17th question asks whether the conditions under which students live undermine traditional morality. "Conditions" (if I understand the question rightly) indicates that the question has in view only some superficial features of the student's life. Where morality (I use the term in its general sense) has been undermined it is due in primary degree to the alleged "neutrality" of the State as regards religion, its teaching, which ignores religion, the past attacks on the Indian religions, Hindu and Mussalman, Westernising influences, and the general atmosphere produced by these and other causes.

How can traditional morality be preserved when the whole course of education is to ignore it and thus leave it the easier prey of sectarian attack and secular scepticism? How can the Indian student present an effective attitude to life if the source of his vitality is neglected or suppressed and his movements are cramped by foreign vestures? It is true that an increasing national consciousness has been, to some extent, remedying the evils of an English education on English principles by English teachers but the necessity to remove the causes of these evils still remains.

It follows from the above views that, in my opinion, education should be such as a true, and not a denationalised, Indian would desire to see given and would himself, if an educator, give. Such an education can only be properly given by an Indian, able in his subject and inspired by great ideals, who has not been denationalised under the English system of education which has hitherto prevailed. The class here expected may be less competent to teach than the English original of which they are a copy. All intriguers for posts of teachers and professors should be rigorously suppressed. As a result of this it follows that distinctions in the Educational Service should be abolished and Indians should be employed in every case except those in which the expert knowledge of an European (and not necessarily an Englishman) justifies his appointment. The educational curriculum should give Indian culture and the Indian standpoint the primary place. Art should be recognised, and not, as it is now, ignored, by the University. India being an agricultural country there should be courses of agriculture, professorships, and travelling agricultural lectureships. Law is at present too much encouraged. All the public opinion with which I am acquainted is against the further multiplication of lawyers. Teaching should be in the vernacular as much as possible. Students are greatly strained by having to learn in a foreign tongue. The University should be as free of Government interference and have as much independence of action as is possible. There should certainly be a large degree of freedom of teaching and study. In short, I would claim for the University every freedom to follow those ideals which the past history of India and its past and present Indian culture present to it.—*A Note submitted to the Calcutta University Commission.*

• CURRENCIES FOR THE INDIAN STATES

BY

RAO BAHADUR SARDAR M. V. KIBE, M.A.

MUCH water has run under the bridges since a rupee stood at two shillings last. In the year of grace 1919, the wheel of fortune has brought it to that figure or a little more. The causes for the fall and rise of the rupee are too well known to need narration.

When the rupee began to depreciate, the first to suffer was the Government of India and the people also suffered. The former had to pay

more of its revenue towards meeting the Home charges and the latter had to export more goods for less money and the foreign manufactures, which had become a necessity, became dearer. So all interests combined in clamouring for the arrest of the depreciation of the rupee.

The present year has perhaps witnessed the culmination of the appreciation of the rupee. There is now only a section of the community

which wishes for an easier rate of exchange, but, owing to the advance in industries made by the country, and the change in the world position, which makes Indian goods a necessity to them, the natives of India do not fear the cheapening of the foreign goods or the becoming dearer of the Indian exports. The Government of India naturally stands to benefit.

There is, therefore, a general cry to stabilize the rupee, irrespective of the rate of exchange. One of the suggestions made to achieve this end is to the effect that British currency notes should be made legal tender in India. The idea which perhaps lies at the root of it is that if there were one currency in all the countries of the world the exchange trouble would disappear. The only obstacle in the way is a political one. In the meanwhile there is the question whether the unification of the currency in almost all the States of India has endured to the benefit of the country.

In India the right of coinage, although a monopoly of the State, was sometimes farmed out to individuals for a consideration. Thus not only currencies were prevalent according to the political divisions of the country, but there were licensed private mints as well. Over the latter no check seems to have been exercised.

With the establishment of the British Indian Mints, private mints, even in Native States, seem to have disappeared. Only the Governments of these States continued or even established their own coinage. The exchange value depended upon its intrinsic value. It did not circulate as currency beyond the borders of the State, but it circulated and was stored as silver or gold, as the case might be. Some currencies had a reputation.

Many of the 600 and odd States had thus their own coinage. Out of these now only thirteen have their own mints, others have either amalgamated with the British Indian currency or have closed theirs. The last straw which broke the back of the currencies of the Indian States was the last fall of the rupee, which caused the greatest upheaval in external no less than in internal exchange.

As far back as the last half of the last century, the Government of India passed an act permitting the Indian States to amalgamate their coinage with theirs. The concession was that on one side there was to be the effigy of the Her late Majesty the Queen-Empress and on the other the

name of the State. The currency of the State was taken over at par. Only a few States took advantage of this offer and the act became a dead letter.

The Government of Indian States were frightened when their currencies naturally fell as compared with the British Indian currency. Its result naturally was that in dealings outside the States more local currency had to be paid. The class which was most affected by this state of things was the most articulate class and it carried the day. The easiest solution was to abolish the debased currency and it was followed, at the sacrifice of the political rights of the States.

Apart from them, however, the economic advantages of the separate currency were overlooked. Some attempt could have been made to maintain it. It would have been possible to adopt the device which the British Indian Government did, viz, making the rupee a token coin, without adopting a gold exchange standard as the State had no direct dealings with countries having a gold coinage. But the Indian Government adopted this measure after most of the States had abolished their coinage.

The existence of separate currencies had at least those economic advantages. In the first place it prevented the augmentation of the British Indian currency. It is now a well-established doctrine that inflation of the currency raises prices. The existence of different currencies in the country acted as a check on it.

In the second place a currency of its own enables a State to regulate its economic life. In States which still maintain their currency it has been possible by stopping the export of food grains and other necessities produced within it to diminish the effect of the high prices prevailing elsewhere. It is obvious that in order to achieve a perfect success in this matter, a State must be either self-contained or primitive, yet in any State a currency of its own must offer facilities in this respect.

Lastly, the existence of different currencies, maintained a business in the country of the nature which is conducted by the exchange banks. A roaring trade was carried on by shroffs or indigenous banks. In the already few openings for trade in India, a gap has been caused by the abolition of the currencies of the Indian States. (*Paper prepared for the Indian Economic Conference, Madras*).

THE ALL-INDIA LIBRARIES CONFERENCE

THE first All India Libraries Conference opened its session at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on November 14, under the presidency of Mr. Janardan S. Kudalkar, Curator of State Libraries, Baroda. There was a large number of delegates from the mofussil especially from the Andhra districts where the library movement has made greater progress than in the other parts of the Presidency. Several delegates from Indian States like Mysore, Baroda, Hyderabad, Travancore and Cochin were also present.

Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, Editor of the *Hindu*, who welcomed the delegates as Chairman of the Reception Committee, urged the establishment of libraries all over the country as one of the means of spreading education and enlightenment among the masses. The President began his address with the reading of the following message from H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda :—

In our rejoicings over the Peace let us not forget that for our country the problems of reconstruction are even more insistent, more urgent and more exacting. The problem of mass education, of raising the vast multitude of humanity that peoples our shores, from the abysmal depths of ignorance and superstition to the level of civilised and free-born nations of the West, is the most important for us; and it is a happy augury for the future of our country that you gentlemen of light and leading from all parts of our vast country have met in wise conclave to-day to confer and devise means of spreading knowledge among the masses. Schemes of library organisation and widespread circulation of books are only a coping stone in the edifice of compulsory education for the masses. For our people coming out from schools and colleges we must provide a continual feast of books, magazines and newspapers lest their love for learning just kindled at their academic altar gets soon extinguished for want of further fuel in the form of free libraries and a supply of healthy literature. Baroda has been endeavouring to do her little bit in this useful field of regeneration and it is unfortunate that I have not been able to attend your Conference in person and learn from your sage deliberations more of the art of disseminating knowledge so as to conserve the glory of God and the relief of my people. I send you, however, my cordial greetings with this message of hope for the renaissance of our dear country and the happiness of the teeming millions that feel a pride in bearing its name.

Letters and telegrams from Mrs. Besant, Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, Mr. N. Subba Row and others, expressing sympathy with the objects of the conference were then read. The President Mr. Kudalkar made a rapid survey of the Library Movement and declared that the

conference should solve the question of popular education through free public libraries. He said :—

Schools, libraries and newspapers are among the essential educational factors of modern civilisation. Progress of school education in India has been so woefully slow as to make even the most conservative amongst us impatient at it and to demand and devise measures of accelerating its speed in order to make it keep pace with the times. The abnormally high percentage of illiteracy in India is not only appalling to the enthusiastic social reformers but is a blot on the fair name of our ancient civilisation and culture and is the most vulnerable danger spot in the safe governance of this country. The recent rise of new universities, colleges and schools is a hopeful sign of the times and augurs well for the future. But that future must be brought nearer and nearer by greater and greater private efforts for the spread of popular education. No scheme of popular education can be complete without the movement of free public libraries going hand in hand with it. The library is not only supplementary to the school, but it is also complementary to it.

The school is for only one portion of the community, the younger portion, while the public library is for all. The public library is the capstone of the educational edifice of a community. It is the Universal school-house where all are free to attend through life, where each finds knowledge that makes of learning a pleasure; and the knowledge that thus is freely sought is the knowledge that truly teaches.

Mr. Kudalkar then furnished some interesting particulars in regard to the working of the libraries in Baroda where by the munificence and public spirit of His Highness the Gaekwar the movement has had a remarkable success. He concluded with a reference to H. E. Lord and Lady Willingdon's work in the Bombay Presidency.

At this time His Excellency, the Governor arrived and was welcomed by the Chairman of the Reception Committee on behalf of the Conference. His Excellency was requested to open the exhibition which was held in this connection. Lord Willingdon in his speech referred to the success of the movement in Baroda, paid a tribute to the services of H. H. the Gaekwar and to the Librarian of the Central Library, and wound up with the suggestion that the library movement should be closely associated with the Publicity Board. The Exhibition was an interesting adjunct to the Conference. The major portion of the exhibits came from Baroda and consisted of toy books, puzzle blocks, kindergarten games, travelling library cases, etc. Mrs. Prabhu Desai, who was in charge of the exhibits in the children's

section, explained to the visitors that in the Central Library at Baroda there was a special room set apart for children where various kindergarten games and picture books were kept for their instruction and amusement. Messrs Dada-chanji and N. C. Dewanji were in charge of the other sections of the Baroda exhibits which included portable cinematographs, radioptical magic lanterns, etc. There were also on view at the exhibition maps showing the distribution of public libraries in the Baroda State, as also the plans recently approved for a Central Public Library at Baroda. Lastly, there were exhibits from the Andhra country and Mysore under the charge of Messrs I. Venkatramayya and C. Nagappa, respectively.

Several papers were read at the Conference—all dealing with various aspects of the library movement in the world such as (the club vs. the Free Public Library, Organisation of Rural Libraries, American Libraries, Library Movement in Poona, and Relation between Public Library and Boy Scout Movements). Mr. Johan Van Manen of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, spoke of the Lahore Conference of Libraries. Mr. S. V. Narasimha Sastri speaking on the organisation of Rural Libraries said:—

People in the villages have understood that the interests of the self can only be advanced by becoming parts of a larger whole such as a Corporation, a political assembly or even a political state, subordinating their personal interests for the well being of the corporation. The rural library must depend for its maintenance and initial experience on its resources. The monopoly of measuring grain in the whole village will be auctioned at the harvest time by the general body of the villagers and this gives a substantial sum of money. In this and similar ways thousands are being collected every year. The common good fund of the co-operative societies may be devoted to public libraries. The promoters of the co-operative societies may so frame the rules as to give a substantial share of the profits to free libraries. The rural libraries should be made interdependent. Central Libraries will have to be formed. It is bad economy to try to make each library complete and then fail. We must attain the integration of our social forces even in our villages. The rural library is the best instrument of bringing it about.

Mr. T. Prakasam spoke on the importance of Law Libraries. Mrs. Anandi P. Prabhu Desai put in a plea for women's section in the Library and urged:—"That a well organised, children's section is an urgent necessity."

When we look at English juvenile literature we long to see a day when our Indian children will be equally well supplied with books specially written for them in their vernaculars. We want more good books written for children in the vernaculars. Children can

successfully be made very fond of a Library by means of copious supply of picture books suited to their habits and tastes and by introducing various table games. Beautiful and coloured pictures add to the cheerfulness of the well-equipped room and make it bright. They develop the child's intelligence and make them interested in their surroundings. Story-telling gives pleasure and strengthens the power of imagination, develops sympathy and cultivates a taste for good literature. The cinematograph is another excellent means of imparting information and instruction through the eye and helps to reach even the ignorant people who are deaf. A children's Library should be one of the several social forces that contribute to the buildings of the character of the young, the enlargement of narrow lives and the opening of opportunities to all alike. Every Library in India should take up this important and interesting subject in hand immediately and commence to organise a children's section in it for the advancement and benefit of our young folk.

Mr. C. Nagappa read a paper on the Library Movement in Mysore and referred to the institution of Travelling Libraries in these words:—

We started our system of travelling libraries with about 80 sets of libraries, each consisting of 4 wooden boxes each holding about 25 books in the vernacular on select subjects. Each set was supplied to a Taluk Headquarters and from there each section of the library was required to circulate separately in villages, a section being left in each village from 6 to 8 weeks. It was calculated that each section of the library would circulate in about 5 villages and a set would thus go round in 5 or 6 villages in a year or serve 20 different villages in about two months.

The Conference passed the following among other Resolutions:—

The Conference places on record its appreciation of the splendid pioneer work done by Baroda among Indian States and Andhra Desa in British India and the progress made by Mysore, Pudukotah, Hyderabad and Travancore and desires the representatives of other Native States and Provinces to start provincial, district and other organisations with the express object of carrying on the work of the library movement.

This Conference is of opinion that every municipal town in India should have a free public library for the benefit of the townsmen as well as the public in general and urges upon all Indian municipalities the need for undertaking this work immediately.

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INDIANS IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA

51

BY

MR. C. F. ANDREWS.

YOU will understand the deep pain and indignation which the following challenge to Indian residents in East Africa on the part of European settlers has caused me.

My indignation has grown deeper still, since I have seen with my own eyes how unjustified the attack on Indian moral character has been.

If the challenge had been made merely on economic grounds, the attack could have been met without any feeling of resentment. There is no dishonour in being called more industrious and thrifty than other people,—and hitherto this has been the only ground, openly alleged, for refusing Indian immigration.

But this new challenge from East Africa is of an entirely different nature. Here, the main line of attack is against the Indian moral character itself. It is brutally stated that Indian moral depravity is so great, that Indians cannot be allowed to contaminate the Africans any longer.

Let me quote from the two main documents which have levelled this gross charge against us.

The first is the Declaration of the Convention of Associations of East Africa,—the most important non-official body of Europeans in the country, —which has often gone by the name of "The White Man's Parliament."

The Declaration begins as follows:—

"This convention wishes to point out to the Government that during the discussion of the Petition re: Indians, as also those affecting the native peoples of this country, they had the assistance of 4 Missionaries, one being Roman Catholic and three being from the Missionary Conference, which was sitting in Nairobi at the same time as the Convention"

It proceeds in this way:—

"That whereas our national ideals of enlightenment and progress are crystallized in our Christian western civilization, and it is our duty to make sure that the best contained therein, is readily available for the needs of awakening Africa,

"And whereas the maintenance of this country depends entirely on the prestige and force of character of the white man,

"And whereas certain Indians have entered this country as traders, clerks and artisans,

"And whereas these people follow in all things a civilisation which is eastern and in many respects repugnant to ours."

Here then is the main charge stated in somewhat guarded language. It is more openly explained in the conclusion:—

"We can conceive,"—the Declaration ends,— "short of the retrocession of the territory to Germany, of no transaction more immoral and more certain to recoil on our heads than the betrayal to the Asiatic of a

section of the African peoples whose destinies have fallen into our hands and who at present are unable to protect themselves. We submit that to buy off Indian or other agitation at the expense of the natives of Africa would be a policy neither wise nor honourable."

The second Document is of even greater practical significance. It is, to all intents and purposes, an official record. It forms part of a Report of the Economic Commission, which was presided over by one of the leading Government Officials. The findings were unanimous.

I quote the following:—

"There are unfortunately other reasons of even greater weight against all Indian immigration into this, or indeed any part of Africa."

"Physically, the Indian is not a wholesome influence because of his incurable repugnance to sanitation and hygiene....."

"The moral depravity of the Indian is equally damaging to the African, who in his natural state is at least innocent of the worst vices of the East. The Indian is the inciter to crime as well as vice."

"It is our firm conviction that the justification of our occupation of this country lies in our ability to adapt the native to our own civilization."

"If we further complicate this task by continuing to expose the African to the antagonistic influence of Asiatic, as distinct from European, philosophy, we shall be guilty of a breach of trust."

The only Minority Report on the Indian question was an additional Note of Mr. Powys Cobb.

He states that the quotation which he makes about Indians was drafted by the whole body of the Commission, but was omitted at the last meeting. But Mr. Powys Cobb could not be satisfied with its omission and inserts it under his own signature as a Note. It is significantly similar to the Declaration of the Convention of Associations and proves that there is practically no difference between the Official and the non-official view of Indian morality among Europeans generally. Mr. Powys Cobb's quotation is as follows:—

"We (i. e. the Commissioners) have already stated in Chapter VII what we submit are final reasons against the betrayal to the Asiatic of any section of the African peoples the responsibility for whose destinies has fallen into our hands. Short of the retrocession of the territory in question to Germany, we can conceive of no transaction more immoral, or more certain ultimately to recoil in ruin upon our own heads, than to buy off Indian discontent at the expense of the natives of Africa. Such generosity at the cost of others, and those of our own dependents, would be neither honourable nor politic."

"If India requires an outlet, there are vast empty spaces in Asia awaiting development to which it

might now be practicable for her to apply her energies without the certainty of such evil results as must attend the exploitation of the African by the Asiatic."

Gentlemen of the Congress, if there had been any valid grounds for this attack upon the moral character of the Indian community I should not have hesitated to expose the facts. On a former occasion in Fiji I had to do this very thing with regard to Indians labouring under the indenture system. I did not shrink then, as you all know, from telling you the plain, unvarnished truth. But here, after the most careful examination on the spot, I am convinced that the attack is groundless in its main challenge. I have found

the young Gujaratis, who now form the main body of those that have come from India to East Africa, leading a domestic and social life which, taken as a whole, is a credit to their Motherland. I cannot do more, in this letter, than state emphatically this conclusion to which I have come.

If it had been possible for me I should have returned myself to lay before you the whole matter. But I must proceed immediately to South Africa. I trust that you yourselves, Gentlemen, will accept the challenge and uphold the character of the children of the Motherland. (*From a Message to the Amritsar Congress*).

THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION

ANOTHER epoch has been reached to-day* in the annals of India. I have given my Royal assent to an Act which will take its place among the great historic measures passed by the Parliament of this Realm for the better government of India, and for the greater contentment of her people. The Acts of 1773 and 1784 were designed to establish a regular system of administration and justice under the Honourable East India Company. The Act of 1833 opened the door for Indians to public office and employment. The Act of 1858 transferred the administration from the Company to the Crown and laid the foundations of public life which exist in India to-day. The Act of 1861 sowed the seed of representative institutions, and the seed was quickened into life by the Act of 1909. The Act which has now become law entrusts the elected representatives of the people with a definite share in the government and points the way to full responsible government hereafter. If, as I confidently hope, the policy which this Act inaugurates should achieve its purpose, the results will be momentous in the story of human progress, and it is timely and fitting that I should invite you to-day to consider the past and to join me in my hopes of the future.

Ever since the welfare of India was confided to us it has been held as a sacred trust by Our Royal House and Line. In 1858 Queen Victoria of revered memory solemnly declared herself bound to her Indian subjects by the same obligations of duty as to all her other subjects, and she assured to them religious freedom and

the equal and impartial protection of the law. In his message to the Indian people in 1903, my dear father, King Edward VII, announced his determination to maintain unimpaired the same principles of human and equitable administration. Again, in his Proclamation of 1908, he renewed the assurances which had been given 50 years before and surveyed the progress which they had inspired. On my accession to the throne in 1910 I sent a message to the Princes and Peoples of India acknowledging their loyalty and homage and promising that the prosperity and happiness of India should always be to me of the highest interest and concern. In the following years I visited India with the Queen-Empress and testified my sympathy for her people and my desire for their well being.

While these are the sentiments of affection and devotion by which I and my predecessors have been animated, the Parliament and the people of this Realm and my officers in India have been equally zealous for the moral and material advancement of India. We have endeavoured to give to her people the many blessings which Providence has bestowed upon ourselves. But there is one gift which yet remains and without which the progress of a country cannot be consummated—the right of her people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests. The defence of India against foreign aggression is a duty of common Imperial interest and pride. The control of her domestic concerns is a burden which India may legitimately aspire to take upon her own shoulders. The burden is too heavy to be borne in full until time and experience have brought the necessary strength, but opportunity will now be given for

* Issued on Dec., 23, 1919.

experience to grow and for responsibility to increase with the capacity for its fulfilment.

I have watched with understanding and sympathy the growing desire of my Indian people for representative institutions. Starting from small beginnings this ambition has steadily strengthened its hold upon the intelligence of the country. It has pursued its course along constitutional channels with sincerity and courage. It has survived the discredit which at times and in places lawless men sought to cast upon it by acts of violence committed under the guise of patriotism. It has been stirred to more vigorous life by the ideals for which the British Commonwealth fought in the great war, and it claims support in the part which India has taken in our common struggles, anxiety and victories. In truth, the desire after political responsibility has its source at the roots of the British connection with India. It has sprung inevitably from the deeper and wider studies of human thought and history which that connection has opened to the Indian people. Without it the work of the British in India would have been incomplete. It was, therefore, with a wise judgment that the beginnings of representative institutions were laid many years ago. Their scope has been extended stage by stage until there now lies before us a definite step on the road to responsible government.

With the same sympathy and with redoubled interest I shall watch the progress along this road. The path will not be easy, and in the march towards the goal there will be need of perseverance and of mutual forbearance between all sections and races of my people in India. I am confident that those high qualities will be forthcoming. I rely on the new popular assemblies to interpret wisely the wishes of those whom they represent and not to forget the interests of the masses who cannot yet be admitted to franchise. I rely on the leaders of the people, the ministers of the future, to face responsibility and endure misrepresentation, to sacrifice much for the common interest of the State, remembering that true patriotism transcends party and communal boundaries, and while retaining the confidence of the legislature to co-operate with my officers for the common good in sinking unessential differences and in maintaining the essential standards of a just and generous Government. Equally do I rely upon my officers to respect their new colleagues and to work with them in harmony and kindness, to assist the people and their representatives in an

orderly advance towards free institutions, and to find in these new tasks a fresh opportunity to fulfil as in the past their highest purpose of faithful service to my people.

It is my earnest desire at this time that so far as possible any trace of bitterness between my people and those who are responsible for my Government should be obliterated. Let those who in their eagerness for political progress have broken the law in the past respect it in the future. Let it become possible for those who are charged with the maintenance of peaceful and orderly government to forget the extravagances which they have had to curb. A new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination among my people and my officers to work together for a common purpose. I therefore direct my Viceroy to exercise in my name and on my behalf my Royal clemency to political offenders in the fullest measure which in his judgment is compatible with the public safety. I desire him to extend it on this condition to persons who for offences against the State or under any special or emergency legislation are suffering imprisonment or restrictions upon their liberty. I trust that this leniency will be justified by the future conduct of those whom it benefits, and that all my subjects will so demean themselves as to render it unnecessary to enforce the laws for such offences hereafter.

Simultaneously with the new constitution in British India, I have gladly assented to the establishment of a Chamber of Princes. I trust that its counsel may be fruitful of lasting good to the Princes and the States themselves, may advance the interests which are common to their territories and to British India and may be to the advantage of the Empire as a whole. I take the occasion again to assure the Princes of India of my determination ever to maintain unimpaired their privileges, rights and dignities.

It is my intention to send my dear son, the Prince of Wales, to India next winter to inaugurate on my behalf the new Chamber of Princes and the new constitution in British India. May he find mutual goodwill and confidence prevailing among those on whom will rest the future service of the country so that success may crown their labours and progressive enlightenment attend their administration, and with all my people I pray to Almighty God that by His wisdom and under His guidance India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment and may grow to the fullness of political freedom.

THE REFORM ACT

The New Reform Act has on the whole been welcomed as a substantial step towards the realisation of Responsible Government in India. The Moderate Conference, the Indian Christian Conference and the Non-Brahmin Confederation, in fact almost all political bodies which met in Conference in December last acclaimed the Act as a decided advance upon the existing conditions and ushering in a new era of political progress. Only the Congress and the Muslim League which followed its lead characterised the Act as "unsatisfactory, inadequate and disappointing." The following passages represent the views of different schools of thought in the country as expressed in the utterances of their leading exponents.—[*Ed. I.R.*]

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR.

Taking the Act as now passed, is it not obvious that it represents a decided advance upon existing conditions and that it gives us great opportunities for acquiring a practical knowledge of the art of responsible government? The Act provides for a ten years' period of apprenticeship in the provincial administration and is only intended as a transitional measure. In spite of the fact that it has fallen short of the demands of the Congress, it must be conceded that it provides in the language of the Joint Committee "a generous measure of opportunity of learning the actual business of the government and of demonstrating by our conduct of the administration to the first statutory commission that the time has come for further extensions of power."

While the reforms call for the largest measure of grateful appreciation, they have been hailed by several extremist organs and leaders with expressions of unmitigated contempt and dissatisfaction. * * * Persons who do not regard the measure as going sufficiently far may be entitled to ask for further concessions, but there is neither justification nor need for belittling what has been granted. Inability to perceive the merits of the scheme can only be ascribed to intellectual obliquity.

Let us now turn to the views expressed by some of our sincere friends and well wishers in England and by distinguished Indians whose patriotism and judgment are beyond all question, Lord Carmichael, Lord Crewe, Lord Clwyd, Lord Islington, Sir Michael Sadler, Sir Stanley Reed, Sir J. D. Rees, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Polak, His Highness the Aga Khan, Lord Sinha, Sir Sankaran Nair, Sir M. Visveswarayya, Sir P. D. Pattani and Mr. Basu. They all consider that appreciation of the present measure of reform and an honest endeavour on our part to co-operate in the successful carrying out of the first instalment of responsible government would go a great way to convince the British people of the desirability and expediency of granting a greater measure of responsible government. Major Ormsby Gore considers the revised reform bill as the most remarkable and epoch-making

advance ever made at one bound in the history of British India. Our extremist friends attach more weight to the opinions of Labour Leaders than to those of any other party in England. Mr. Ben Spoor has expressed the opinion that it is important that the Bill should become law without further delay. In the face of the unanimous advice expressed by those who are best entitled to pronounce an opinion, it is idle to suppose that any further concessions could have been obtained from Parliament at this juncture or that the postponement or abandonment of the Bill would have been of no consequence to this country. The fact that the Reforms have been passed by a Coalition Government is an advantage to this country rather than otherwise, for, the members of every party have given their support to the policy adopted in the Bill and it will not be possible for any party to repudiate the policy hereafter on the ground that it was adopted against their wishes. It is imagined by our extremist friends that if the bill had been thrown out, the Labour Party would soon come into power and introduce a much more spacious measure of Reform and grant India all that she asks for. But is not this belief based upon a number of assumptions of a very unreliable character? Is it known when the next election will come off, or when the Labour Party will come into power? Even if they do come into power, is there any certainty that they will not be too preoccupied with their own domestic questions to devote their attention to Indian reforms? And even if they were willing to do so, do we know that any measure introduced by them will successfully run the gauntlet of the House of Lords or that if it fails to do so, the Labour Party will be prepared to make it a party issue and appeal to the country on it and return to power? Instead of making these wild calculations, is it not prudent in the interests of the country to accept with gratitude the first generous instalment of reform and devote our efforts to the successful working of the scheme, so that we may be able to convince the Parliament and the first Statutory Commission that we have not merely the capacity for self-government but that

we have acquired the necessary training? Remember that there is nothing in the Bill to prevent the transfer of additional subjects within the ten years' period of training. Even the Delhi Congress was willing to leave the departments of law, police and justice for a period of six years as reserved subjects in the hands of the Executive Government. Can it be said that a period of apprenticeship in the art of responsible administration is really unnecessary? Self-assertion however loud or persistent does not amount to training. We, of the Moderate Party, do not hold the view that because it has taken centuries of political experience for Englishmen to acquire their present constitution, we must go through the same period of training. The world is now moving much quicker and it is because statesmen in England have recognised it, that they propose a short course of apprenticeship for a decade or two to acquire the necessary training. The success of any scheme of democratic government does not merely depend upon the fitness of a number of gifted individuals, but involves the education and training of the electorate. There is an immense field of constructive work before us, more than enough to occupy all our energies and if we only turn our attention to the constructive task that lies before us and work for the success of the Reforms, we need have no fears that the next instrument will be delayed by the British nation. (*Address to the Moderate Conference*)

SIR BENODE MITTER.

And now that the Reform Bill has been passed into law, we must depend in a great measure for its success on the co-operation of the Indian Civil Service. It is a mistaken idea that the Civil Service is unwilling to co-operate with the people in the new Government that will now be ushered in by the passing of the Reform Act. I am confident that the Indian Civil Servants will prove in the future, as indeed they have proved in the past, that they are in truth and in theory the devoted servants of the Government under which they serve. * * *

We maintained and still maintain that we ought to co-operate with the Government whenever and wherever feasible and oppose it only when the interests of the country so demand. In short, we believed and do believe in co-operation wherever possible, extremists do not believe in this creed. We must accept all the conditions which are necessary for the realisation of self-government within the British Empire (*From the Welcome address to the Moderate Conference*).

HON. PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU.

In my humble opinion neither the report of the Joint Committee nor the proceedings of Parliament when it enacted the Bill into law, furnish any reason for the Congress to reconsider and revise the verdict it gave last year on the true requirements of the country. In certain respects those requirements have been partially met, in others they have not been given the weight due to them either for reasons which do not appeal to us or for no reasons at all. The Act is not based in the wishes of the people of India and its provisions fall short of the minimum demands made by the Congress. But let us not belittle the good that the Act does us. We must recognise that it gives us some power and opens out new avenues of service for us which had hitherto been closed to Indians. I venture to thank that our clear duty in these circumstances is to make the most of what we have got and, at the same time, to continue to press for what is our due. As Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has said: 'take advantage of whatever reforms are introduced into the government of the country; lay down a fuller and a juster programme for the nation and let every one concerned know that you consider yourselves bound by none of the provisions to which you have taken exception, and go on using your influence to get what you want.' Mr. Montagu has laboured strenuously for us and we must express our appreciation of his work and his sincere desire to advance our national aspirations. He has expressed the apprehension that agitation would not hasten the transference of power but might delay it. . . . We cannot share Mr. Montagu's apprehensions because of the faith in us. . . .

In the course of the same debate Lord Meston was able, from his own personal experience to assure the House of Lords that the 'agitation in India was only evidence of something deeper. The spirit of nationalism, bred in the soul and nurtured by our methods and our example, lay below the whole political movement in India to day. That spirit was spreading rapidly through all classes.' This spirit of nationalism cannot rest content unless all our demands are acceded to. Therefore, I would beg of you to work the new Reforms, utilize them for the betterment of the country, and continue to press and agitate for our full demands. (*From the Congress Presidential Address*).

MR. B. G. TILAK.

By the first part of the resolution* they reiterated their declaration that India was fit for full responsible Government because assumptions to the contrary had been reiterated. The second part of the resolution characterised the Reforms Act as inadequate and unsatisfactory and disappointing. These three expressions were not at all new. They had expressed them in previous Congress and their objections still remained. Some people would have liked to take away the word disappointing. He saw no reason. Nothing had happened in the interim to change their view. As regards the third part of the resolution they did not want to wait for ten years. They would agitate and not rest content with the crumb thrown to them. They did not want bureaucracy to sit in judgment on them after ten years. They would work up the Act in order to get full responsible Government. They wanted full responsible Government in accordance with self-determination. They wanted to declare to the world that they were not satisfied with what they had got, that they would demand and agitate for more and would accept what they had got to work up for full responsible Government. (*Speech at the Congress.*)

MR. M. K. GANDHI.

In moving an amendment to Mr. Das's resolution on the Reforms Mr. Gandhi said:—

He agreed with the substance of the reform resolution placed before them except the characterisation of the Reform Act as disappointing and the necessity for the addition of the clause moved by him thanking Mr. Montagu and offering their hand of fellowship to Mr. Montagu and His Majesty the King Emperor who have, he said, extended their hand of fellowship to the people of India. Those who have felt the reform Act disappointing could not also use it. He can understand the attitude of rejection and non-co-operation with the Government, but he would challenge that position for he thought it was not right and the country was not prepared for it and he would

go from one part of the country to another saying so. Mr. Tilak had told them, the country and Mr. Montagu that he was going to work for the Reform Act fully. Let him be true to himself and the country and say so. If there was to be working of the Reform Act it meant co-operation and where was co-operation? Was it in the air? It should be substantial. If instead it was to be under conditions, let them say so. He felt that Mr. Montagu, and the King Emperor by the Royal Proclamation have extended their hand of fellowship to the people of India and Indian culture and civilization demanded of them that they should accept the hand and place full trust in the bureaucracy and Mr. Montagu and co-operate with them.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

Mrs. Besant then moved an amendment welcoming the Reforms Act and said:—

It might be asked how was it she supported the Reform Act now when she had declared that the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was unworthy of England to offer and Indians to accept. Her answer was what they had got now was not the Montagu Report. They had practically all they had asked for and the Bill was worthy of England to offer. Mrs. Besant then went into a detailed analysis of what India had got under the Reforms Act. In the centre autocracy nominally remained but really the death blow had been struck. Continuing Mrs. Besant said as regards Mr. Montagu he was a friend of Indians and deserved their gratitude.

MR. HAKIM AJMAL KHAN.

The forthcoming Reforms will, no doubt go a certain length to affect the antediluvian nature of the existing constitution. But, so long as India's share in the Central Government is not of a really satisfactory nature, we cannot hope to have seen the last of the massacre of Jallianwala and the bombing of Gujranwala. We have not the least doubt about the good intentions of the Right Hon'ble Edwin Samuel Montagu, who, we fully realise, has not merely taken endless pains to achieve the successful conclusion of his efforts in regard to the reform scheme, but has evinced great perseverance and statesmanship, in winning the goal in spite of the reactionary efforts of certain parties. He has established his claim to be regarded a true well wisher and benefactor of India. But, we cannot help observing that these reforms fall short even of the minimum demand of India.—(*From the Presidential Address to the Moslem League*)

* Mr. C. R. Das moved (a) That this Congress reiterates its declaration of last year that India is fit for full responsible Government and repudiates all assumptions and assertions to the contrary wherever made. (b) That this Congress adheres to the resolution passed at Delhi Congress regarding constitutional reforms and is of opinion that the Reforms Act is inadequate, unsatisfactory, and disappointing (c) That this Congress further urges that Parliament should early take steps to establish full responsible Government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

Social Progress

Prof. Gilbert Murray says in the course of an article in the *Contemporary Review* that the social progress of the world is very largely the work of such individuals or groups.

Poets, artists, saints and great philanthropists are mostly urged on by this intense sensitiveness. The poet or artist is abnormally sensitive to beauty or ugliness in his domain, and generally suffers for it. The saint is made abjectly miserable by all sorts of habits and practices which his contemporaries think harmless or funny. Slowly and reluctantly the world consents to abandon its favourite crimes and vices; to forego the fund of gladiatorial games, of court fools—i.e. of deformed idiots to be made angry and laughed at as they rage—of watching heretics burned alive in public, dressed in funny cloths to make them more ridiculous as they shriek; slowly and reluctantly it has mostly given up the slave trade, and has marked out other things as possibly to be given up in future, provided the money involved can be made in some other way. And all these renunciations, all these great slow movements of what is called the public conscience, have at the core of them a small group of neurotic and ill-balanced persons, to whom the practice that their contemporaries enjoyed or tolerated was a sort of pain or an intolerable humiliation. Those people are obviously useful to their society.

The Revival of Liberalism

There are two impediments to the revival of Liberalism says "A Wayfarer" in the *Nation*:—

"The first is the boom in trade. Again the industrial north is 'in spats.' The European market is neglected, but the needs of China, Japan, India, South America and the home customer are enough to speed the looms and fill the order-books for at least two years to come.

"So immense is the demand that good observers conclude that if the congestion at the docks can be relieved and the government will only let the Exchanges alone, and suffer world-trade to rise to its full power of expansion, the balance of our exports and imports may by that time be almost restored. Absorbed in the race of wealth and work, the elder and richer men turn away from politics. *Hundreds per cent. of profit—and the prices for the eastern markets rise almost hour by hour—are good enough for them.*

"Then there is the lure of Labour. All over the country a young man's party is springing up, which is keenly political. It is strong at the Universities, where, indeed, it holds a doubtful

promise for Liberalism. While the Coalition has few voices at the Unions and fewer still in college society, the prevailing creed is the advanced Radical or the Socialist faith, preferably of the Guild variety.

"The more revolutionary element comes from the returned soldiers, young men well in the twenties, hardened and embittered by their experience, and with no soft place in their hearts either for the society that made the war, or for the ideas that made it. In such minds, and in the almost universal zeal for culture among the younger and abler workers, a new political society is in the making. Much of it no doubt will eventually go Labour. But a good portion, too, might be retained for a rather freer, more electric political thought."

The Centre Party

In a brilliant character study of Mr. Lloyd George in the November number of the *Atlantic Monthly* Mr. Herbert Sidebotham writes that the Prime Minister's future is as uncertain to-day as it was when he entered public life long ago. The present coalition cannot last long. It is useless as an instrument of Government though as a stopgap it may serve for a time.

What then are the possibilities before him:—

There are two alternatives before the Prime Minister. He may, as Mr. Winston Churchill would have him do, don the mantle of Lord Randolph Churchill, and found a new Tory Democracy. This party might or might not call itself a Centre Party. It would include about half the Liberals, an equal number of Tories, and a fraction of the Labour Party. Outside it would be the Labour Socialists, the Asquithites, and the old Tories. If such a party could agree on a common policy, it would hold power for a very long time, and do an immense service to the country. Such a party might have been formed before the election if Mr. Lloyd George, who made the mistake of underestimating his power in the country, had had the courage to shake himself free of the Conservative Party organization, which was as powerless to hurt him as the Liberal organization. Now it may be too late.

The other alternative is for Mr. Lloyd George to swing the left. He can capture the Labour Party as the old Socialist Independent Labour Party did before him; for the only reason why the Socialists gained such an influence in the Labour Party (which is itself a coalition of Liberal and Conservative working men) was that they had most of the ability and the only definite policy. This is the real coalition for Mr. Lloyd George, and he will carry into it a great number of Liberals and an appreciable fraction of the Conservatives who have worked with him. And this creation of a new Labour Party, capable of taking office and striking out a genuine national policy, will be the greatest service that his genius could render to the country.

The Sunken Garden at Amritsar

Commenting on the "horrible" story told by Gen. Dyer to the Hunter Commission, *The Westminster Gazette* observes:—

Although there have been for some time rumours of drastic steps taken in the Punjab in order to deal with the disturbances consequent upon the Rowlatt Act, the public had not been prepared for anything so horrible as the story told by General Dyer himself to the Hunter Commission. To a certain extent judgment must be reserved until the evidence is before us in full, together with the findings of the Court, but the facts of the massacre in the sunken garden at Amritsar need no further proof; we have them from the mouth of the man who ordered and superintended it. Something, in our purely individual judgment upon General Dyer, as an individual and not as a public servant, we may allow for the Mutiny background, which is a terror to some Anglo-Indians, and something for the behaviour of the mob at Amritsar, which had murdered Englishmen and tried to murder an Englishwoman. But nothing can justify the slaughter in a sunken garden of an unarmed crowd who were given no previous opportunity to get away. Nothing can justify the continued fire upon them when they were trying to disperse, and the leaving of the dead and wounded untended on the ground, denying them the merciful attentions which civilised people extend to their enemies in the field. We feel that Mr. Justice Rankin, in asking whether this were not "a form of frightfulness," expressed the general verdict of the British people, and that they will not tolerate the retention of General Dyer in a position which gives him the power to do such deeds.

Not the least disquieting feature of the whole episode, is Mr. Montagu's admission in the House of Commons that he knew none of the details until they appeared in the papers. "It is quite inconceivable that the Government of India was not in full possession of the facts" regarding the events which Mr. Montagu described as "profoundly disturbing."

It must have heard of them, both from official and unofficial sources. General Dyer himself, we presume, made a full report of the actions he had felt compelled to perform. We have here a repetition of the Mesopotamia scandal, when the then Secretary of State was kept completely in the dark by the authorities at Simla. Such a position is intolerable. The British people are responsible as a community for the

government of their wide dominions, and they can only exercise the control which goes with responsibility through Parliament and the members of the Cabinet. We look upon an explanation of the relations between the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu in this matter as of equal importance to the report of the Hunter Commission. The whole story, and particularly this feature of it, is but another nail in the coffin of the old system of British Government in India, now happily to be gradually transformed. The Government of India has always been incompletely controlled by Parliament. It has been a lonely bureaucracy working too much on its own initiative. While it is difficult to bring it more completely under the authority of Parliament, though there is no excuse for the failure to inform the Secretary of State of events so important as these, the time has now come to begin to make it responsible to the people over whom it actually rules.

Woman in Hindu Society

Mr. Surendra Karr, writing in *The Birth Control Review* (for November) stresses upon the points that India is not an isolated or accidental phenomenon in world affairs, that the Aryan standards of life and marriage are only the applications of scientific investigations to practical life and that their ennobling of glorifying of marriage and child-birth is only the result of a conviction that all artistic, literary and other activities are in one aspect possible only when there is the strong force of sex. He says that the ideal of widowhood in India is not unlike that of the idealistic unmarried woman of Europe. "Our voices must be raised not against widowhood but against the forced condition, be it widowhood, divorce or motherhood. The Hindu conception of relationship between man and woman can be found in the relationship between Durga and Shiva.—Durga being the symbol of energy and the source of power and Shiva being the eternal spirit and soul of things.

The Hindus considered the woman as the guardian of society. They still consider her so, and it is absurd to say that the Hindus place woman upon a low status in their national life. The idea of motherhood is to them great and noble, and in no other place in the world has there been a conception of the Motherhood of God. The Hindu woman has always inherited, owned and controlled her own property and has had rights of guardianship over her children.

Lastly the writer exhorts us to face the problem of our nation building clearly and bravely.

The ideal condition of our society gives us the desire to attack present day problems effectively and efficiently. The Hindus are facing problems, as any other nationality does. Birth and death are creating havoc in their national life, and naturally, these phenomena are kept before the people. Poverty is one of the main reasons for this. It is found that among the poorer classes, the birth rate is very high. Little scientific attention is given to the breeding of human beings, while animals get every possible care. Most of the children are accidents—by products of the sexual impulse as in practically every other country. There is another reason—a psychological reason—for this high birth rate. When people work long hours, with no opportunity for recreation, with no education to occupy the mind or to divert to intellectual pursuits, the few leisure hours are spent in other directions. Sexual restraint is unloosed, and the result is anything but idealistic. Herein lies the danger. As poverty tends to help breed more children so does poverty take away more children; the people remain depressed, deformed, degenerated.

India can no longer live in the past. The complicated conditions of the world have brought before us complex problems. These must be solved in accordance with modern conditions. If India or any other country is to be saved from social degeneracy, modern methods that have stood the test of scientific experimentation and application, have to be adopted and used. This applies not alone to natural resources of the earth, to education, to state service; it applies to the individual human being who will find it possible, through scientific methods, to produce a higher and better type of child instead of an unlimited number of the inferior type.

Why We are disappointed?

Dr. L. P. Jacks the Editor of the *Libbert Journal* asks "Why we are disappointed."

"There is reason," he says, "to suspect that not only the general public but the authors of the Peace themselves are disappointed with the results of their labours." He philosophically determines to act on Lord Robert Cecil's advice to "make the best of a bad job," and says:

"Our political history has provided many opportunities of practising this virtue in the past; we are, indeed, far from being novices in this sort of thing." Doubtless we can do it again. In the present instance, however, the 'bad job' will not be made the best of until the whole structure of the Peace Treaty as well as its spirit has been fundamentally changed."

Yes, people seem disappointed about many things. But they keep on doing the day's work, and they notice that the abiding things do the same. The seasons fail not. The tides rise and fall. Sun and moon wax and wane. And in his heart man yet believes that the Great Companion abides sleeplessly.

The British Parliament

Writing in the December number of the *Contemporary Review* Lord Hugh Cecil points out that the House of Commons is losing its authority and prestige in the eyes of the electorate, mainly because that electorate does not feel it really represents them: Lord Hugh Cecil suggests 'proportional representation as a sure remedy':

I dwell upon the hope he says that proportional representation might restore a healthy element of patriotic independence to the House of Commons because it is an argument in favour of the plan which is often overlooked. But the mere remedying of the present gross disproportion between the numbers of the representatives of a particular party in the House of Commons and the number of electors who send them there would be by itself a sufficient gain to justify the reform. The abolition of "landslides" would be an enormous benefit and would by itself restore the House of Commons, not indeed to the authority which it held before 1868, but to that modified reputation which it enjoyed in the closing years of Queen Victoria's reign.

Lord Hugh Cecil is not dismayed by the possibility that proportional representation would unduly enlarge the constituencies. He further challenges the usual objection that the system could not be applied to bye-elections:—

But this, after all, is the familiar objection that because you cannot have perfection you are not to have improvement. It certainly would not secure the objects of proportional representation for a single candidate to be returned at a by-election either by the whole constituency which voted at the General Election or by a particular section created solely for the purpose of returning members to fill casual vacancies. But it is at a General Election that the advantages of proportional representation are really important. It is then that we have the gross misrepresentation of the electorate by landslides; it is then that the members of the dissolved Parliament return to their constituencies to seek re-election. By-elections spoil the symmetry of the proportional system, but they do not detract from the great benefits which it promises. And except to the most pedantic of political theorists, the circumstance that a system is not absolutely symmetrical will not outweigh the certain benefit of having the representative body duly proportioned to the electoral body, and the probable benefit of restoring an element of reasonable independence to the deliberations of the House of Commons.

The Government of India Bill

Dewan writing in the current number of *The Asiatic Review* puts forth several interesting ideas and details in a very clear way, the nature of the reform proposals and the chief features of the bill. Commenting on the proposals he writes of them as follows:

The main idea of the new proposals is that the welfare of the individual is to be the care of local bodies and Provincial Governments, and the State is to be the care of the Government of India. As regards the changes affecting municipalities and other purely local organizations there is little to say. The greater freedom allowed them of recent years has not been universally a success, and with the granting to them of still further immunity from direct official control we must expect to find them in many cases even less efficient in the performance of their duties. However, there is no reason why this should prove more than inconvenient. Mistakes will not be of a dangerous nature, and perhaps the experience of partial failure will be productive of profitable experience for those who seek to enter a larger political life through them. Far more important are the changes which are to affect the Provincial Governments. Theirs will be the principal task in giving effect to the new proposals, and for some years at least the life of a Governor of a Province is likely to be analogous to that of the policeman in a once well-known song. His responsibilities will be enormously increased, and only the best men are likely to be equal to the task. The Government of India will not be affected to a like degree, and we may for all intents and purposes pass by the decisions made as regards parliamentary control and the Secretary of State. Important as they are, they are affected merely in principle, and what they do or do not do will have very little effect on the Indian people, either individually or collectively. We are not at all sure that the taking of a greater interest in Indian affairs by Parliament will be of value unless it is also intelligent. Irresponsible questions are likely to do far more harm than good, and it is unfortunately not possible to ensure for every Member an Indian education in India, without which it will be impossible for him to take an intelligent interest either in matters of internal movement or of individual concern.

While recognising that the proposals affecting directly the Government of India are rather changes in form and that arrangements for imperial legislation are far less complicated than in the case of the provincial governments and procedure far more simple, the writer adds as regards the council of chiefs.

It is too early yet to see how the announcement has been received by those most concerned, and it may be looked upon as the first measure of the new proposals to be carried into effect, although the idea is one which has been talked about for many years. Its doings will only concern itself and its order, and there can be no greater mistake than to consider it as being a House of Lords with no executive power, as one newspaper recently indicated it. To the House of Lords it bears little or no analogy, and any measure which it may

adopt will end at the boundaries of the State or States concerned. That it will operate for good there can be no doubt, for it will be a means of more direct "liaison" between the British Government and the Native Rulers than has hitherto been the case, while fostering the Imperial idea, and maintaining the principle that the British Government and the Ruling Princes and Chiefs are mutually concerned in the welfare of the Indian Empire and in the *status quo*. The proposal in the Report that all States possessing full internal powers are to have direct relations with the Government of India will commend itself to the rulers of the States concerned, and it is to be hoped that the measures for bringing this and the remaining proposals regarding the Native States into effect will soon be accomplished.

Prison Reform

Under this name, Captain Arthur St. John writes in the current number of *The Theosophist*. He advocates that probation should be applied to all or nearly all criminals including even those for whom it seemed necessary to provide some kind of segregation. For innate defects and faulty training, society is at least as much to blame as the faulty individual. Justice requires that remedial treatment and re education or training should be given to turn the criminal from an anti social into a social and useful member of society. For this purpose, we must prevent the criminal wanting to repeat the crime and at the same time enable him to refrain from repeating it. To put it positively, we must make his interests and activities social,—conducive to his own and to his neighbour's welfare. Besides reforming prison officers, promoting the prisoner's sense of self-discipline, approximating the new prison to an industrial or agricultural village or colony and caring for the men after they are released, the writer suggests that.

The first step would seem to be to change our own attitude—to rid ourselves of the superstition that we ought to punish people for committing crimes, and impress on ourselves that we owe it to such people, and to ourselves, to undo, as far as we can, the mischief that we have done to their bodies and souls.

How are we to repair the mischief? Our treatment of them must be such as to help them to become, not, as at present, good prisoners, but good men and women, good members of free society, to the utmost of their capacity. The whole training must have this in view; it must be a training in self-direction for life and freedom. Obviously this involves a revolution in our present prison system. I will now try to indicate a few practical steps towards such a revolution.

National Policy of Japan

In the course of an article on the general trend of Japanese policy in the Far East, Mr. John Dovey writes in *The Dial* :—

It is impossible for Japan to engage in trade, to exchange commodities and technical sciences with all the world, to take a part in world politics, and still to remain isolated from the world situation and world currents. The significance of this fact has been brought home to Japan with increasing acceleration and momentum by the war and its conclusion, and the outcome is the present spread of democracy and liberalism. The imperialistic settlement at Paris has undeniably effected a setback.

Every reaction from democracy all over the world will retard the movement in Japan. But unless the world overtly and on a large scale goes back on democracy, Japan will move steadily in that direction. And my own confidence in the resilience, adaptability, and practical intelligence of the Japanese people, as well as in a kind of social democracy which is embodied in the manners and customs of the people, makes me think the change will come without a bloody and catastrophic upheaval.

Bengal and Hindu Civilisation

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, writing in the latest number of *The Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal* says that the taming and treatment of wild elephants was the first contribution of Bengal. In the Rig Veda, the word *Hastin* occurs in five places only, in three of which Sayana interprets it to mean priests with hands, and in the other two a big gaminivorous animal. Elephants are mentioned in the Taittiriya Samhita; and by the 6th century B. C. the taming and domestication of elephants became widely prevalent. It is Bengal that first subdued and tamed these huge beasts and gave birth to *Hastavidya* or the science of elephants. The 1st veterinary science of elephants is known as Patakapyā and the author was an inhabitant of Bengal and the book may reasonably be attributed to the 5th or 6th century B. C.

Jainism, Buddhism, Agivikaism etc. which were known as *Tairthikias* or the heretical systems were founded upon customs and religious opinions prevalent in ancient times in Bengal and Magadha and among the people known as the Chera. Traces of the customs of these religions still exist in these regions. Mahavira and Parswanatha travelled widely in Bengal, and

Kapila the author of Samkhya lived, in the eastern part of the country. This variety of religious opinions is the second contribution of Bengal.

The third service is the manufacture of silk. Kautilya mentions the extensive manufacture of silk in Bengal in the 3rd and 4th centuries B. C., especially in Magadha, Paundra and Suvarnakudya (i.e. Bihar, N. Bengal and Kamarupa). The Bengal silk is independent of mulberry plants and there is no reason to suppose that the Bengalis borrowed the art from China, but they might have begun the manufacture quite independently.

The fourth glory of Bengal is cloth made of bark fibre and out of the fibre of the jute flax. The Dukula or fibre cloth was very fine and was woven only in Bengal according to Kautilya. Cotton was not the monopoly of Bengal.

But not long after Chanakya, cotton muslin became a distinctive glory of Bengal.

The fifth glory of ancient Bengal consisted in its theatres which were called *Pekha Ghara* and constructed in 3 different ways with rising galleries and decorated walls. The actors were formerly Brahmins, but later were recruited only from Sudras. There were schools of dramaturgy and each school had its Sutra. The Bengali gave preference to satires and small dramas, dialogues and Sanskrit recitation and had a special liking for the acting of men and disliked that of females all these being as early as 200 B. C.

Social Reform in British India

The *Deccan Ryot* concludes a well informed article on Hindu social organisation and the need of reforms in it, with the following observations : "The net result therefore is that though we are now living in the twentieth century and in a changeful world, the Anglo Indian courts have thrown us back on the obsolete jurisprudence of pre-historic times. Custom is the only agency whereby that time-worn system can be modified. But custom as defined by our courts is impossible of formation now. Then the only alternative for reform, reconstruction or reorganisation of society is the legislature. But here too the prospects are dark. The very fact that the Government is responsible for the governance of the country, makes reform impossible. The main look out of the rulers in India is to leave the people to themselves. That is no doubt a wise policy in a limited sense. But where the question is to facilitate social progress by removing social anomalies, this idea of government is the greatest obstacle in the path of progress. This is where we stand to-day."

The Small Industries of India

Mr. Wolff, the well known writer on Co-operation, in the course of an article in *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* (Dec. 19) says that two distinct tendencies observable in the co-operative movement in India at the present time are (1) the multiplication of co-operative stores and (2) the development of the small industries. The store movement is likely to develop most rapidly and extensively in urban areas. India, no less than Japan, is the land specially of small industries. But the small industry has got formidable adverse conditions to battle with. Firstly there is a lack of technical skill among those who carry it on. Another difficulty is that of money wherewith to purchase raw materials or tools or else to store goods hold them over in times of slumps. But the most serious difficulty is that of finding a market for the products turned out and of saving the men from the clutches of middlemen. Mr. Wolff suggests the starting of emporia and Indian departments in the great shops of England which would afford ready markets for the sale of Indian wares made by peasants. This suggestion would, if acted upon and if successful,

prove a substantial gain to those small industries upon which for a long time to come, India is likely in part to be dependent, and which, carried on at a sufficient profit, must mean prosperity and happiness to millions of our Indian fellow-subjects and, through them, an accession of wealth to the entire community. The way to execute this will be to find public-spirited people—such as there are in great number, taking an interest in India's welfare—prepared to charge themselves with the risk of the goods not finding purchasers. It will be for people in India to begin. That done, I think we may expect that equally public-spirited Anglo-Indians in the United Kingdom will also come forward to join in the venture. In this way, the ground might be tested, and possibly a good move might be found to have been made.

However, there is a second condition to observe. The goods sent must be such as a European public would be likely to buy. We could do with a little of that artistic knickknackery which we so much admire and in the making of which Indian craftsmen exhibit so much skill. But the bulk of the consignment must consist of articles of general utility, such as Indian carpets, which would probably be sure to sell; for they are greatly appreciated in the United Kingdom. It will be for people in India, interested in the fate of the indigenous workers, to consider whether they can give their help. I venture to hope that, for the good of those workers and of the country, it may be found possible, and that, attempt having been made, it may, please God, be carried to a successful end.

Socialism and the Syndicalist

The English Review for October contains a lengthy but instructive article by E. C. Fairchild on how theoretical syndicalism left the study and returned, a highly polished instrument, to the French trade-unions, whence it came at the exact moment fitted for it to function in the world of thought. The syndicalists at first proceeded to argue, that no matter what the degree of unanimity of thought, the whole labour of propaganda and organisation must result in futility if political methods were adopted. And it is undesirable that this argument was reinforced by the history of German Socialism. The full consequence of quietism resulting from the strict adherence to political methods alone, was never more clearly shown than in the complete failure of the German Social Democratic Party in the few years immediately before the great war.

The objection of the Russian Sovietist and the French Syndicalist to the political strike arise from their hostility to any central political authority composed in accordance with democratic principles. Both regard democracy as the political expression of economic individualism, which in actual practice, becomes the private ownership of the means of wealth production.

“The aims of all preceding revolutionary movements were more or less clearly defined, but the object of Syndicalism neither gained precision nor secured any formal delineation at the hands of its literary exponents. Both Anarchism and Socialism, which are akin to Syndicalism, have their clearly defined objectives. Difference only enters their ranks when questions of method are under review. Then they must confront the immediate difficulty of bringing their object nearer realisation through actual contact with life as it is. That is the rock that splits the revolutionary camp. The Syndicalists are far more concerned with methods than with aims. But there is an undercurrent of opinion running through Syndicalism, touching the future organisation of labour, which has achieved a far-reaching influence over contemporary Socialist thought.”

It is probable syndicalism, as a separate body of thought has already run its course and completed its work. As a distinct movement it no longer has vitality. But it lives in Socialism.

Education in Rural Primary Schools

Mr. S. H. Freemantle, C.I.E., writing in the *Social Service Quarterly* on the true method of reforming the rural primary schools, examines the principles of the Fisher's Education Act of 1918 and urges the definition of 'responsibility of the local authorities, the provision of nursery schools and adequate attention to be paid to health and physical training and the adequate linking up of primary and secondary education, as in England.

The remedy, so far at least as rural schools are concerned, must surely be the introduction of an agricultural atmosphere, so that the life of the school may be co-ordinated with the life of the home. To achieve this purpose the first step to be taken is:—

The training of teachers. Normal schools and training classes should be situated not in crowded towns, but in villages, or on the outskirts of small towns where agricultural land is available. To all such institutions a garden should be attached, and, if possible, a small demonstration farm worked under the advice of the Agricultural Department. The curriculum should include a course of rural science teaching in which the elementary sciences are taught in rational co-ordination with one another. No person is fit to be a teacher of a child if he cannot answer the common questions in natural history and physics which every healthy child asks, and the regular school subjects cannot be made interesting or practical for the sons of agriculturists without constant references to rural science. The number of normal schools is quite inadequate and the hasty improvisation of training classes attached to ordinary schools in order that a large proportion of the teachers may be classified as 'trained' does not really meet the needs of the case.

The writer sums up the consequences that will ensue to the nation, if the rural schools were to be reformed on the lines that he suggests in detail.

What a change it would be if the children's minds were opened and their interest aroused by introduction to and explanation of the mysterious processes of nature, if teachers were not only able to explain these things to their pupils but had been led to study and were prepared to discuss with the leading residents the rural economy of their neighbourhoods, if local men were given some definite responsibility for the successful working of the schools, if parents and villagers were to gain some acquaintance with new varieties and methods by the demonstration work going in the school-gardens, and if local authorities and their staff and the local magnates encouraged these and other wholesome activities by all the means in their power!

An intensive movement of this kind would surely do more for the production of that body of intelligent

citizens which is admittedly so necessary than the compulsory extension of education to all and sundry which is now being feverishly pressed forward in many quarters. Until the objects and results of education are better appreciated by the general public its artificial extension will have little good result and is likely, indeed, to defeat its own object by antagonising parents. On the other hand, the reconstruction of the school as a living organism in village life would involve real and steady progress and would lay the foundation of a new and better rural social order.

Serbia To-day and To-morrow

An article in the December number of *The Nineteenth Century and After* says that the way in which the Serbian farms were kept running by the women all during the war is very surprising, in view of the shortage of farm cattle and other necessities of agriculture. The most pressing problem for solution is the currency situation which is suffering under a very adverse exchange. The reorganisation of the communications system, especially the railways is another important task. Factories need putting into repair at the earliest possible moment, in order that the country may be less dependent on abroad for manufactured goods. British firms are unlikely to take any large part in supplying machinery to Serbian factories. The natural resources of Serbia are very much greater than the present state of the country would lead one to imagine; and the total yield might be very much increased by more careful selection of seed better appliances and implements and an extended use of artificial manures. There would appear to be an unlimited supply of bacon, and there are enormous flocks of sheep, though both mutton and wool are poor. Subsidiary industries such as butter and cheese-making, egg-preserving and poultry-rearing could all be largely extended particularly with a system of co-operative factories. The most important wealth of Serbia lies however in minerals. The most valuable is coal which exists in great quantities under easy working conditions, which though of low calorific value, is quite suitable for local use. Copper fields are known to exist. The forests are extensive, but badly cut about, and large areas which have been stripped of trees should be afforested. There is however no special national industry. Future industries will be those connected with the manufacture on preservation of native products; and the development of coal and iron-fields will result in an extension of iron and steel works. The whole question of development naturally depends on good government which requires an amalgamation of the great political groups and a compromise among them—a coalition ministry.

Education for Citizenship

In the *Mysore Economic Journal* for November, there is a short but useful article by Reta Oldham on the above subject with special reference to women who are in greater and more urgent need of education. Women's political rights, the first instalment of which they have got, will not be useful to them if they did not have the social spirit, the community feeling. They have been hitherto reproached with the want of that larger unselfishness which refuses to accept advantage, personal or family, at the cost of injury to the community. The first step in the education of women to fit her for citizenship is the attempt to stir up her community feeling. The next is the awakening of a sense of responsibility and self-discipline. Schools should be far bolder in trying experiments in self-government by their pupils and more fertile in plans for rousing in them interest in everything that concerns the welfare of their village, town or larger unit.

Parents and schools alike have, I think, much to do in developing among their children the power of self-government. In the past schools have relied greatly upon rules and punishments for those who broke them. Too often both in the family and in the school it was thought unnecessary to explain the reason and the justification of the rules to those who were expected to obey them and the result has been too often resentment and disobedience. The willing obedience which often follows an appeal to reason and judgment had no chance to exist. There is no finer virtue than obedience but the self-respecting obedience of the free man is a far nobler thing than the cowed submission of the slave. Let us call the reason of our child into counsel; let us try to make them understand the nobility that lies in checking the lawless impulse, in laying down voluntarily for the common good a portion of our freedom, in following loyally the appointed leader. "It is a fine thing" says the writer who drew for us the 'Beloved Captain' "when men trust their leader and will follow him anywhere, but it is a still finer thing when they will stand by any leader whether they know him or not, and this last is the fruit of perfect discipline."

Associated with the work in schools should be visits to public institutions and to the meetings of public bodies, where future citizens can learn something of the nature of civic duties and the qualifications required for their discharge. Debates and discussions on matters affecting the public welfare should be

frequent. Citizens' Associations in every town and district might be made a most powerful means of awakening intelligent interest and supplying useful information in civic affairs. It should be the concern of all wise parents, as of all enlightened educators, to see to it that nothing which affects the good of the community should seem apart from, or uninteresting to those, in whose hands will lie, when they themselves have passed away, the government of that great and good Imperial heritage the establishment of which is both the highest achievement and the heaviest responsibility of our race.

Crowded Universities

The Cambridge Review deplores the over-population of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge which it ascribes to the number of domiciled officers in residence under the Government schemes. It is remarked that 1,500 has been mentioned as the lower margin of this number, and then it would be difficult to say how many of these would have ordinarily come into existence. There is some consolation to be derived from the reflection that the present numbers, which constitute a record, is not likely to be maintained under normal conditions in the course of a few years. Meanwhile, the Universities are putting up with this minor and very much milder horrors of the war. It is estimated that the total number of undergraduates at Cambridge is 4,137, compared with 2,365 last term. Including M.A.'s B.A.'s, and research students, the grand total is 5,185, against 3,844. In addition there are 169 students at Girton and 244, at Newnham.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS.

REPUBLICAN TRADITION IN INDIAN POLITY. By Mukandi Lal, B.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law. ["The Modern Review", January 1920].

THE PROBLEM OF HIGH PRICES IN INDIA. By R. K. Sangameswara Iyer, M.A., L.T. ["The Mysore Economic Journal", Nov. 1919].

THE BENGAL SCHOOL OF PAINTING: ITS THEORY. By Mr. N. S. Sudhakara. ["The Hindustan Review", Nov & Dec 1919].

THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. ["The Round Table"].

A THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE IN INDIA. By G. E. Phillips. ["The International Review of Missions", January 1920].

SATYAGRAHA AND POLITICS. By Yugal Kishore ["East and West", Nov. 1919].

Lord Sinha's Message.

During his stay in Bombay Lord Sinha accorded a special interview to a representative of the Associated Press. His Lordship said :—

I am glad to find that all shades of opinion in India are agreed as to the necessity of working the Reform Act, which has just been passed, in a spirit of harmony and co-operation. I cannot help thinking that in view of this, it was unwise and, to my mind, unjust, first to say that the Act does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indians, and, second, to threaten further agitation. To my mind, the best agitation for the purpose of increasing the sphere of our responsibility would be to try and discharge, in a manner most satisfactory to the people of India, the responsibilities which are now proposed to be devolved upon us. Let me illustrate this by a concrete example. I will assume that the Local Self-Government, Education and Sanitation will become transferred subjects. They are all important and will tax our energies to a very great extent. Instead of diverting our energies in asking for other subjects like Law and Order to be immediately transferred, I venture to think that it is the part of wisdom to begin from now to formulate our policy with regard to each of these subjects, Local Self-Government, Education and Sanitation. How are we going to find money for them? In what direction, can we expand them? Probably a survey is necessary, in addition to what has already been accomplished by the Local Governments. We shall have to begin to carry out that policy early next year. Are we ready with any? I think not. It will, therefore, be waste of energy, of which we do not have a superabundance, to begin agitation for the purpose of obtaining control over the departments of Law and Order.

This is the message which, above all, I should like to send to my countrymen all over India: Let us begin to work. That will be our agitation and do not let us continue to talk, which may end in nothing and which will probably do us a great deal of harm. There is one other matter to which I should like to refer. No one rejoices more than I do to find that all shades of opinion are agreed as to the noble services rendered by Mr. Montagu to our cause. But do not let us, in the midst of our rejoicings, forget the debt of gratitude which we owe to Lord Chelmsford. When the whole story as to the part which Lord Chelmsford has played in connection with these reforms, beginning long prior to the Declaration of the 20th August, 1917, is known to the Indian public, I am confident they will be of the same opinion as I am, that next to Mr. Montagu, our gratitude is due to Lord Chelmsford for the beneficent measure of reform which is now ours. A great deal has been said about the despatch of the 5th March, 1919, and it has become the fashion to describe it as reactionary. Reconsidered in the light of discussions that have since taken place, I think people will find that, though it was in some respects logical to the verge of narrowness, there was no departure in it from the fundamental principles embodied in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and that, in many respects, it expanded the outlines of the scheme formulated in the Joint Report. It is wrong to think that Joint Committee has either ignored or rejected the suggestions made in that

despatch. They have improved and liberalised them no doubt, but the Montagu-Chelmsford report, the Report of the Joint Committee and the Act itself, are all in agreement with regard to the main principles for which the people in India have been contending.

Lastly, I venture to remind my countrymen of His Majesty's appeal for co-operation. Without it, the Act will be a mere paper constitution and the goal will be farther than ever. This I know, that, so far as Parliament is concerned, it will not look with favour upon any alterations proposed before the next Statutory Commission investigates the whole subject matter. After all, even if we have to wait for another period of ten years, it is not such a very long time in the life of a nation. The eyes of the world will be upon us. They will watch with interest, how we succeed in working the constitution which is now ours. It is my firm belief that if we do not succeed in working the Act effectively, we shall not retain the sympathy of most, if not all, who helped us in the past.

The Khilafat Question

The Khilafat Deputation issued the following statement on January 20 :—

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply, whilst it was perfectly courteous, was equally disappointing in that His Excellency said in emphatic language that Turkey when she had her choice, deliberately drew her sword against the Allied Powers and must take the consequences. We consider that this means punishment to Turkey for having joined the Central Powers contrary to the solemn declarations made by Mr. Asquith, the then Prime Minister; after Turkey had so made her choice. His Excellency hoped that whatever the decision might be, Indian Muslims' loyalty would remain as staunch as ever. We desire to place on record our firm conviction that should the peace terms result unfavourably to Muslim religion and sentiments they would place an undue strain upon Muslim loyalty and knowing as we do the universal feeling in India and as men with a full sense of responsibility, it is not possible for us to give the assurance, His Excellency has expected. It is due to the Peace Congress that is now sitting, to ourselves and to the Empire to which we desire to remain loyal to state in explicit language the minimum that will satisfy Muslim sentiments. Arabia as delimited by Moslem authorities and the holy places of Islam must remain under the control of the Khalif, full guarantees being taken consistently with the dignity of a sovereign state for genuine Arab self-government, should the Arabs desire it. We advisedly use the word genuine; because the present arrangement is thoroughly distrusted by the overwhelming majority of intelligent Muslim opinion. Islam has ever associated temporal power with the Khilafat. We therefore consider that to make the Sultan a mere puppet would add insult to injury and would only be understood by Indian Muslims as an affront given to them by a combination of Christian powers. Whilst therefore we must insist upon the pledge given by Mr. Lloyd George on the 5th January 1918 being fulfilled in order to show that we desire no more than strictest justice, we concede the right of the Allied Powers to ask for such guarantees as may be considered necessary for the full protection of non-Muslim races living under the Sultan.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Sir Edward Maclagan's Address

At the Convocation of the University of the Punjab, held at Lahore on the 20th December, Sir Edward Maclagan, the Lieut. Governor and Chancellor, in the course of his address, said :—

The University has realised that if it is to keep up with the time it must not neglect the three great needs of the Country,—Industry, Commerce and Agriculture. New arrangements are about to be made for the University teaching in Chemistry, one object of which is to meet the demand for chemical experts to which attention is drawn by the recent Industries Report. A Diploma of Commerce which may perhaps, some day develop into a Commercial Degree—has been provided, and the classes have commenced in Lahore And, last but not least, the number of students in the affiliated College of Agriculture at Lyallpur has been very greatly increased, so that the advantages of an agricultural education will now be far more widely spread than has hitherto been possible. In all this our University has shown a progressive spirit and I must confess that it is in directions such as these that I expect the Panjab student of the future to attain distinction. When I hear of Röntgen rays or the Marconi system, I always wish I could hear something with a more Panjabi ring about it, and I hope that before many years have passed we may hear of things in Europe being made by the Ram Singh process or according to the Allabuksh formula."

Lord Sinha on the New Government

Lord Sinha was presented with an address of welcome by the Bombay Municipal Corporation on Jan. 16. In the course of his reply Lord Sinha said after recalling the political advancement of India in the past :—

But to-day we have got much further. Over and above the association of Indians with every branch of administration, we are put to-day on the straight and level road to responsible government of the same description as obtains in all self governing Dominions of the Empire. For the attainment of that goal His Majesty has called from all sections of the community for cordial co operation without which the path will be long and difficult. I am confident of the whole-hearted response to that appeal on the part of all alike, Indians and Englishmen, officials as well as non officials, and I venture to think that the City of Bombay will justify its proud motto "Urbs Primus" in India and will as in the past

furnish a model to the rest of India. The Corporation of Bombay has always been conspicuous for that spirit of adjustment and compromise which is essential to genuine harmony and to effective co-operation. The very act on which your constitution is founded—the Act of 1889—owes its origin to the hearty collaboration of Lord Reay as Governor, Sir Forbes Adams, Sir P. M. Mehta and Mr. K. Telang and the members of the Indian Civil Service who have been the chief executive heads and have from first to last distinguished themselves by their zealous efforts for the improvement of all amenities of the people, Hindus and Muhmedans Parsis and Christians, Jews and Jains and all others. What has been the result to-day? Your City shows an advance in municipal administration, and all that it connotes—water supply, drainage, medical relief, and what is not yet fully recognised in this country, primary education for the masses—an advance which is yet unequalled in India and of which I believe you are justly proud. It is an object lesson of the highest value for the whole country and I am sure that in working the new constitution under the Act Bombay will maintain her pre-eminent position and she will usher in complete responsible government in the form of provincial autonomy.

Lord Ronaldshay's Address

In the course of his convocation address as the Lord Rector of the Calcutta University, H. E. Lord Ronaldshay said :—

The introduction of constitutional reforms will open up to you new opportunities of service in the cause of our Motherland and affords you wider facilities in various fields of national activity. Many avenues of employment so long practically closed to you will be thrown open. A large number of Indians will be recruited to the higher services. Fortunately India is at this moment at the starting point of a new era of industrial and economic development. This will create opportunities not only for a large number of Indian industrialists, but also for a vast army of trained experts and scientific men. You may also expect larger opportunities of employment in the higher military service. Besides a considerable number of educated persons will be needed to take part in public affairs and to advance the political progress of the country. Graduates and undergraduates of the University, you will have to train and fit yourselves for these new opportunities properly and well.

The Chamber of Princes

Referring to the Indian Chamber of Princes, the *Times* declares that the proposal to place all the States under the Simla authorities is a profound mistake in direct conflict with the principle of decentralisation which is India's most urgent need. Presumably the reason for the proposal is the forthcoming great modification of the constitution of the Provincial Governments, but the executive authorities which deal with such States will not be materially affected. The transference of 377 States related to the Bombay Government to the control of officials in the distant Himalayas would be most unwise. On geographical, economic and historical grounds, the States ought to remain in touch with the Local Governments which know their needs and views while Simla does not.

The Maharaja of Dhar

In the course of a speech at the banquet in honour of Sir Oswald Bosanquet on the eve of his leaving down his office as Agent to the Governor General in Central India, H. H. The Maharaja of Dhar said that along with other Indian Princes His Highness appreciated the significance of associating Indian Princes in matters of imperial concern. The close association in danger, the participation in adversity as also the sharing of the ultimate triumph have united the Imperial Government and the Indian States more closely than ever before; Indian Princes realise with pride the sure march of India under British lead towards a completed nationhood. His Highness continued:—

India's connection with England has been providential; and I am proud to say, India is, as the result, moving slowly but surely towards nationhood to day. Whatever progress we now see in India is, I say without hesitation, due solely to her association with England. India, it must be remembered, can never stand alone; and she cannot have a better protector and partner than she has found in England. England has learnt experience from ruling India, and India does not wish to lose the benefit of that experience. A good deal of harm is done by the ill-considered criticisms of those who cannot see things as they really are, because their vision is at present obscured by coloured glasses.

To those who wish to do any good to India and the Indian States, I would say, study first the problems concerning us both, and then offer your valued criticism.

Hydro-Electric Scheme in Datia

Mr. S. K. Gurtu, member of the Board of Revenue for Irrigation, Gwalior, has reported on the possibilities of a hydro-electric scheme in Datia. He thinks Agura village a likely site, and estimates that, after deducting loss on transmission, two million units could be derived from this source per annum, which would be sufficient for lighting the capital of the State and admit of mills and factories being worked electrically.

Patiala

The State of Patiala is making speedy progress both as regards revenue and industrial development of recent years. From nearly 82 lakhs in 1912 the gross revenue of the State has gone up to over a crore and 17 lakhs, and its ruler the Maharaja, who but recently returned to India after strenuous and praiseworthy work at the Peace Conference, has under consideration industrial, commercial and agricultural programmes. A State bank was opened last year and is now doing useful work. A hydro electric scheme for the State, has since been considerably expanded. Under this scheme says a contemporary it is intended to harness the Sutlej river some 16 miles above the proposed dam at Bhakara and by constructing a series of falls to generate electricity which, it is estimated, will give 1,35,000 horsepower. This power will be transmitted all over Patiala and used for lift-irrigation by means of tube well to irrigate an additional area of about 6½ lakhs of acres as also for supplying motor power to various existing and contemplated industries. The climate and soil of Patiala are particularly conducive to the development of different kinds of industries, and an industrial survey is being carried on with a view to tap and develop its forest and mineral resources. The development of agriculture and urban co-operative credit societies is receiving special attention, and a big railway programme is also under consideration.

The Mysore People's Convention

The Mysore People's Convention which met in Mysore during Christmas week was presided over by Mr. M. Chengia Chetti, B.A., a popular citizen, Rao Bahadur Mr. K. S. Rangachari, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered an excellent speech setting forth the aims of the convention.

Marshal of Nepal

In recognition of his services in the Afghan War, the Maharaja Bahadur Marshal of Nepal has been created Honorary General in the British Army.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Indian Emigration

At present, writes the *Times of India*, there is an excess of arrivals over departures amongst the Indians in Malaya, and at a meeting of the Indian Immigration Committee held at Penang recently it was suggested that the food situation in this country has contributed to this. Here are the figures for the six months ended at the end of July last, compared with those for the corresponding periods of three preceeding years :—

	State Aided		Ordinary		Departures.	
	A	M	A	M	A	M
1916	40186	4497	9318	787	34047	1354
1917	43961	4452	6660	478	36369	1380
1918	32365	3725	4593	388	35237	1522
1919	44093	4158	6220	764	29055	1279

It was decided at the meeting referred to that the decision that the issue of licenses should be restricted to those estates employing Indian labour should, be rescinded.

Indians in East Africa

Mr. Gandhi writes to the "Bombay Chronicle" as follows :—Mr. Andrews, cabling from Mombasa says :—"Full draft proposed ordinance menacing Indian political freedom reads thus :—Firstly, Bill may be cited as Removal of Undesirables Ordinance, 1919; secondly, any person within East African Protectorate, not being native, who from information officially received is deemed by Governor-in-Council undesirable, may be ordered by Governor to remove himself from Protectorate before date prescribed in such order; thirdly, any person contravening such order shall be liable on conviction to fine up to Rs. 1,500 or to imprisonment of either description not exceeding six months or both together. Such conviction shall not affect Governor's power to issue further order under preceeding section against same person. Legislative Council meets January 19th. This ordinance entirely lacks safeguards against political misuse. Economic Commission's volume of evidence contains no valid substantiation of Indian moral depravity. Our vindication of Indian character has carried conviction but European determination to follow South African policy still gravely serious."

Hardly any comment is necessary on this cablegram. There is a dead set against the the Indian settler in East Africa. The proposed

ordinance, in my humble opinion, is most mischievous in character and leaves every Indian at the mercy of an executive subservient to the interested European agitator against the Indian. The unscrupulous nature of the agitation is manifest from the utterly false charges flung about moral depravity against the Indian settler. I regard the proposed ordinance as the first definite legal step towards the reduction of the Indian to complete servility. He has dared to claim equal status with the recently arrived European settler. He has dared to dispute the haughty position taken up by his European rival in trade. The latter has, therefore, captured the executive. The East African position admits of no compromise such as was possible and perhaps necessary in South Africa, where the condition was totally different from the East African conditions. The Indian has a right of priority to the ordinary natural right to live on terms of equality with every other kind of settler in East Africa, and I venture to hope that his claim will be universally supported in India for the preservation of his full political and municipal status and that the Government of India will exercise to the full its undoubted right and perform the duty of protecting the British Indian settler in East Africa.

Indian Labour in Fiji

It is with a sense of great relief that we read the following cable from the Governor of Fiji to the Colonial Office :—

On the unanimous advice of the Executive Council, and with the concurrence of the Council of Planters and the majority of elected members, I have issued orders cancelling all indentures of East Indian labourers from this day. Please inform the Government of India.

The South African Commission

The South African Commission will commence its sittings by the end of next month or early in March and Sir Benjamin Robertson will leave India by the 29th instant. Sir Benjamin on the completion of his duties in South Africa will return to India, after visiting East Africa where the Indian question has taken an acute turn, and also Uganda, where economic questions may arise. Sir Benjamin will be accompanied by Mr. Corbett, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Commerce and Industry Department.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

Indian Finance

Mr. Findlay Shirras, Director of Statistics with the Government of India, reviewing the startling aspects that the finance of India, especially the exchange of the rupee, in his book *Indian Finance and Banking*, says:—

Exchange has risen primarily because the Indian standard money, the rupee, is a silver token coin of unlimited legal tender for which a practically unlimited demand was set up by the necessity for making immense payments in India for war material and personnel. In order to maintain the convertibility of the Government note issue, it has been necessary to inject into India in the course of a single year nearly twice the world's whole annual output of silver. The excessive over available current products was taken from the Bland and Hermann hoarded dollars under the Pittman Act. The price of silver has responded to this and heavy current demands in other quarters. The rupee with its well-known managed gold or sterling exchange value cannot be sold at a loss; and its rising cost as bullion has necessitated successive rises in its sterling exchange value.

Mr. Shinas writes as a professed admirer of of the system which prevailed unbroken from 1800 to 1916 both for its intrinsic beauties and for the skill with which its possibilities have been exploited. The rupees reach the ryot mostly in a seasonal tide as export money; and the seasonal tide flows back as import money to the great ports and currency centres where it restores the strength of the Government rupee holding in the paper currency reserve. This reflux has been impeded by the war. Imports have been unobtainable or so exorbitant in price that the thrifty ryot has kept his money by him. This involuntary hoarding has much to do with the absorption by India of precious metals.

The Government had to meet sterling obligations on debt and administrative account amounting to nearly £25 millions annually, from funds withdrawn by taxation from circulation in India. The necessity for any large purchases of silver did not normally arise until the drawings for trade exceeded this amount. The rupee which fully contented the ryot cost the Government only about 9d and could be sold by it in exchange for 1s. 4d, the profit on the operation being held in reserve, mainly in the form of sterling investments in London, thus available for nursing the exchange value of the rupee through periods of

adverse trade by the prompt and liberal sale of exchange on London. (Reverse Council Drafts). This is the famous Limping Standard or Gold Exchange Standard of the Fowler Committee which was confirmed by the Chamberlain Commission. Nothing could have upset the system except a fundamental upheaval in the ratio between the gold and silver destroying the margin between the bullion value of the rupee and its token value at the sterling level chosen and so forcing India back temporarily on to a controlled and managed silver standard with a high and rising exchange.

Railwaymen's Association

A mass meeting of railway workmen, representing, among others, the East Indian, the North-Western, the Bengal-Nagpur, the East Bengal and the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railways, was held at Allahabad on Dec. 17 to inaugurate a Railway Workmen's Association.

Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Barrister-at-Law, legal adviser of the Association, was voted to the chair. During the course of his address Mr. Sorabji explained the import of the Association motto, "Liberty, unity and fraternity." He condemned strikes, which they must avoid. He advocated the formation of a permanent Conciliation Board as the means of bringing their grievances to the notice of the authorities and laid stress on the fact that the Association was not against but on the side of authority, law and order.

Mr. Barton, General Secretary of the Telegraph Association, also addressed the meeting pointing out the success of his association through combination.

Mr. Tom Teasdale said that 20,000 men of the North-Western Railway were ready to join the Association.

Resolutions were passed supporting the need of a Workmen's Association, determining to gain all they deem necessary for their well-being and efficiency by methods in which strikes will play no part, and that in view of the revised scale of wages sanctioned for the Indian railways being totally incommensurate with the increased cost of living, the workmen feel that more liberal measures of relief are necessary, particularly for the poorer paid staff and that unless substantial relief is afforded, the meeting feared the railways will be engulfed in trouble which the Association, notwithstanding its strenuous efforts, will be powerless to avert.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Agricultural Development in Bombay

In the course of a speech at the annual gathering of the Agricultural College, Poona, Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay, said :—

'The Great War has left its mark on the history of agriculture as on every single part of our daily life. High prices, increased wages, change in the standard of living which are gradually coming about and the present increased demand for all kinds of agricultural products have profound influence upon the life of the landowner and the farmer. In the beginning we must realize that old methods must give way to new and new systems must be adopted to meet, with the new conditions. Throughout the world an ever greater interest is being paid to the development of agriculture and it is increasingly being recognized what enormous potentialities there are in this fertile country of yours, not only in the more scientific and intensive exploitation of the present cultivated lands but in the gradual development of the vast areas which still remain untouched and in harnessing the forces of nature to the use of man. In order to bring about these great reforms the services of highly trained and enthusiastic agricultural experts is the prime necessity. It is hardly necessary for me to point out to you what great chances lie before your agricultural graduates in the near future. You are wanted to man the agricultural departments of the country, to take part not only in spreading new knowledge which you have already obtained, but in also solving by research new problems and new developments which continually are arising.' In conclusion, Sir George announced :

'You will be glad to hear the Government are sanctioning increased grants for agricultural education in their next budget and, it is proposed to establish at least six new agricultural schools during the next 12 months.'

Rice and Potatoes

Rice has over four times the heat and fat-forming principle compared with potatoes, and its tissue-forming protein is also four times greater, while its percentage of mineral salts is only half that in potatoes. The relative cost of rice and its greater relative food value compared with potatoes should be a matter of importance to the nation at this time. Rice well deserves to be far more freely used by the masses of our land. As an article of diet it is easy of digestion and assimilation—much more so than potatoes.

The Electrical Treatment of Seeds

During the past seven or eight years, experiments have been in progress upon the effect of the electrical treatment of seeds says a writer in the *Indian Industries and Power*. The process is one devised by Dr. Charles Mercier who, however, recently died, but the work is being carried on by others. It is only during the past three years that the process has been worked on a commercial scale. Three seasons ago it was tried in England by about a dozen farmers, two seasons ago by more than 150, and this season by more than 500. The process has not been advertised and the rapid progress made is almost entirely due to the recommendation of one farmer to another, or by seedsmen to farmers. It is claimed for the process that properly conducted electrification of seed never fails to produce an increase in a crop of corn, and that in every one of the few cases in which this result has not been produced, it has been found that some mistake has been made in the process. From samples of wheat, oats, barley, etc., the writer has seen there is a distinct improvement in that grown from electrified seed over that grown from seed in the ordinary way. The figures given to him were that the increase in yield varies from four bushels to twenty or more bushels per acre, the average of a considerable number of trials being about ten bushels or 30 per cent.

Agriculture and Co-operation

The task of rural development in this Presidency, said Dr. John Mathai in the course of a paper read at the Agricultural Conference at Coimbatore, is entrusted by Government to the Departments of Agriculture and Co-operation jointly. The Department of Agriculture is in charge of the supremely important duty of investigating scientifically the possibility of improving the methods, processes, instruments and raw materials of agriculture of demonstrating the results of its investigation to agriculturists, and of imparting instruction in agriculture. The Department of Co-operation is entrusted with the duty of combining agriculturists into organised societies for the purpose of improving their economic condition by the joint supply of capital, raw materials and implements, by the joint preparation of their produce for the market, and by the joint marketing of the product. The two departments are obviously complementary to each other. One is concerned mainly with investigation and instruction and the other with organisation.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

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[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION]

Studies in Mughal India By Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., I.E.S. pp 313. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta, and W. Hefner and Sons, Cambridge. Price Rs. 2.

This beautiful book, in its three hundred and odd pages, contains twenty two essays connected with the different subjects touching the Moghal Empire and the various phases of the life and work of the Moghal Emperors and their subjects. Of this number, ten have already been published and read with interest and admiration, and nothing, therefore, need be said of them.

The twelve fresh essays give one an idea of the real lives as led by the Moghal Emperors—especially Shah Jahan and Aurangzib, and demolish many of the popular misconceptions and baseless ideas of those who have fallen into a habit of regarding all oriental kings as “heartless, brainless despots, full of pride and ignorance, squeezing the last farthing out of a down-trodden peasantry, and spending their hoards on sensual pleasure or childish show.” The essay on “The Education of a Moghal Prince” shows how carefully the princes were trained in everything that counts, down to the smallest detail of epistolary etiquette.

It is clearly brought out that the Moghal Empire was not merely a tax-gathering empire, but one that took a true and vigorous interest in the administration of justice and in the suppression of all organised crime, such as piracy, robbery and official tyranny. The Emperors took a lively personal interest in all these matters, as is evidenced by their minute and detailed instructions to their provincial governors. Their land revenue policy and collection leave nothing to be desired in point of theoretical perfection. The essay on “Education in Muhammadan India” is illustrative of the then prevailing ideas about education—especially their awakening to the necessity of primary education to the masses. “All books of Science, Philosophy, Grammar and Mathematics, not to speak of Theology, were written in Arabic. Persian was studied as an accomplishment necessary for the cultivated society.” The last essay on “Oriental Monarchies” is thought-provoking, and makes one intellectually combative. One wishes one could agree with the author.

Doubtlessly the volume offers much for a research student, and is certainly a distinct and valuable contribution to our knowledge of that great period—the Moghal—of Indian History.

Fiji Indentured Labour. By C. F. Andrews. The Brahmo Mission Press, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

This pamphlet is a reprint of articles contributed by Mr. Andrews to the pages of the *Modern Review* and is not a consecutive report. Mr. Andrews deals with some special points which need emphasis among the facts covered by his well known report of February 1916. These supplementary papers make his position clear and convincing—that the system is fraught with abominable evils, that it is repugnant to the moral sense of man, and that it should go at any cost. In another page we publish a cable announcing the abolition of this obnoxious system. It must indeed be a matter of great gratification to Mr. Andrews to realise that his labours have not all been in vain. We may add that to Mr. Andrews more than to any one else belongs the credit for the abolition of a system against which he has fought to its very end.

Writings and Speeches of Kumar Manindra Chandra Sinha M.B.E., The Central Press, Calcutta.

The Kumar comes from a stock of Rajas well known for their loyalty and philanthropy since the days of Lord Hastings. Young as he is, he has already played a conspicuous part in organising the Bengal Battalion. This collection contains some of his speeches at recruiting meetings and a number of other speeches as well. Mr. H. W. B. Moreau in his introduction, writes with considerable knowledge of the family history of the Paikpara and Kandi Raj.

The Oriental Art Publishing Syndicate, 18, Shyama Charan Street, Calcutta.

We are obliged to Messrs Mitra and Ukil for a couple of handsome pictures being exact reproductions of Mr. Sirada Charan Ukil's fascinating visions of “Krishna and Arjuna” and “Seeta and Lakshmana.” We note with pleasure that the Syndicate is arranging to publish the more celebrated paintings of such well known Bengali artists like Messrs A. N. Tagore, C.I.E., G. N. Tagore, Nanda Lal Bose and Asit Kumar Haldar. We congratulate the publishers on the neatness of their execution and wish them success in this new enterprise.

The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book 1920, A. & C. Black Ltd., London.

We commend this useful book of reference to all amateur authors and aspiring journalists. It is packed with information just designed for them.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Dec. 20. Col. Wedgwood denounced the Amritsar outrage in the House of Commons.
- Dec. 21. The Maharaja of Nepal has been created Honorary General in the British Army.
- Dec. 22. Debate in the Senate at Washington on the Peace Treaty.
In the House of Commons Mr. Lloyd George outlines the new proposals for Ireland.
- Dec. 23. The Government of India Act has received the Royal assent and a Royal Proclamation is issued announcing Royal clemency to political prisoners.
- Dec. 24. Sir Sankaran Nair has been appointed to succeed Sir Prabhasankar D. Pattani in the India Council.
- Dec. 25. Swami Shraddhananda's appeal to the Moderates to attend the Congress.
- Dec. 26. The Congress was postponed to meet on the 27th.
The Punjab leaders in jail were released.
- Dec. 27. Meeting of the National Congress at Amritsar, Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru presiding. The welcome address was delivered in Hindi by Swami Shraddhananda.
- Dec. 28. The All-India Theistic Conference was held at Amritsar under the Presidentship of Dr. B. C. Ghose.
- Dec. 29. The All India Moslem League held its session to-day, Hakim Ajmal Khan presiding.
- Dec. 30. The Moderate Conference was held at Calcutta, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar presiding.
- Dec. 31. The third Annual Conference of the Indian Economic Conference was held at Madras with the Hon. Mr. Littlehales in the chair.
- Jan. 1. The Moderate Conference concluded its session to-day and was invited to Madras for Dec. 1920.
- Jan. 2. Sir Henry Rattigan, Chief Justice Lahore High Court, died at his residence to-day.
- Jan. 3. An Estonian *Communique* states that Armistice began this morning, but the Bolsheviks opened fire this noon.
- Jan. 4. Six Egyptian princes have issued a manifesto associating themselves with the demand for complete independence.
- Jan. 5. Convocation of the Calcutta University; Lord Allenby left for Soudan.
- Jan. 6. Admiral Jellicoe is entertained by the American Navy.
- The *Times* learns from Warsaw that the Poles have captured Dvinsk.
- Jan. 7. It is announced that Bolshevik negotiations with Lithuania have broken down.
- Jan. 8. The Conference of the Indian and Ceylon Chambers of Commerce was held to-day in the Royal Exchange, Calcutta. H. E. the Viceroy opened the proceedings with a speech.
- Jan. 9. An "At Home" party was held in Nagpur in honour of Sir Benjamin Robertson. Hon. Mr. V. S. Sastri delivered a speech at the Gokhale Hall on the "Reform Act".
- Jan. 10. The King sends a message to the Lord Mayor on the ratification of the Treaty.
- Jan. 11. Mrs. Besant arrived in Madras.
- Jan. 12. Sir Benjamin Robertson opened the Indian Science Congress to-day at Nagpur.
- Jan. 13. Banquet at Benares in honour of H. E. the Viceroy.
- Jan. 14. Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Chelmsford visited the Benares Hindu University.
- Jan. 15. Lord and Lady Sinha accompanied by Babu Bhupendranath Basu arrived in Bombay this morning. Lord Meston also arrived.
- Jan. 16. General Townshend has resigned his command.
Lord Sinha was presented with an Address of welcome by the Bombay Corporation.
- Jan. 17. M. Deschanel was elected President of the French Republic. M. Millerand has formed the new Ministry.
- Jan. 18. Lord Sinha and Bhupendranath Basu arrived at Calcutta and were accorded a hearty reception.
- Jan. 19. H. E. the Viceroy received the Khilafat Deputation.
- Jan. 20. The Khilafat Deputation has issued a statement.
Meeting of the Imperial Statistical Conference in London.
- Jan. 21. At the Pilgrims' Dinner at the Savoy Hotel, London, H. R. H. the Prince of Wales spoke of his recent tour in America.
- Jan. 22. His Honour the Lieut. Governor of the Punjab has authorised the Principals of Colleges to withdraw all penalties for breach of discipline during Martial Law regime.
- The Bombay Municipal Corporation passed a Resolution thanking His Majesty for the Royal Proclamation, and Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha for the Reforms and welcoming H. R. H. the Prince of Wales.

Literary

The Art of Letters

Sir Owen Seaman has published in the *Punch* a poem called 'The Art of Letters,' than which nothing could be more timely, says Dr. Edmund Gosse in the *Sunday Times*. "It reminds the presumed authors of certain recent and current memoirs that 'every book which gets a boom' is not literature, and it suggests that 'Dogs of War who want to write should take a lesson over-night' in the art which they imagine to be so easy to master.

"While I wait to see these winged verses set up in gold on the portals of the War Office and the Admiralty, I desire, in my humbler fashion, to expand them a little. I do not believe that the general public has any idea of the way in which many of these so called autobiographies are composed. It is done in this way.

"A firm of publishers writes to an eminent soldier, sailor, or sportsman and asks him whether he will allow his memoirs to be published. The firm begs to offer a thousand pounds for the privilege of doing so. The Eminent Public Character replies that he is very sorry, but must decline the proposal as he has never been able to string two sentences together. The firm immediately responds that there will be no difficulty about that, because Our Mr. X. (or Mrs. Y.) will "it upon his Lordship and will 'put together in literary shape' what falls from the illustrious lips. Accordingly by dint of cross-examination under Mr. X. (generally quite a clever fellow, though not of course, a Man of Letters), eked out by copious reference to newspaper reports and to familiar correspondence, the monstrous 'Memoirs' are developed.

"The name of the Eminent Person appears as that of the author on the title-page. All goes well; the public buys and asks no questions; and the Eminent Person pockets his thousands. Partly through innocence and partly because he is told that 'everybody does it,' he has no suspicion that he is a party to a fraud. But he is, and some day, if Mr. X. does not think that he has been paid enough, or if Mrs. Y. loses her temper with the publisher, there will be an embarrassing disclosure. But what I feel most is the insult to the ancient and once honourable Art of Letters.

Lord Sinha

A writer in the *Bengalee* quotes the following apposite lines of Tennyson from the "In Memoriam" in connection with Lord Sinha's elevation to the peerage and his appointment as Under Secretary of State for India:—

"Dost thou look back on what hath been
As some divinely gifted man;
Whose life in low estate began
And on a simple village green;

"Who breaks his birth's invidious bar,
And grasps the skirts of happy chance,
And breaks the blows of circumstance,
And grapples with his evil star;

"Who makes by force his merit known
And fives to clutch the golden keep,
To mould a mighty state's decrees
And shape the whispers of the throne:

"And moving up from high to higher,
Becomes on Fortune's crowning slope
The pillar of a people's hope,
The centre of a world's desire."

All India Oriya Literature Association

Pandit Joymangal Ratho, Editor, *Samaj Mitran* of Ganjam has been elected as the representative of the All-India Literature Association for the Oriya Literature. An Oriya branch of the Association will be shortly organised.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. By J. Ramsay MacDonald. The Swarthmore Press, Ltd., 72, Oxford St., London, W. I.
- SNOW-BIRDS. By Sri Ananda Acharya. Macmillan & Co., London.
- THE CENTRE OF INDIAN CULTURE. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Published by The Society for the Promotion of National Education, Madras.
- STUDIES IN VILLAGE ECONOMICS. By Rai Sahab A. P. Patro, B.A., B.L., Berhampore.
- REPORT OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION, VOLS. VII TO XI. Government Printing, Calcutta.
- THE HUES OF MY HEART. By Heera Jehangir Cooper. The Scottish Press.
- CHAMPAK LEAVES. By P. Seshadri, Ganesh & Co., Madras.
- MOMENTS OF GENIUS. By Arthur Lynch, Philip Allen and Co., London.
- MORE LITERARY RECREATIONS. By Sir Edward Cook. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.
- EUROPE IN THE MELTING POT. By R. W. Seton-Watson. D. Litt, Macmillan & Co., London.
- THE ARMY AND RELIGION. With a Preface by The Bishop of Winchester. Macmillan & Co., London.
- THE BASIC BLUNDER IN THE ORIENTALIST RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIAN CHRONOLOGY. By M. K. Acharya, B.A., L.T., Madras.
- BRITAIN VICTORIOUS! By M-de P. Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E. P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London.

Educational

Moslem Educational Conference

The thirty-third session of the above conference was held at Khairpur Mirs (Sindh) on the 27th ultimo, under the presidentship of the Hon. Nawab Sir Syed Shams-ul Huda, Judge of the Calcutta High Court. The President discoursed at some length on the need for education in the vernacular and on the importance of Persian and Arabic in any scheme of Muslim education.

"The ultimate goal of our educational policy," he said, "should be to make it possible to obtain the highest knowledge and the highest distinction that an Indian University can bestow through the medium of the vernacular." But he added that "English may continue to be taught as a mere language to meet the requirements of the present times and also for the sake of its rich literature which in Urdu has yet to be created."

The President also spoke in favour of free and compulsory education and expressed himself as anxious to bring about the early establishment of the Muslim University and remarked that the Muslim community should be "content with powers and privileges such as have been conceded to the Hindu University with only such modifications as our present requirements demand." He laid stress on the importance of education for girls but "would keep out English severely alone" at least in its early stages.

All that we need do is, to raise the standard of the education which for centuries we have been accustomed to give to the female children of our families. The only change of method which the present circumstances require is to give that education in girls' schools rather than within the family circle. There is no new spirit to create, it is already there; all we want is, greater facilities and adaptation to modern methods. The reluctance which the community has hitherto displayed in the matter of female education, has been largely due to the attitude of those ardent spirits whose zeal has overtaken their judgment and who in their enthusiasm to bring women on a line with men, have often forgotten that the requirements of the two in British India are absolutely different. Most of them have insisted that the education in girls' schools should follow, in all essential features, the education given in ordinary schools for boys. The Government schools for girls prepare them to go up for the Matriculation Examination of the University, and so do the colleges prepare the more advanced girls for the higher examinations of the University. This to my mind has been a fatal mistake. The advocates of the purdah have found in the system the germs of an insidious movement towards its break-up, and this has created all around us an atmosphere of suspicion. Remove this suspicion and evolve a system of education for girls which will differ as little as possible from the prevailing orthodox conception regarding the aim and object of female

education, and you will find more Mahomedan girls under training than the girls of any other community—the schools will be full and the progress in this direction would surpass the highest expectations of the most ardent advocate. In India the time is still far off when our women will come out into the wide world to compete with men for entering the public services or in the discharge of those public duties which in most parts of the world are still considered as legitimately belonging to the province of the male population. We still want our women to remain mistresses in their household, to be good and enlightened mothers and wives, the men struggling to win the bread for themselves and for their womanhood and keeping the women out of the rough and tumble of life—men slaving for women outside the home and women slaving for men within it. This is fair exchange, and no one can say that men are selfish. No one can blame the hard worked man when he returns home after the day's toil, if he expects his wife to do what she can to contribute to his comforts at home, but to do this it is equally necessary that there should not be any great difference in their intellectual attainments. In their education, men in every country have run much faster than the women. The rate of progress towards intellectual and literary attainments on the part of women has to be a hundred times greater than it is at the present moment, before they can overtake the man. But this is not difficult of attainment. The difficulty, if any, has been of our own creation. The insistence upon a knowledge of English on the part of our women seems to me to be absolutely senseless. It is due to a mistaken idea on the part of men who have received a purely Western education that women to be their helpful mates and intellectual companions, must receive exactly the same kind of education as they. Let us not forget that women are not merely "under-developed men but divers." I would keep out English severely alone from our programme of female education at least in its earlier stages. Let every Mussalman girl get education through the medium of Urdu both scientific and literary and this will make her burden so much lighter that she will take half the time that men do in reaching the same level of intellectual attainment.

Lord Meston on Indian Education

At a meeting of the Indian Section of the Society of Arts, Sir William Duke presiding, a Paper was read by Mr. P. J. Hart on Indian Education.

A letter from Lord Meston was read, suggesting the establishment of a great National Trust in which the generosity of India and its friends should be mobilised in order to provide at least a part of the vast funds necessary for wise progress and adequate liberality to schools and colleges in India. It would provide the much needed means by which State aid could be supplemented and private enthusiasm enlisted in directing and influencing educational progress. Lord Meston said, he thought there was room for such an organisation without conflict with the sphere of the Universities or Government,

Legal

Gen. Dyer's Defence

Truth writes of Gen. Dyer's exploits:—The wholesale massacre of an unarmed crowd, which was perpetrated by the General's order cannot possibly be justified, and he will have to be called to account for it. An unnecessary amount of firing seems to have been ordered in the first instance, and according to the present evidence it was kept up after any justification for a preliminary volley had ended. Apart from feelings of humanity, this affair, published as it now is to all the world exhibits British rule in India in a way to make us ashamed of ourselves, and it comes most unfortunately at the moment when we are endeavouring to do the right and magnanimous thing by means of the Government of India Bill. The affair reads just like some of the stories of German frightfulness in France and Belgium, and General Dyer's defence of himself before Lord Hunter's Committee is what would have come naturally from the mouth of a Prussian officer in the same position. I hope there will be general agreement that we must do what we can to rid ourselves of such a stigma.

Litigation in India

The following is an interesting and effective reply that Mr. H. S. L. Polak sent to a correspondent in the *Westminster Gazette*. The correspondent in question, having analysed the appeals to be heard during the current sittings of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, comes to the conclusion that "India continues to sustain its reputation as the most litigious part of the Empire," because twenty-one out of the forty appeals to be heard are from the Indian Courts. Mr. Polak replies:

Now, whilst it is a matter for congratulation that Indian litigants have sufficient faith in the substantial justice meted out to them by our Imperial Court of Appeal to come here for the final adjudication of their claims in undiminished numbers, surely it is wrong to draw the inference that Indians are, as a people, more litigious than are the inhabitants of the other parts of the Empire. Figures may be made to prove anything but I venture to think that, in this case, they can legitimately be made to show that, in fact, India is one of the least litigious parts of the Empire. Obviously population must enter largely into one's calculations in a matter of this kind. Take Canada, for example. That Dominion's population

is about six millions. If India's were only three times as great, the number of Indian appeals, upon the basis of the Canadian figures, would be at least twenty-seven. Instead of that, India, with a population of 318 millions, sends only twenty-one appeals. And so with all other Dominions and Colonies cited. The fact is, of course, that, apart from other considerations, Indians cannot afford the expensive luxury of litigation before the Judicial Committee, save in the most exceptional cases, which appear to be rarer than in the other Dominions.

Colonial Naturalisation in Britain

Newspapers in London commenting on the decision of the Appeal Court that Australian naturalisation is not held good in Britain emphasise that despite the apparent incongruity there underlies a paradox of the very principle of self-determination and voluntary interdependence in imperial matters which was recently proved beyond the comprehension of the enemy. It is pointed out that unless the time comes where there is representation of the Dominions in Imperial Parliament it must be impossible to encroach upon the privilege of the powers which are essential to full self-government in the various parts of the Empire and courts must be bound to recognise the existence of local untransferable allegiance which is not only in accordance with the statute law but with the principles of the British Imperial rule.

Criminal Justice in Burma

A Resolution on Criminal Justice administration for 1918, shows a reduction of 11,501 cases of crime in cases of offences against human body and property. Whipping sentences have reduced cattle theft cases. Despite the reduction Burma with 1011 cases affecting life and dacoity, has more than double the number of Behar and Orissa with more than three times Burma population. Reduction in gambling cannot be effected while promoters of gambling escape punishment. An early reorganisation of judicial service is indicated. Increased employment of honorary magistrates is suggested. Working of preventive sections is improving and the average duration of cases has increased and is gravely deprecated. The number of short sentences is decreased but is considered still too high. In Upper Burma the scandals of illegal sentences of whipping continues and steps are being taken to remedy this scandal for which there can be no possible excuse.

Medical

Indian Women as Nurses

The Government of Madras, Local and Municipal Department (Medical), has issued a G. O. No. 530, 25th November, 1910, accepting, with remarks, a scheme prepared by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, KCSI, CIE., for the training of Indian women as nurses.

The details of the scheme are—

(1) that the pupils should before admission have undergone a course of instruction up to the third form in the Government Secondary School for Girls at Triplicane or a similar course of instruction elsewhere;

(2) that they should receive training for a period of three years in the Victoria Caste and Gosha Hospital, Triplicane, and should be paid stipends at the rate of Rs. 30, 35 and 40 per mensem, respectively, during the first, second and third years of their course, besides free quarters and a small allowance for servants;

(3) that they should be employed after training in women's hospitals or in the women's wards of general hospitals in the Presidency and be given a pay of Rs. 40—5 (biennial)—75 per mensem, a ration allowance of Rs. 20 per mensem, a uniform allowance of Rs. 50 per annum, besides free quarters and a small allowance for servants.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer has informed the Government that a friend has offered to pay half the cost of training three sets of five pupils each who should be either Brahmans or high caste Hindus and also to pay half of the salary of the matron superintendent who will have to be employed to supervise their training.

2. The Government are much indebted to Sir Sivaswami Iyer for the trouble which he has taken in the matter. They approve of the scheme and consider that it should be given a trial. They accept the offer made by Sir Sivaswami Iyer's friend with thanks and desire Sir Sivaswami Iyer to convey to him their cordial appreciation of his generosity.

3. The Surgeon-General is requested to give effect to the scheme as soon as possible in consultation with Sir Sivaswami Iyer and the committee of management of the Victoria Caste and Gosha Hospital and to submit proposals for the employment of a matron superintendent and for renting a house in the vicinity for her and the pupils.

4. The extra expenditure in the current year should be met by reappropriation.

The War Disease

Bronchitis is singled out by Major G. A. Soper, U.S.A., as the most significant disease of the war, not even excepting influenza, on account of (1) its direct impairment of efficiency, (2) its relationship to other respiratory diseases, and (3) its aid in spreading other infections not strictly respiratory. In the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal he states that, while always common in armies as "barrack cough," it was almost universal in the Army and Navy camps of 1917 and 1918. It usually began about ten days after the arrival of the men, of whom many had an acute period of lowered efficiency, and it persisted for months as a hard, explosive cough. Its seriousness as a forerunner of phenomena was not usually realized. Exposure, wet feet and sudden cooling have been suggested as causes, but Dr. Soper finds instead that bronchitis is a crowd disease—probably, more certainly so than any other. People living in the open and under ordinary conditions in cities are quite free from it. Those who change from isolation to crowding seem to be most susceptible, and the soldier, coming from ordinary uncrowded surroundings, lives with crowds in barracks, amusement resorts, mess halls, instruction rooms, and even in places where he makes his purchases.

The Ayurvedic Conference

The U. P. Ayurvedic Conference which assembled in Christmas passed the following Resolutions to be sent to the Congress at Amritsar:—

Please pass one resolution for indigenous systems (a) On 23rd September in reply to Seth Nathmal's question in the Imperial Council, Sir William Vincent while referring to the views of Provincial Governments said that they thought that nothing could be done then for the scientific development of Ayurvedic and Unani systems. This is greatly disappointing. People's conference holds this view to be wrong (b) Since 12 years All-India Ayurvedic Conference has been trying its best for the development of indigenous system organising vaidyas throughout country. Sir William's view that practitioners of indigenous systems themselves do nothing for progress is not right. (c) The proposed committee for investigating indigenous medicines for allopathy's gain will be of no advantage to systems and not fulfil the desire of people favouring indigenous systems. Therefore Conference prays that consideration of the public opinion and utility and scientific basis of systems should instantaneously induce Government to look to their development.

Science

Dr. Bose's Discoveries

Mr. Balfour presided and Mr. Montagu and Members of the India Council and prominent Anglo-Indians were present at Dr. Bose's recent lecture in the India Office. Dr. Bose stated that he had invented an apparatus enabling the observation of the growth of plants which was only about one six thousandth of rate of the progress of a snail. Dr. Bose showed photographs of large old trees in his Institute in Calcutta which, by previously anaesthetising, he had successfully transplanted. The difficulty of transplantation lay in the shock of removal and in nerve effects, to which plants were equally subject as animals. Mr. Balfour referred to Dr. Bose's great reputation in England and interesting contributions he had made to science.

New Submarine Detector

The echo method of detecting a submarine was developed by a group of English and French Scientists in collaboration with Prof. Langevin of the College de France. It was perfected only just before the armistice, says 'The University' correspondent. This method depends on the fact that intensely high-pitched sound can be directed into a beam of sound, analogous to a beam of light. Such a beam used below water, like a searchlight, will detect any submarine within a radius of a mile; for when the beam strikes the submarine, an audible echo is heard in the hydrophone.

Electric Melting Furnace

An electric melting furnace that may revolutionize the making of brass has, according to the "Board of Trade Journal," been perfected and patented by the U. S. A. Bureau of Mines. It is known as the rocking electric furnace. It is the result of five years' experiments by the chemist of the Bureau, in co-operation with the Cornell University, the American Institute of Metals, and a number of manufacturers of brass.

Tea Stains

The following is a useful recipe from the *Popular Science Siftings*:—

A hot solution of chloride of lime removes the tea stains that sometimes appear in teapots and cups. Pour it into the article to be cleansed and allow it to stand for a few minutes. Use carefully, as it burns the fingers if allowed to touch them.

Electric Accumulators

At the recent British Scientific Products Exhibition, a novelty in the shape of "Bipol" electric accumulators was exhibited. These embody an entirely new departure; the paste is carried on a frame of specially treated wood, with a sulphuric acid electrolyte. The result is that an accumulator of the same size and weight as a dry cell can, it is claimed, be made with two and a half to three times the watt-hour capacity. The accumulators are made in a variety of forms, and one of their most valuable features is their ability to retain a charge for several months.

Sound-Ranging Progress

The war's most interesting engineering development is thought by Sir Charles A. Parsons to have been the extensive application of sound-listening for guidance. The sound-ranging apparatus of Prof. Bragg and Son indicated the position of an enemy gun from the succession of the electrically-recorded times at which the gun's sound-wave passed over a number of receiving stations, and this device enabled the Allies to concentrate their fire on the troublesome gun. A single good set of observations gave the position within fifty yards at a range of 7,000 yards. Experiments by the French began in 1914, and by the end of 1917 sound-ranging had become important along the whole front, about 30,000 locations having been made in 1917. A great variety of sensitive instruments—based on microphones and magnetophones—were brought out for detecting submarines. The hydrophones of Prof. Bragg and Capt. Ryan—adaptations of the telephone transmitter—located underwater sound and its direction, and were especially successful when used in pairs, with a receiver for each ear. Directional wireless and explosions—the latter effective up to 500 miles—are new methods of guiding ships and aircraft in fogs from known stations.

The Revolution in Science

In a communication made to the meeting of the Royal Society Sir Joseph Larmor proposed a reconstruction of the essentials of the Einstein Theory, which makes it a theory of correspondence between different modes of specifying the activity of physical systems, and only indirectly a theory of relativity. In this form, at any rate, there seemed to be no warrant for a gravitational displacement of those spectral lines of the light from the sun and stars which astronomers have looked for in vain; while the other consequences are retained.

Personal

Mr. Montagu's Statesmanship

Truth writes of Mr. Montagu's achievements in connection with the passing of the Indian Reform Bill:—

Mr. Edwin Montagu deserves all the compliments he has received on the skill and ability with which he has conducted the Government of India Bill through the Joint Select Committee and its final stages in the House of Commons. In fact, from beginning to end, the Bill has been his work. It has been touched up, probably to its advantage, during its passage through Committee, but substantially it does little more than translate into legislative form the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the credit for whose authorship belongs more to the Indian Secretary than to the Indian Viceroy. Mr. Montagu has had collaborators, he received hints and suggestions from Indians and Anglo-Indians, but the broad conception was his own, and it was he who supplied the driving energy that has carried the Bill over every obstacle. It is a great achievement in statesmanship for a comparatively young man—he is not yet forty-one.

Mr. Montagu is a Jew. India kindled his Oriental imagination as it did that of Disraeli before him. One Jew imperialised India, another has now laid the foundations of responsible self-government in India. The late Lord Swaythling, a venerable looking man, very like Michael Angelo's "Moses" in the flesh, was a familiar figure in the Peers' Gallery once a year, when his son, then Under Secretary for India, was unfolding the Indian Budget with glamour of style and language. Mr. Montagu was a political protégé of Mr. Asquith's. Great was the astonishment in Parliamentary circles when, in the summer of 1917, he entered Mr. Lloyd George's Government as Secretary for India. There was talk of ingratitude, but the India Office was a glittering prize to an ambitious young man conscious of great powers, and eager to dedicate them to the service of the Indian people.

What will come eventually of this great experiment no one can tell, but we had better be prepared for a certain amount of trouble. On the one side, there will be reactionaries greedy for evidence, that the experiment is a disastrous mistake; on the other, there will be a corresponding disposition to attribute any trouble that arises to the limitations of the Act, and to

clamour for farther concessions. Either the experiment will end in hopeless failure, and have to be dropped, or it will be merely the first of many steps in the same direction. Which it is to be will depend primarily on the ability of the Indians to make the present measure a success and thereby justify a further advance; but it will also depend a good deal on the way the experiment is regarded and treated in this country. For the present, the responsibilities of the Government, in India and at home, will rather be increased than reduced, and it is more our duty than before to inform ourselves intelligently about what is going on in India.

Lord Selborne on Lord Sinha

In the House of Lords Lord Selborne congratulating Lord Sinha on the passing of the India Bill, pointed out that Lord Sinha was the first Indian British subject to be a member of the House of Lords and that he should take his seat with the object of carrying the Bill through the House with the skill he had shown was a landmark in the connection between the United Kingdom and India. He hoped that Lord Sinha would be spared many years to make the Act a success.

Mr. Lloyd George

"Let us be frank. An assured hold on principle is not one of Mr. Lloyd George's strong points," says the *Manchester Guardian*. "We are not imputing moral blame. It is simply that his mind does not work in that way."

"He has impulses, he has visions, he has very often the shrewdest possible perception of the possibilities of a situation, he has decision and courage with which, when he sees his way, or thinks he sees it, to seize on a particular expedient, to follow a particular course; but he is not given to thinking out a problem to its end and shaping his course with an eye not to an immediate object but to a comparatively remote one."

A Satire on Gen. Dyer

A correspondent in the *Pioneer* appeals to the generous public of India for a suitable memorial to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Gen. Dyer and Col. Frank Johnson. Who could believe that this is written in earnest:

"A grateful country has shown its appreciation of patriots who saved the Empire during the great war by bestowing on them various large rewards. Why should not we in India show our appreciation of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer and Colonel Johnson in a similar manner?"

Could Dean Swift beat that?

Political

The Assam Association.

The following are some of the important Resolutions passed at the Annual Conference of the Assam Association held at Barpeta on the 27th 28th and 29th December last :—

"That this Association is grateful to His Majesty the King-Emperor for the most momentous sympathetic and affectionate Proclamation giving His Majesty's Royal assent to the Bill and directing the Viceroy to exercise Royal clemency to the political prisoners in India in fullest measure"

"That this Association urges on the Government of India to grant a fair number of Army Commissions every year to Assamese who contributed a large number of men to the Army and Labour Corps in the late war and requests the Local Administration to move in the matter at an early date."

"That this Association expresses its deep resentment at the treatment meted out by the Chief Commissioner, Sir Beatson Bell in the Council meeting to Rai Bahadur P. D. Chaliha and his failure to get redress at the hand of the India Government and the Conference is in entire agreement with the views expressed by him in the Council about open-trade and also affirms the resolution passed in this connection by the Executive Committee of the Assam Association."

"That this Association most strongly condemns the actions of the authorities with regard to the extremely deplorable actions taken in the Punjab and expresses sympathy with the unfortunate people there and Administration for the noble manner in which they conducted themselves in the hour of trial."

"That this Association strongly urges on the Government that the persons who are responsible for the atrocious actions committed in the Punjab should be adequately punished and that steps be taken to make the repetition of such action impossible in future."

"That this Association is emphatically of opinion that the trade of opium and ganja by the Government is prejudicial to the interests of the Assamese and strongly presses on the Government the abolition of the trade within a period of ten years"

"That this Association, while feeling grateful for the passing of the Reform-Bill, cannot but state that it has fallen far short of our expectation"

"That this Association is of opinion that the people should loyally co-operate with the Government to make the Reform Scheme a complete success but at the same time considers it necessary to continue to agitate constitutionally for the attainment of the full responsible Government."

"That this Association records its sense of profound disappointment at the differential treatment meted out to Assam in the Transference of Subjects in

connection with the Reform-Scheme and strongly urges that Fishery, Forests, P.W.D. and Excise be included among the Transferred Subjects in Assam."

"That this Conference, while thanking the Government for the retention of the Goalpara District within the Province of Assam, strongly deprecates the movement set on foot and the procedure adopted by a very small section of the interested persons for the transfer of the district to Bengal by unduly inducing unwilling persons to sign their memorial."

The Liberals in India

With reference to the organisation and working of the Liberal Federation, the last session of the Moderate Conference passed the following Resolutions :—

1. The Liberal Party of India will work for the success of the constitutional reforms by following a policy of co-operation, and of promoting good understanding among the different communities and interests in the country. It will aim at a higher standard of national efficiency by means of administrative reforms, the wider spread of education, the improvement of public health, economic development, and amelioration of the condition of the backward classes of the population.

2. The organisation of the Liberal Party shall be known as the "National Liberal Federation of India" and the future sessions of the All-India Moderate Conference shall be designated the Annual Sessions of the "National Liberal Federation."

3. The Indian Association of Calcutta, the Bengal National Liberal League, the National Liberal Association of Western India, the Deccan Sabha of Poona, the Madras Liberal League, the United Provinces Liberal Association, the National Liberal League of the Central Provinces and Berar, and other Liberal Associations or Leagues which may adopt the objects and methods of the National Liberal Federation and may be admitted by the Council (hereinafter referred to) shall be the component parts of the National Liberal Federation of India.

4. The work of the Federation shall be carried on between one annual session and another by a Council consisting of not more than fifteen members from each province in addition to office-bearers, elected at the annual session.

The office-bearers shall be the President of the last previous annual session of the Federation, who will be the Chairman of the Council; the ex-presidents, who will be the Vice-Chairman, and two General Secretaries.

5. Members of the Council shall pay an annual subscription of Rs. 25.

6. The Members of Associations or Leagues which are component parts of the Federation and such other persons as may be elected by their Committees are eligible for Membership of the annual sessions of the Federation. Those who attend the sessions shall pay a fee of Rs. 5.

7. The Council shall take all necessary steps to carry on work in India and in England.

General

The Sikh League

The Sikh League which was inaugurated very recently opened its first session at the Bande-Mataram Hall, Amritsar on the 27th ultimo. There was a large gathering of leading Sikhs and a number of ladies were also present. The Hon. Sirdar Gajjan Singh presided.

Mr. Sant Singh proposing the formal election of the President said that though they were few the assembly was fully representative. He referred to the Royal Proclamation and pointed out that the new Sikh League was a triumph of the principle of democracy. Sirdar Narayan Singh of Gujranwala supported the Resolution and appealed to the Sikhs to march hand in hand with Moslems and Hindus on the road to progress.

The president in the course of his address said that the Royal Proclamation would be regarded as a new Magna Charta for India. He pleaded for more extended special representation of Sikhs and demanded that one member out of three in the Viceroy's Executive Council, should be a Sikh. He also appealed to the Government to liberalise the new Arms Act rules as far as the Sikhs were concerned and hoped the community would maintain its unity.

The Kumaon Conference

The third session of the Kumaon Conference was held on the 22nd and 23rd instants under the presidentship of Rai Bahadur Pandit Badri Dutt. About five hundred representatives attended from Garhwal, Naini Tal and Almora. Great enthusiasm prevailed. Among other resolutions thanking Mr. Montagu, and Lord Sinha for the reforms, sympathizing with the Punjab, a revision of the forest settlement and immediate affiliation to the High Court, extension of education and industries were passed.

The Temperance Conference.

At the sixteenth sessions of the All India Temperance Conference held on Sunday the 29th December at Amritsar Pandit Malaviya who presided said in the course of his address that if the present excise policy continued the consumption of liquor would go on increasing. He said that earnest endeavour would certainly succeed in getting rid of the evil. The Hon. Mr. Sikkir Singh who took the chair on Pandit Malaviya's departure to the Congress Subjects Committee

meeting after his address, denied that the principle of taxation meant prohibition. Now that Excise was becoming a transferred subject he had every hope that if Indians would unanimously ask for total prohibition Ministers in charge would certainly listen and put an end to the worst enemy of society. A number of resolutions were passed inviting the attention of the leaders of public opinion and others to impress upon the people the need for abstemiousness urging other local Governments to follow the example of the Punjab and Bengal and prohibit juvenile smoking, pressing Government to introduce total prohibition, expressing satisfaction that Excise was a transferred subject, asking for restrictions of facilities for sale of liquor, and suggesting to Government to deal sympathetically with the problems of counter-attractions.

All-India Music Conference

The All-India Music Conference was opened at Benares on the 19th December by the Maharajah of Benares Raja Mehendran, Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the visitors who had come from different parts. The proceedings commenced with a Sanskrit sloka followed by a Hindi song. Several Indian States sent their representatives. Mr. Fazee Rihuman spoke in favour of an Indian academy of music which was outlined at the first Conference. A society has been incorporated to aid of it at Delhi. Mr. Fredels of Baroda read a paper on musical notation and Vishnu Digamber explained practical work done by Chandharva Mahavidyalaya after which an interesting musical programme was gone through.

Burma M. E. Conference

The Burma Moslem Educational Conference opened at Rangoon on Dec. 27. Dr. Ziauddin of Aligarh who was to have presided was unable to travel to Burma and Dr. Abdul Rahman took his place. The Hon. Mr. Jamal, Chairman of the Reception Committee in the course of his address extended a hearty welcome to the delegates and visitors and sketched the progress of Moslem education in Burma.

There are now he said, 2,00,000 Moslem scholars in public and private schools compared with 1,100 in 1908. Girls' education has also been developed but suffers from lack of qualified teachers.

A letter was read from the Lieutenant-Governor regretting his absence and expressing good wishes for the conference's success.

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SHALL WE EVER HAVE EQUALITY ?

BY

MR. S. JACKSON COLEMAN.

THROUGHOUT the world to-day there is an ever-growing force advancing the claims of the democracy. New understandings are being born, new concepts of social order are being evolved. Men are everywhere dreaming golden dreams of Utopia, of not only a new heaven but also a new earth. "Human interests first" has ever been the slogan of the growing democratic army, and to many, in fact, it seems pregnant with the fulfilment of promise. Idealist and realist are alike imbued with the vague flutterings of aspiring humanity towards a new world in which oppression shall be unknown, and of which the dominating spirit shall be the magic word "Equality."

It is undoubtedly this ideal of Equality which is the driving force behind those periodical strike epidemics that sweep the planet, wave on wave. It is the stubborn, almost unconscious conviction that all men are "equal" in the sight of God, irrespective of class or caste, colour or creed, which is the heart-beat of the great democratic movements of our time. As the clouds of ignorance are dispersing, in fact, the worker is showing a far truer international and altruistic instinct, and although problems of industrialism quite naturally occupy a large place in Labour's present activity, they profoundly misinterpret the philosophy and temper of Labour who imagine that concern for domestic difficulties exclude either an outlook or programme for wider obligations.

But what is this equality that is to be the sign manual of the new world? Is it a demand for "equality of opportunity,"—that is, an equal chance for every baby born into the world to reach the highest of which it is capable? No man who calls himself a good citizen could carp at such a demand. If it be a claim, however, for a levelling

of mankind "down" to the average, every good citizen will fight against such a proposal, and he will have the experience of evolution on his side in so doing, for all evolution consists of a levelling "up."

The only equality that is worth anything is the chance to develop. Many are not allowed, under present conditions, this opportunity, and the community loses by not recognising this need.

It is a noteworthy fact that nearly every advanced thinker, whether one takes such widely divergent types as Anatole France, H. G. Wells, or Bernard Shaw, agrees that this is a primary consideration.

There is, of course, no such thing as "Equality". Differentiation of type is the very law of life. The strength of England, in fact, has always come from the diversity of its interests and its training. Their schools have not suffered from the pitiless uniformity which is a curse in some other countries. It cannot be said of Great Britain as Matthew Arnold said of Germany—that at eleven o'clock on each day every child in the country is repeating the same lesson. Uniformity is a vice and if we are to succeed it is essential that individualism should be developed to the utmost extent. Every man too should be allowed to develop in his own way.

In the new world that is opening out to us we shall therefore have greater differentiation, that is greater inequality. The whole attitude, at times, of the manual to the mental worker would perhaps appear to indicate that he is not wholly exempt from the vice which he imputes to the class above him. For is there not a taint of snobbishness in manual toil? Have we not now and again heard a loud voice sung regarding the superiority of those who work with their hands?

Indeed, when Labour tells us that it is not puffed up and has no proud looks there are some who cannot help smiling at an obvious piece of irony.

Greater equality of opportunity—yes. Greater equality of brain and of capacity to achieve—no. When the bottom dog demands "Equality" he is really demanding, even though he does not always realise it consciously, greater economic equality—not greater intellectual equality, which would be to ask that cart horses should win the Derby or that Persimmons should plough.

Equality never comes and never can come. Each stage of humanity's progress brings its own problems and with them its new inequalities. The manual—worker, of course, must realise in any case, however, that the brain—worker is the pivot of industrial life; that he is, in short, the chrysalis that turns the caterpillar of Labour into the butterfly of Wealth. The risk in these times is not in overlooking the ordinary worker's claim of just consideration, but rather that the ordinary worker in being sophisticated by demogogy may

forget that, divorced from the conceiving and directing brain, he will himself inevitably become the sport of cosmic forces. Indeed, the true harmony of the world lies in the co-operation of intellect and labour to "the daily round, the common task," which is the lot of mortals. Any other doctrine a good citizen will reject and anathematise as not of saving faith for the race.

The new world must have its "spiritual aristocracy" of which Wells has written. The world, in fact, will always have its aristocracies. The hewers of wood must invariably be directed and the drawing of water must ever be planned. But the new world will demand as leaders not men who are superior by virtue of birth or rank but men who are superior by reason of brain and spirit. So long, indeed, as men breathe and struggle and love, so long will the inferior soul pay its willing tribute to the superior. It is undoubtedly through leadership and leaders that mankind advances; its prophets and philosophers are its guiding stars. Without such an article of faith democracy is impossible.

REDEMPTION

BY

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE T. V. SESHAGIRI AIYAR.

A commendable feature is noticeable in this book.* The old missionary spirit which used to be aggressive, and the assumption of a tone of superiority and of contempt towards the Hindu religion have given place to a spirit of reasoned criticism and of chastened introspection. The authors no doubt say that the salvation of the world must depend upon its adhesion to Christian tenets. They, at the same time admit, 'just as Christianity at the first had its hardest fight not with gross idolatry but with a paganism which Christian influences had refined, so we to-day are confronted with a Hinduism very different in its emphasis from that of a century or so ago.' It is not easy to understand whether the authors attribute this

new view point in regard to Hinduism as having resulted from any transformation in that religion itself or from any adjustment in the angle of vision of the critics. The truth is that the Hindu religion is so complex and many-sided that, unless a person has the capacity and the wide outlook which impartial criticism demands, he is sure to misdirect himself and to mislead others. On an inspired occasion, Swami Vivekananda said that the greatest recommendation of the Hindu religion is its adaptability and progressiveness. If I remember rightly, his illustration was something to this effect. Whereas other forms of religion provide its adherents with but one coat with which the young, the middle-aged, the old, the male, and the female have to fit themselves, the Hindu religion provides each of its votaries with different habiliments suited to his age, intellectual capacity and station in life. Those who have

*Redemption, Hindu and Christian; by Sydney Cave, D. D. The Religious Quest of India Series. Humphrey Milford—Oxford University Press.

studied our religion in all its aspects can alone appreciate this singular pronouncement. The child in its early years is brought up to revere God in a form suited to its understanding. The pupil in the school has a different ideal. The standard for the young man is not the same as for the old. The systems of Philosophy known as the Adwaita, the Visishtadwaita, and the Dwaita have been propounded to suit temperaments and intellectual attainments of varying kinds. Through all these phases of thought and through all these forms of worship, there runs one single thread leading the worshipper to salvation. Persons who do not understand this grand conception speak of Hindu religion either as obtruse and ununderstandable philosophy or as superstition and idolatry. This would remind the Hindu of the simple fable of the elephant and of the four blind men who wanted to propound their theory about it. One found that the elephant felt like a broom stick, another that it was like a mortar and so on. It is the same with persons who appraise with imperfect knowledge the value of Hindu religion.

In the book under review, although commendable efforts have been made to understand and appreciate the underlying principles of Hindu religion, it must be said that the authors do not exhibit a full grasp of all the various aspects of our religion. I will take one instance. In Chap. II dealing with the theories of redemption of a Hindu and of a Christian, the authors say that the true spirit of a Yogi is to fly away from the world, to regard this mundane existence as an illusion and to concern himself entirely with contemplation divorced from action. Now, if the learned authors had studied the Bhagavad Gita closely, they would have noticed that Sri Krishna has been anxious to impress upon Arjuna that action is not inconsistent with the attainment of the highest Perfection. The Lord distinctly refers to Janaka and says it is by action alone that that great Raja Rishi attained salvation. He might have referred to Bhishma, His own contemporary, for imparting the same lesson. What the Lord teaches is not that a man should fly away from the world and shut himself up in secluded places for the purpose of obtaining Nirvana but to continue to discharge the duties falling to his lot faithfully and thereby attain salvation. The cardinal principle inculcated is that such action should be done not with a view to reap the fruits thereof but in the belief

that the duty has to be done for its own sake. Detachment is enjoined not from action but from the desire to be a participator in its fruits.

The authors are apparently of opinion that the root idea about inaction is traceable to the theory of previous sin and of incarnation. Just the reverse. The theory of previous sin and of incarnation is intended to stimulate men to so correct themselves as to free themselves from its cramping influences in future births. One of the aims is to explain the fundamental inequalities at birth which men possess in the opportunities of life and in the environments which surround them. It is not a theory which in any sense leads a man to give up action.


The learned writers extol the teachings of Christ, because according to them, Christ never counselled the fleeing away from the temptations of this world. If they had examined the root idea of the Gita, they would have seen that Sri Krishna's teachings, while in no way counselling the devotee to give up the world, teach the necessary corollary namely, the doing of action in a spirit of detachment. The authors recognise that Christianity will be judged, not unnaturally, by its failure to restrain its professors from coveting property and from committing heinous sins in God's name, as was done in the late war; but, they say it is not because Christianity is at fault but because the particular adherents of that faith had been inherently wicked. One can speak of any faith in the same tone. To the credit of Hinduism, it must be said that it recognises wars as inevitable and that they are occasionally necessary to purge the world of a great deal that is bad in it and to ensteeple the spirit of man in order to enable him to work out the ideals of a nobler life—of purity, love and disinterestedness.

I do not propose to say anything more about the book. I must say that the criticisms in the book are fair and that, throughout, the authors exhibit a desire to truly appreciate the truths of the religion which they criticise. If Hindus have to find fault with that criticism, it is not because that the spirit with which the book has been written is at fault but because the knowledge necessary for writing such a book has not been adequate. None the less, I would recommend to all Hindus a careful study of this book as it is a sincere attempt to deal with a difficult subject in a spirit of friendly criticism and comment.

THE CURRENCY REPORT

BY

MR. K. C. MAHINDRA B.A., (CANTAB).

 IN the last day of January there was a more than intelligent anticipation in money circles of the coming confession of faith in currency affairs. Calcutta showed up an advance in sterling exchange to 2s. 7d., while Bombay closed up with a firm quotation of 2s. 6½d. On Monday Olympus spoke out its creed to all whom it concerned; and while the devotees at His shrine in the East shouted Hallelujahs, the pagans in the Western gate raised alarming cries and suffered to witness the defeat of their favoured God. And exchange settled down to its true value in gold.

It is difficult to deny an ability of effort and toil to the Babington Commissioners. They have presented to us a masterly summary of war-time conditions in the Indian monetary world and the value of the survey is not diminished by the elaborate apologies which they have offered at every stage for the successive emergency measures adopted by the Government of India. The Committee set out with the super-human task to devise means and methods to "ensure a stable gold exchange standard" and if they are hoist with their own petard in their painful search after the elusive stability, it is not due to want of toil and labour. They wanted stability; they have urged a gold-linking of the Rupee as a preferable measure to being Jacks to sterling. But a gold basis becomes very awkward and at times dangerous if no reality is given to a free trade in the yellow metal, and our Tritons did not shirk the task: they have opened the Royal Mint at Bombay to free gold coinage *plus* a small brassage! And so the redoubtable gold exchange standard is said to have been saved. But what is left of it, one can only conjecture.

The recommendations of the Currency Committee may with advantage be grouped under two heads—(i) External policy and (ii) Internal faith. We will consider them one by one.

1. EXTERNAL POLICY.

Para X of the Committee's summary of conclusions reads:—

"The stable relation to be established between the rupee and gold should be at the rate of ten rupees to one sovereign, or in other words, at the

"rate of one rupee for 11·30016 grains of fine gold both for foreign exchange and internal circulation."

It is necessary to grasp the full import of this change. Rupee has hitherto been fixed in its exchange value with respect to pound sterling, and pound sterling was the ideal stable currency till the great war began. It no longer holds that premier position; it has been ousted by the Almighty Dollar and like a fickle maiden Rupee has now changed her clothespeg and definitely cast in her lot with the powerful rival. The jilting is substantial enough for an award of heavy damages against the Rupee, and while we have no doubt that the Rupee will suffer the immediate evil consequences of her change of heart through a grave injury to her export trade, we are not so sanguine if the jilted lover will be permitted to gather the damages. It is more likely that Indian trade will favour to be diverted to a dollar basis, but the material weight of this aspect will not be very significant if British houses control the market through merit of their wares and not depend on favours from the exigencies of currency patchwork.

The plain meaning of the new policy is that the exchange value of the Rupee will be fixed in gold henceforth at the rate of one rupee to two shillings gold, but it does not necessarily mean that one rupee will be equal to two shillings sterling. The English currency is practically all paper now and the Bradbury is heavily depreciated—the measure of depreciation being the cross London.—New York rate of exchange which to-day stands at about 3 25 dollars to one pound sterling—a discount of 33·3 per cent. This depreciation as reflected in the acquisition rate for 11·30016 grains of fine gold indicates the exchange value of the Rupee in sterling and the Rupee is worth to-day every nearly 3 shillings (Bradbury).

By this new dispensation there is at present achieved no stability in the sterling-rupee exchange, but dollar, being the representative currency unit of the one free gold market, becomes the governing factor of Indian exchange. As the English pound regains its former level, the Rupee exchange will move towards it until at the achievement of the pre-war Anglo-American rate of

4.8666 dollars to one pound sterling, Rupee will become 2 shillings in gold as well as in sterling.

The Committee has arrived at this conclusion for *de-sterling* the rupee after grave thought and consideration and no one will deny the force of advantages which prevailed upon the members to decide for a gold basis of the Rupee. Very cogently they argue for ruling out debasement and inconvertibility—operations, the initiation of which redounds in the long run to the discredit and bankruptcy of the governing powers even though they be forced to resort to them through stress of circumstances.

But as one reads and grasps the logic of arguments so ably adduced to show the necessity of stability and the methods proposed for ensuring it, one cannot help wondering if the Committee were at all influenced by deeper methods, in analysis or by a far-seeing provision to distinguish between transitory and ultimate effects. As a matter of external policy they considered stability of exchange to be an "important facility rather than an essential condition." Very rightly too they insist that a new and higher level of exchange does not permanently injure the export trade or stimulate the imports. We have had so many harrowing reports and statements about the everlasting injury to our export trade through a rise in the exchange value of the Rupee that it is but proper to enter an emphatic protest against this hasty conclusion. Nobody will deny that disturbance in exchange re-acts evilly on trade as any disturbance would. The injury to the export trade of India—and it has been grave—comes and has come directly from the uncertainty-bearing element in the exchange and not from the high level. It is the abrupt jerks, the unknown tomorrow's rates that impede exports. If it could be foreseen that a rise in exchange is a permanent tendency and the new higher level be stabilised, the export trade can suffer no more than the initial set-back by the disturbance in the original evenflow. The masterly analysis of Professor Marshall as presented in the shape of a memorandum to the Gold and Silver Commission of 1888 provides a convincing argument and it is refreshing to read in the Babington Report that

"if exchange is made stable at a new level, we believe that these effects [i.e., stimulus to imports and impediments to exports] are in the main transitory and do not continue beyond the period necessary for wages and other elements of cost to adjust themselves to new conditions."

And the arguments of the Report are convincing enough in this respect that a higher level of exchange has become a real fact for India, that a forced reversion to the old parity would introduce strains which the economic fabric of the Indian body politic is not strong enough to bear. It would be folly indeed for economic experts to utter currency prophecies and the Commissioners candidly confess that their recommendations for altering the basis of the rupee hypothecate a regime of high prices and short supplies for a long time and that the transition will be very slow and gradual. They point out that "if contrary to expectations, a great and rapid fall in world prices were to take place, a new element of disturbance would be introduced and it would become necessary to consider the problem afresh." We have here a confession of limitation. The new catechism in currency teaches Rupee-Dollar exchange stability; it circumscribes its own sphere of effective action to a regime of high prices and gradual change. The panacea offered to us is after all not a cure against all evils henceforth; but serves as a mere stopgap for the particularly evil winds that threaten the placid flow of India's monetary needs. A change in the course or a diversion of the track would necessitate a fresh diagnosis and another prescription.

We may grant all the credit asked for the new policy and still enquire, have we really secured stability?—stability which was the prime mover of Committee's thoughts. I have grave doubts as to how far the new policy will permanently effect the cure. Stability conveys to one the idea of evenness in motion. It is equilibrium not only under static conditions but we imply what perhaps may be called a dynamic equilibrium—a conception not unfamiliar in Mathematics. A currency is stable if the value of the purchasing power of a unit remains steady over a period. Exchange is stable if the value of the currency unit in terms of similar units of foreign countries remains the same over a period. We can have a stable exchange and a stable currency and there is distinction between the two. The Babington Committee has concerned itself exclusively with stability in exchange and given hardly any thought directly to the impact of a currency method on purchasing power parity. This is a defect which through neglect festers the economic machine and puts out of gear the most perfect mechanism.

One would not like to say that stable exchange is bad, for it is not, but we must realise that its usefulness is limited. To the vast millions of users of currency media the thing more important and significant is the purchasing power stability—the virtue of obtaining the same amount of ‘work’ or labour after a period. They require a dynamic equilibrium in the costs of living and in matters of deferred obligations. I do not deny that there are inter-relational effects but I must insist that currency stability as distinguished from exchange stability is the more immediate and more vital problem of the two. The latter is a minor issue and depends as much on our wayward methods as on the fickleness of the foreign currency policies. Attention has been exclusively directed to the exchange issue because of the nearness of the trouble, while the real stability problem is always before us—abnormal events tend to push it to the background. So far as the Committee now reporting has ignored this problem, it has lost contact with the most vital factor in reconstruction.

Then again now that the Rupee is linked to gold we are told to go to sleep in content. You can always transform your 11 30016 grains of fine gold into a Rupee and the latter is thereby rendered stable. The evil doings of Bradbury are visiting its own head, but we are promised rupee-sterling stability as soon as the pound regains its par level. By reasoning in this style we deliberately grant a hypothesis which seems to require no proof and hardly any refutation, the hypothesis *e.g.* that gold has a fixed value *per se*—a doctrine as false as it is misleading. Gold is as much a commodity as a winter cabbage; only it doesn't go bad by sultry weather. Universal demand and universal acceptability have been artificially created for gold—a phenomenon one can locally witness by booming up the Sunday dress of the village belle as a standard of value. The barter value of gold—or rather its labour-value fluctuates equally with that of cabbage or Kings, and if we have placed the yellow metal on the pedestal it is but human choice and human convenience. Humanity needs a great deal of disillusioning on the score of a fixity of value in gold and no where more than in India notorious for its metallic hoards.

I have no big quarrel with the advocates of the gold standard—certainly a more independent and commendable method than the so-called gold exchange standard whose abject failure the aftermath of war witnessed in India. But I dispute

the false psychology behind such pleas. There is nothing inherent in gold by itself that will stabilise money values.

Let us turn to the second big change recommended by the Committee. “To ensure a stable gold exchange standard” formed one of the references and the plan to alter the basis of the Rupee from sterling to gold was consistent with this reference. But they have proceeded further “in misgivings way-laid.” We find in Para XVII of the conclusions:

“...the branch of the Royal Mint at Bombay should be re-opened.....The Government should announce its readiness to receive gold bullion from the public, whether refined or not and to issue gold coin in exchange at the rate of one sovereign for 11 30016 grains of fine gold subject to a small coinage charge.”

We feel bewildered when we attempt to fit in this recommendation with the consistency of the gold exchange policy. Originally lauded as effecting a gold economy we find the adoption of free gold coinage with a huge probability of concomitant waste in internal circulation as one of the pillars of the gold exchange standard! Contradiction in principles couldn't go farther. But we need not seek far to follow the logic of the mind that penned the two recommendations. Anxious that the “Rupee while retaining its present weight and fineness, will remain a token coin” they adopted the change to gold basis and a high exchange parity. But to convert it into reality other forces have to be reckoned. A consistent supply of rupees cannot be relied upon because of the uncertain vagaries in silver prices. There is also the legitimate demand of the creditor to be paid in whatever is most acceptable to him at the time. The Babington Committee has come to the rescue of the Indian Government and has suggested a free mintage of gold as the best way out, forgetting perhaps for the time being the principle of gold economy on which the Indian system turned. It was the method of least resistance and will not be open to great objection if it were in line with the avowed principles on which Indian currency was to be rebuilt. We cannot have the good sides of two antagonisms fitted into a harmonious whole. The Committee, we are afraid, was betrayed unconsciously into agreeing to a proposal beneficial so far as it relaxes the strain on the supply of media of internal exchange, but utterly at variance with the economy principle on which the gold exchange system turns. We do not know

how to name this hybrid. Silver coin is a token standard, while mints are free for gold coinage—a sort of halting bimetalism which will be a novel experience for currency sensationalists. Point is given to this aspect of the problem by the next logical step in the same direction viz. the recommendation to de-control gold and silver trade ultimately.

In this connection another statement calls for explanation. Para XII reads that "Council Drafts are primarily sold not for the convenience of trade but to provide for Home Charges." This knocks the bottom out of the gold exchange system. Indian currency is a managed currency; its essential method consists in the cancellation of trade indebtednesses by the greatest economy through provision of cheap facilities for remittance to and from the country. Both Sir James (now Lord) Meston and his predecessor in office, Sir W. Meyer laid emphasis in their Budget speeches on the importance of Councils for trade purposes. Now that the Babington Committee have opened the Indian Mint to gold coinage they would think that "the way will be open for the settlement of trade balances by means which are independent of the sale of Council Drafts." If the Secretary of State can afford to be generous, he may at his convenience grant the boon occasionally. This suggestion is in line with the previous one i.e., of a free gold mintage, but when viewed in relation to the whole system we find that trade loses the facility of cheap transit without gaining the freedom from Government control which free coinage should bring. Perhaps the Committee shrewdly guessed that under the present highly disorganised sterling exchange the demands on the Secretary of State will be very heavy and ought to lighten his responsibility. It is instructive to note that at the first sale of Reverse Councils on February 4th the demand amounted to £ m. 324 (million pounds) as against an offer of £ m. 2!

To sum up, the crux of the external policy has been stability. But we are forcibly reminded as we go through the recommendations to achieve it, of Prof. Nicholson's query which he put while reviewing the Chamberlain Report of 1914:

"... In all the various changes the dominant force whether in initiation or modification has been the stability of the foreign exchange value of the rupee in relation to gold [e.g. sterling]. Does it follow because the stability of the gold [sterling] price of rupee has been established for

purposes of foreign exchange that therefore it may be taken for granted that all the other functions of good money are fulfilled by the rupee as so managed?"—a query that still remains unanswered.

Let us now turn to the second phase:

II INTERNAL FAITH.

The first article in the creed should refer to the problem of internal circulation. That the Indian currency requires a degree of elasticity—an automatic power to expand or contract under a strain—no one will deny particularly if one keeps in mind the seasonal demands in the Indian money market. Hitherto the facilities have been very poor—the only two methods available were Councils and import of sovereigns—methods inefficient and crudely insensitive since both imply attraction of funds from abroad. The only true solvent of the problem is a widely entrenched and broadly distributed banking system, but before anything like it is evolved—and it follows, never precedes a sound note policy—the rigidities of the paper currency should be made elastic and strain-bearing. The recommendations of the Committee are interesting in this connection. They fix the statutory minimum of the metallic portion of the Reserve at 40 per cent. of the gross circulation. Of the fiduciary portion the amount to be invested in the securities of the Government of India is limited to a maximum of 20 crores and the balance to be put in British and Colonial Stock. The interesting part of the new policy however is the new experiment proposed of issuing notes against commercial bills of exchange up to 5 crores. "The issue would take the form of loans to Presidency Banks on the collateral security of bills endorsed by the Presidency Banks and having a maturity not exceeding 90 days. The interest charged to such advances should be not less than 8 per cent. per annum."

The bills should be bona-fide bills against goods under export thus ensuring automatic retirement of emergency issue. We welcome this step in the right direction and we hope that the elasticity thus introduced will afford effective relief during harvest seasons. But we cannot help regretting at the same time that no venues of useful application are pointed for the huge cash Balances and Reserves of the Government of India. We realise that the problem can only be decently solved by a centralised banking system, but while the Committee comment appreciatively on the proposed amalgamation of the

three Presidency Banks, they do not stake their reputation on suggesting the lines a central institution should adopt.

As regards the Gold Standard Reserve the acuteness of the issue is lightened if we propose to restrict Councils for the sole use and benefit of the Secretary of State as the Report does. The Babington Committee have simply repeated the Chamberlain conclusions and their ideas seem to be quite nebulous in this respect. I have urged in greater detail in another place (Vide: *Indian Business* July 1919) the proper function and use of gold standard reserve in a real gold exchange system and I need but notice the conclusions of the Committee on this point. They have left the amount of the Reserve undecided; but "the authorities should aim at holding all the invested portion of the Reserve in securities issued by governments within the Empire (other than the Government of India) and having a fixed rate of maturity of not more than 12 months." While we appreciate the advice to liquefy the assets, we cannot ignore the fact that our controllers have not yet grasped the proper function of the Reserve.

We have the repeated recommendation to invest most of the fiduciary portion of the Paper Currency Reserve and the whole of the securities of the Gold Standard Reserve in Dominion Stock. The desire to liquefy the block is admirable, but why the fatuous bias of shallow Imperialism should govern these investments is not quite apparent. The place for Paper Currency Reserve is India and the right method of investment of its fiduciary portion is to place it at the disposal of the Indian stock market. For the Gold standard Reserve the Committee have yielded to divide it between India and London. But its locale is essentially linked with the overseas trade of India and some such arrangement as I have suggested (vide: *Indian Business*) e.g. distribution to London, New York, Yokohama, Bombay and Calcutta with facilities for shifting balances as trade veers one way or the other—will have to be considered.

The composition of the Reserve by its very nature and functions points to a rapidly liquefying asset and foreign bills of exchange, international securities of low maturity etc. are ideal instruments for the purpose. The Babington enquiry has given no serious thought to this aspect, governed perhaps by the obvious difficulty of the Secretary of State's control. But the decision not to remove the friction spot because the wheel is hitched on a wrong bearing, is deplorable. If the control

by the Secretary of State interferes with the effective working of India's currency to India's maximum benefit, he must go and give way to a better and a more efficient control e.g. to a centralised banking institution with active foreign agencies.

Mediocrity and superficiality are writ large on the face of the book proposed for India's faith. Begrudging even a small thought for the needs and requirements of the people of India they have somehow got over the problem somewhat in this way: "The Indians are used to *sirkar* regulations; there is no need to worry about their expanding needs. What is essential is the stable foreign value of the rupee and we will devote our energies to ensure this stability—the rest may hang itself."

No thought, no consideration swayed for a rightful apportionment of currency methods in the way most beneficial to the people of India. Mints were closed in 1893 to help the Government of India tide over a difficulty and India stumbled into the wooden rigidity of the gold exchange standard. Mints are opened again in the year 1920 to facilitate Government disbursements and an incongruous policy hazarded for success over a particular difficulty.

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SCIENCE AND CIVILISATION

89

BY

SIR PRAFULLA CHANDRA RAY.

OUR age is pre-eminently an age of science. It has been rightly observed by a great English writer :—" Modern civilisation rests upon physical science ; take away her gifts to our country, and our position among the leading nations of the world is gone to-morrow ; for it is physical science only that makes intelligence and moral energy stronger than brute force." The recent war has amply demonstrated the truth of these observations. While Europe, America and Japan have taken to the field of science with singular vigour and activity, how does the land lie about us in India ? The situation fills our mind with sorrow and shame, and you will excuse me if I enter into a short history of the subject.

Indian culture has been from times immemorial of a peculiar cast and mould. It will not be quite wrong to say that the Hindus are pre-eminently a metaphysical nation. Not that the cultivation of physical science was entirely neglected in India's ancient days, but it proceeded as an adjunct to the study of metaphysics and religion. From the time which marked the decline of Buddhism commenced the dark ages of India, and for the last 1,000 years or more India has been a " tabul rasa " so far as the cultivation of physical sciences is concerned. In Europe, the lamp of science has been burning dimly from the time of Paracelsus and Basil Valentine and Galileo, Newton and Boyle, but more and more brilliantly in the 18th and 19th centuries. We in the East, on the other hand, have been living all this time in silent and ecstatic meditation.

It could not be expected that, with such a bent of mind of the people, there should have been much activity for the cultivation of the physical sciences in this part of the world. Besides, with the decay of the ancient Hindu and Buddhistic culture, an intellectual torpor took possession of the Indian mind and the spirit of enquiry after truth rapidly declined. Authority of the Shastras took the place of reason and clouded human intellect. A state of mind was thus fostered which was inimical to the study of science which accept things not on trust but by verification.

Indian mind lay in this condition till the beginning of the nineteenth century when new conditions of life arose out of the establishment of British rule. This contact with the West brought in new ideas and new modes of thought in Indian life. The introduction of Western culture was beset with many difficulties and encountered great resistance at the start.

We stand to-day at the threshold of a critical period in the history of our country. The war



SIR PRAFULLA CHANDRA RAY.

President, Indian Science Congress.

has happily terminated, and we are in the midst of rejoicings over the Peace celebrations. It has been truly said that the late war called for every ounce of scientific knowledge and effort, that the great nations have been straining their utmost and that the scientific battle has been fought by the laboratory men. Indeed it was from the nitrogen of the air out of which Germany manufactured synthetic nitric acid and thus defied the world for four years and more in spite of the

stringency of the blockade. It is now becoming abundantly clear that the fate of a nation will henceforth depend more upon the achievements of its students of science than upon the skill of its generals or the adroitness of its diplomatists and statesmen.

It is sad to reflect that nothing short of the cataclysm of the late Armageddon could rouse us from our stupor and make us realise that like so many other countries, India must be not only self-contained in the production of her own requirements, but learn to convert her vast supplies of raw materials into manufactured products. India has now an enormous amount of leeway to make-up. We must now put forth all our energies and make vigorous and sustained efforts so as to be able to stand a fierce world competition.

Unfortunately, educational progress cannot be effected piecemeal and at a moment's notice. It is almost a truism that the nations which have made the greatest advance in science are precisely those which have made ample provision for the spread of education among the masses. Primary, secondary and higher education all go together. In fact, America has now authoritatively laid down the dictum that education is the birthright of every citizen. Speaking of education in India, Sir Michael Sadler has very aptly observed that you must broaden the base of the pyramid, but not whittle away the apex.

A widespread diffusion of primary and secondary education among the dumb millions is the only means of making them rely on their own resources. Without this foundation of primary and secondary education, it is not possible to make any substantial progress in the study of science or its practical application in the field of industry in the country. This is the great handicap imposed on us and it makes itself felt in all directions of life.

I feel it my duty to take a rapid survey of the future of science in India, and suggest steps which ought to be taken for the proper culture and development of science in India. By this I mean that educated Indians should take a greater part in original investigation and steps should be taken for the diffusion of scientific knowledge among the rank and file of the people. The cultivation of science must be entrusted, as is the case everywhere in the civilised world, to the professors in colleges and universities, to the teachers in the secondary schools and to the officers in the various scientific departments of the State, and there must be a good proportion among the intelligentsia in the country to take interest

in the pursuits of science and encourage its votaries.

Let us now see where the fault lies. The scientific services of the Government are posts of great value, prospect, and security, they afford to their holders unique opportunities, rare and valuable materials for study and investigation. But with what studied care the Indians are excluded from these services will appear from the following table* compiled from a recent Government report.

While the study of science is essential to our material advancement it has a special need and significance for the culture of Indian youth. A long period of intellectual stagnation, as observed before, has produced in us a habit of dependence on the authority of the Shastras. Reason was bound to the wheel of faith and all reasoning proceeded on assumption and premises which it was not open to any body to call in question or criticise. Intellectual progress was handicapped under these conditions and it is no wonder that India cannot point to any notable achievement in this line during the 1,000 years that preceded the advent of British rule. Reason has thus to be set free from the shackles and the function of science in achieving this end is indisputable. Science takes nothing on trust but applies to them all the methods of investigation and criticism. I look forward to the growth of this scientific spirit in our country to liberalise our intellect. There is no lack of capacity amongst our young men: what are wanted are patience and tenacity of purpose. Science, as Huxley said, requires the virtue of self-surrender. You must patiently observe and interpret the phenomena and events. There is no room for a priori reasoning in the realm of science. The attitude of a scientific mind has been very aptly described by Faraday:—"The philosopher," says he, "should be a man willing to listen to every suggestion, but determined to judge for himself. He should not be biassed by appearances; have no favourite hypotheses; be of no school; and in doctrine have no master he should not be a respecter of persons but of things. Truth should be his primary object. If to these qualities be added industry, he may indeed hope to walk with the veil of the temples of nature." It should be the aim of our young men to develop these qualities and nothing is more helpful to their development than the study of science itself.—*From the Presidential Address to the Indian Science Congress.*

* The table is printed elsewhere.

ETHICAL SNAPSHOTS

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BY

J. C. MOLONY, I.C.S.

THE word "Ethos" simply means "a habit"; a man's habits build up, and at last become merged in, and identical with, that which is known as his "character." And just as a musical chord is a chord of something, not a mere assemblage of unrelated notes, so, underlying the habits mental and physical, which, built together, form the completed character of a man, must be some individual self-subsisting principle or tendency which informs each action, influences habit, and finds its outward expression in the distinct personality of each and every conspicuous man. Mr. Arthur Lynch* has taken twenty persons, all famous, though of varying degree and kind of fame, throughout a period of more than two thousand years, and, vividly picturing each at one moment of his life, has endeavoured to give us a snapshot which shall make it clear to us who each essentially was. As to how far he has succeeded in his attempt probably no two readers will agree.

This depicting of the essential soul of a man has been a favourite task or exercise of writers. Carlyle has painted unfading portraits of actual men, Browning has taken real personages, disguised them under fictitious names, and put into their mouths the words which to him at least seemed to explain that in their characters which they left an enigma to the world; Walter Pater in his "Marius the Epicurean," and still more intensely in "Sebastian van Storck" of the "Imaginary Portraits," has created for us actual living beings from the fancies of his brain. But in method all these writers differ from Mr. Lynch; they painted with an infinity of detailed labour, they did not aspire to the flash which to the Pope of the "Ring and the Book" showed in one second Naples in all its material completeness against an inky sky, and suggested that some such momentary glare in the immaterial world of thought might yet reveal Guido Franceschini to himself, and by the revelation save him from

that sad obscure sequestered state

Where God unmakes but to remake the soul
He also made first in vain.

Carlyle gives us every detail, mental, physical and moral, that records yield of Frederick; Frederick's unblackened boots kept soft "with underhand suspicion of grease," his snuffy coat, his head away from continual tootlings on his flute,

his speech, his writings with their amazing orthography; Carlyle needs the material of years to give as such a picture of Frederick as Mr. Lynch essays to give from one moment in the life of Caesar, Napoleon, Descartes or Darwin. Browning is less needful of objective detail, but Louis Napoleon in the guise of "Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau" explains the tortuous workings of his soul at a length which drives the Prince's imaginary hearer away, possibly to drink or death from bewilderment, and certainly tries the wakefulness of the poet's actual readers. Each man must choose the method that seems to him best; "we should think more of the thoughts in a work" says Vauvenargues, "if they presented themselves to us as they did to the author." Mr. Lynch, possibly quite unknowingly, repeats in self defence these words in his introduction; "Could I call forth a faint echo of the thoughts that have arisen in my mind, I believe that the book would be not without reward. The reader must add of his own, and, where I stumble, soar."

Whatever be the merits of his artistic method Mr. Lynch has certainly essayed to lead us into a noble gallery of portraits. Four names have already been given, sixteen have to be added of personages differing so widely as Zeno the stoic and Frank Hewitt the Australian runner, Phryne the Greek courtesan and Niels Henrik Abel the Norwegian mathematician. The arrangement however is not haphazard, Caesar and Buonaparte typify the soldier; Phryne and Frank Hewitt physical grace; Dante and Camoens the southern poet; Milton and Keats the poets of England. Mr. Lynch has debarred himself from a consideration of the work of each of his "men and women", he has essayed the more difficult task of making us understand what it was that made them work as they did, and that gave to each his peculiar power and eminence. In some cases we should say that the writer has succeeded, in others that he has failed. Buonaparte's theatrical musing in his tent after Lodi, "Asia! the vast, the incommensurable, the Paradise, the Desert! There was his destiny. His very name had signified as much, and pointed out the way, how marvellously," is not a convincing explanation of the "great moral scavenger", as Lord Roseberry calls him, whose essential greatness lay in his power to clear away the debris of a

* *Moments of Genius*. By Arthur Lynch, Philip Allan and Co., London.

rotten age, and plant firmly and solidly the foundations of a new administration and legislation in France. With Demosthenes the author is happier; the great Athenian is speaking in the Assembly, his style "not highly wrought like that of Aeschines, not dropping word by word with regular cadences, sentence flowing on sentence. With less apparent art, with a seeming disregard of art, Demosthenes spoke naturally, familiarly, yet touching on the very nerve of things, striking to the depths of truth, and not of words only, but meaning and feeling."

The search for extreme vividness of effect is a lure for the writer that is often apt to lead his footsteps into a pitfall. "Death to the optic nerve! woe to the adjective"! Stevenson prescribed as a safe guiding principle for the aspiring writer, especially for the would be realist. Mr. Lynch treads cleverly the border line between the effective and the extravagant, between strength and bombast. Once he crosses the line with a plunge, at the commencement of the

word-picture "Mnesarete". "The centuries roll by. Peoples, nations, kingdoms, empires, pass away and leave scarce a trace behind; the objects that have agitated the minds of men to their foundations sink into oblivion; the ideas that have held generations in their sway fall like false shows in the changes of the centuries. A mysterious current of unknown depth sweeps over our earth, carrying our human lives as part of its freight, and impressing on its character the changes that we vainly ascribe to the force of our volition. Yet the earth remains for ever young. The bold free earth laughs year after year . . . ;" are we reading a new work by a writer of to-day or are we back at "George de Burnwell," Thackerays immortal parody of Bulwer Lyttons "Eugene Aram"? Still Homer, if he nobs sometimes, can claim, as of right, forgiveness. Mr. Lynch is not Homer, but he has done so well in nineteen of his self appointed tasks that it is ungenerous to carp at a comparative failure in the twentieth.

RAMAPRASAD

BY

MR. K. V. RAMASWAMI, B.A., B.L.

RAMAPRASAD, the Bengali poet of the 18th century, is the most remarkable and living influence in Indian literature of the great Shakta cult and philosophy that flourished in Bengal in the Middle Ages. Though born long after the heyday of Shaktism in Bengal, at a time when its hold on the people had considerably waned and Vaishnavism under Chaitanya had become a rival power in the land, he yet, by dint of a great and inborn mysticism and passionate effort, realised in himself all the power and the glory of the old Shakta teaching and won back for it a new life and power in the decaying Bengal.

RAMAPRASAD—HIS BIRTH AND PARENTAGE.

Ramaprasad was born in the village of Kumarahatta, near a station on the East Bengal Railway in the year 1718 A. D. He was the son of Ramarama Sen, a Vaidya by caste. Defrauded of his inheritance by his relatives, Ramarama Sen had little to provide his son with and the poet-child passed his early life in poverty. While yet in his teens Ramaprasad was taken as an apprentice in the revenue office of a zamindar and was entrusted with the work of keeping the accounts.

One day the zamindar was taken by surprise at reading some remarkably beautiful songs scribbled over the pages of the account-book in the handwriting of Ramaprasad. Knowing that they were the composition of the young Ramaprasad and highly pleased with his poetic talents, he conferred a pension of Rs. 35 on him, bade him retire to his native village and devote himself to the composition of songs.

RAMAPRASAD AND KRISHNA CHANDRA

Impelled perhaps by poetic ambition the young Ramaprasad chose not retirement but sought the patronage of Raja Krishna Chandra of Navadwipa, a distinguished scholar and patron of letters, but a scheming and worldly noble. Raja Krishna Chandra's court was the scene of intrigues and political plots. He deprived his uncle by a stratagem of his rightful ownership of his estate of Krishnagar. He lived on terms of friendship with the English and is credited with having first put the idea of defeating Siraj-ud Daulah with the help of the English into the head of Mir Jafar. He was however the wealthiest noble in Western Bengal and, being

well accomplished alike in poetry, philosophy and logic, his court attracted various eminent scholars and poets of the period. Under the influence of such a court, the young and gifted Ramaprasad wrote a poetic version of the *Vidya Sundari*—a love-story—made current in religious literature by being made part of Shaivite epic poems, entitled *Ananda Mangal* or *Kalika Mangal*. The story, itself sensuous in theme and lacking in moral interest, is further marred in Ramaprasad's hand, through the sensuous imagination of youth and the gay influences of a worldly patron and his court. But his work was soon out done by another poet, Bharata Chandra, who came out with a more poetic and artistic version of *Vidya Sundari*. Ramaprasad, finally left Krishna Chandra's court in 1758 at the age of forty; and, as the historian of Bengali Literature, D. C. Sen, says "it was well that he was defeated in his effort to win precedence in a court where scurrility reigned—the pity is that he soiled his hand by such an attempt to pander to the vitiated taste of the age." The Raja however conferred on him a pension and gave him 100 bighas of rent-free land.

RAMAPRASAD AS A SHAKTA POET.

Ramaprasad, now freed from the worldly influences of a noble's court, sought communion with his own soul and the Divine Mother; and his songs born of his great yearning and devotion to Kali soon began to spread throughout Bengal. "Composed in the soul captivating rāgini, *Malasri*, these songs" says D. C. Sen, "wrought a revolution in the spiritual world." The songs, it may be pointed out, were not the fruit of a life of mere joy and freedom, but came out of a life, spent in strenuous meditation and mystical exercises into which at this period Ramaprasad with his entire soul and strength seems to have entered. Writes Sirish Chandra Vidyaranya, the Bengali writer on Tantra, in his "Principles of Tantra"—"He (Ramaprasad) sank into the depths of the ocean of Sadhana (spiritual and mystical discipline) and it was only in intervals of rest from Sadhana performed in fixed Asanas that he was now and then moved by the breeze of emotion to sing his songs. . . . Proofs of Ramaprasad's Shavasadhana, Onitisadhana, Shaktisadhana, rosary of Mahashankha, Bilvamula and Panchamunda and other Asanas (various Tantrik Sadhanas; with a corpse on a funeral pyre: with a Shakti: rosary of human bones: five skulls: under a hil tree: and other mystical exercises), we still possess. The community of

Sadhakas is still resounding with the deep trumpet sound echoing from the sphere of spiritual competence in which Ramaprasad moved, and of the truth for which he bore a madly impassioned love. . . . Guru was his guide, Shastra itself was his lamp, the path of Sadhana was the path he followed, and the Chintamani Region of the Mother of the world (the Supreme Region) was that to which it led." (*Translated by Arthur Avalon Vol. II, pp 232-233*).

A beautiful and just estimate of Ramaprasad's poetry was given by Sister Nivedita in her *Kali the Mother*. She writes: "No flattery could touch the nature so unapproachable in its simplicity. For in these writings we have, perhaps alone in literature, the spectacle of a great poet whose genius is spent in realising the emotions of a child. William Blake in our own poetry strikes the note that is nearest his and Blake is by no means his peer. Robert Burns in his splendid indifference to rank, and Whitman in his glorification of common things have points of kinship with him. But to such a radiant white heat of childlikeness it would be impossible to find a perfect counterpart. His years do nothing to spoil this quality. They only serve to give him self-confidence and poise. Like a child he is now grave, now gay, sometimes petulant, sometimes despairing. But in the child all this is purposeless. In Ramaprasad there is a deep intensity of purpose. Every sentence he has uttered is designed to sing the glory of the Mother."

RAMAPRASAD'S POEMS.

Ramaprasad has left a large number of songs, all of them bearing testimony to his deep mystical struggles and final fruition. A number of his poems are addressed to Kali and combine profound imagery and power with a burning devotion and love to the dread and loving Mother. The following is a beautiful and stirring specimen:

"O Mother, how Thou didst dance in battle!
 Incomparable is Thy garment,
 Loose is Thine hair,
 Naked art Thou on Hera's breast,
 How Thou didst dance in battle!
 Who is that Dark Lady?
 Her colour is like crushed collyrium,
 Her face is like the circle of the autumnal
 moon,
 Her tresses are loosely flowing,
 Her body is splashed with blood;
 She shines like a freshly-formed cloud streaked
 with lightning!

O who is that Charmer of Mind—
That Charmer of Mind?

Like a mass of oltmen lightning is she,
Her beauty shines like gems and rubies.

O who is that Charmer of Mind?

With a swaying gait, who comes there?
Her tresses are loose and she is stirred by wine,
She moves fast in battle,
Seizes those who surrounded me *

Holds elephants in the hollow of her hand;

Ah: who is that Dark Lady coming there?

Who is She, young and naked?

And yet devoid of shame?

She charms the world.

What unseemingly conduct for a lady of respectable family?

Her gait is like that of an elephant,

She is intoxicated with wine,

Her tongue is lolling,

Her hair is loose,

The sight of Her makes men and Devas fear
Her

Roaring she crushes Danavas."

The need for sadhana—her true mystical exercise—for practical love and devotion is brought out in the following songs:—

"All jivas meditate on the Guru in the
Brahmarandhra,

And Sadashiva is a great Yogi through meditation on the form of Kali

Truly the fifty letters form the substance of Veda and Agama.

But it is hard for even a Yogi to contemplate the formless aspect

Thou hast no form, Akshara (written characters) is thy form.

O thou whose substance is Gunas

Thou hast taken forms according to the different Gunas.

Veda says that Kaivalya (Liberation) is attained by worshipping the formless Deity.

To me this notion seems wrong, and the effect of highness of intellect.

Prasada says—The mind ever seeks the Black Beauty.

Do as thou do it wish—who wants Nirvana (Liberation)?

Of what use is this body, O brother! if it does not melt in love for the Gracious Goddess?

Oh Fie Fie to this tongue if it does not utter the name of Kali?

Those eyes are sinful which see not the form of Kali.

Oh How wicked is the mind which does not sink under Her feet!

May thunder strike these ears which do not hear sweet name making copious tears flow from the eyes. For what purpose does their existence serve?

Oh, should we desire to have the hands that fill the belly, if they are not joined together to hold sandal paste, java flowers and bil leaves?

Oh, of what use are the feet, and wholly without purpose they do by day and night, if they do not willingly and gladly carry us there where images of Kali are enshrined?

If a man's senses be not under his control can Devata be so?

Ramaprasad asks—Does a Babin tree (a wild tree) ever bear mango fruit?"

His doubts and mystical despair find expression in the following:—

"O mind, you are still labouring under this error.

You do not clearly realise what Kali is. Although you know, why do you, O mind, seem not to know that the universe consisting of the three worlds is the Mothers' image?

And you want to worship her by building images of clay!

The Mother who decks the three worlds with measureless gems and gold.

Her you want to deck with worthless tinsel ornaments—the Mother who feeds the world with all kinds of food.

With what place do you think to feed Her on atapa (rice of unboiled paddy) rice and soaked peas?"

The following lines give fitting expression to his remarkable mystical passion and longing.—

"Will such a day come, O Tara a day on which tears will stream from my eyes when I will cry—Tara, Tara, Tara!

My heart-lotus will be fully blown.

The mind's darkness will be dispelled, and then I shall fall and roll on the Earth and be beside myself, crying 'Tara'!

I shall forsake all distinctions.

My minds' sorrow will be destroyed.

O! Hundreds of true Vedas say that my Tara is 'without form.'

Shri Ramaprasad says—The Mother dwells in all bodies, O blinded eye! See, the Mother is in darkness the dispeller of darkness."

* Apparently refers to man's sins.

THE LABOUR PROBLEM IN INDIA

BY

THE HON. SIR FAZULBHOY CURRIMBHOY.

LABOUR has perhaps rather narrowly come to signify the large classes of workmen who constitute the ranks of the Industrial army. But more, correctly speaking, every man and woman who toils to add to the wealth of the world is a labourer in his or her own way, whether he works with his hands or his brain or with his peculiar or acquired skill. He who toils to create wealth is a labourer. But when we speak of Indian labour we somehow or other confine ourselves to the working classes whose conditions, I may frankly say at once, are not what they ought to be, or what they could be.

The vital and fundamental consideration in every industry and trade is human efficiency. And it is a matter of grave concern to us that the level of our general efficiency should be as low as it is. For in the race of life, and especially in a competitive world, efficiency counts far more than anything else. The one great problem before us to-day is how to increase the efficiency of Indian labour. It is an old, old problem which we are still far from solving. Yet it is on the solution of this great problem that India's survival as an industrial country will depend in the years to come in competition with the great industrial nations of the world who have the advantage of a tremendous start over this country. We have all been thinking, and thinking a good deal, since the first steam factory was erected in this country of the necessity for developing the human skill of the country for industrial requirements. If India is to remain a farm for raw material and a market for the manufacturing world, then by all means let us remain content and happy as we are. But if your object and mine, if the object of these conferences and congresses is to raise the efficiency of every man and woman in this country, if our aim is to strengthen it so as to enable it to stand up against the world-rush for raw material and markets, if our aspiration is to take our own resources in our own hands, and from out of the fullness of our own soil produce all the raw materials required not only for our every day comfort, but for our vital happiness and progress, if it is our object to see that no human being in this country goes hungry or deprived of the opportunity of bringing out what is highest and best in him for the service of the Motherland, then I say it is the bounden duty of each one of us who has had the good fortune of having moved a little further up the ladder of life to see that those who are still behind us come forward to



THE HON. SIR FAZULBHOY CURRIMBHOY.
President, Indian Industrial Conference.

join hands with us in the uplift, in the development, in the salvation of the land of our birth. Many of us in our own humble way have perhaps already tried to add a little to the volume and to the rate of Indian progress. But I should like to take this opportunity of saying deliberately that it is the people of the country who have done most to develop its resources, human and material,

and that the credit of the stage at which we have arrived belongs less to the Government of the land. Peace and order may too often be drawn out to mean inaction and inertia. The requirements of progress, I submit, are as vital to the growth of the country as peace and order. Happily, of late years Government has begun to interest itself in the industrial development of the country. We hope that under the new constitution, that interest will be sustained and will grow. For the interest both of the Government and the people demands that steps should be taken by the individual and by the state to ensure the greatest rate and widest range of progress in every possible form of trade and industry. May I, therefore, submit with all the emphasis at my command that the state can do more than it has done in the past, and ought to do more in the future if it values the contentment and happiness of the people of this country? Every people must work out its own economic salvation; but I agree also with those who say that, after all, in the modern world all power is concentrated in the engine of the state; and if the engine of the state does not move, wielding as it does its tremendous power, the shoulders of the people may be bruised and they may remain helpless in the great up hill climb. The state, for instance, can do much to improve individual efficiency. What is the use of our own efficiency I ask you when 24 per cent. of our people are unable to read and write? Is there not room enough as much for individual philanthropy as for Government action, in such a matter as the education of the people? In thirty years, without the wealth and the resources that we command, Japan banished illiteracy and prepared herself to take her place in the industrial organisation of the world. Will not, I ask again, the Government of India and our Provincial Government in the new regime attempt to do what Japan began to do forty years ago? Education is the fundamental basis of industrial efficiency, and if I have dwelt on this question perhaps at a length longer than I ought to have done, it is because I feel that in the new times that are drawing upon us we must place this great subject of Education in the forefront of our national programme.

The evils from which Indian labour at present suffers will not resolve themselves into ordered and well-grounded progress, once our labour has received the great baptism of Education. For

with education will come a better appreciation of sanitation and with sanitation and health greater physical strength, and with greater physical strength, combined with an enlightened mind, will come greater efficiency. With greater efficiency, greater and better production will be possible, which in its own turn will create more wealth. From out of that greater wealth labour will, I am sure, have its own larger share, and with increased earnings, the comfort and well-being of the labourers themselves will increase. The point is that if the labourers in this country are to receive a fair share of the wealth they help to create, they will be enabled to do so ultimately and only by increased and better production, which, however, can only be done by increased efficiency, at the roots of which is only Education, the vivifying sap of life. Hours of work, wages; housing; insanitation; intemperance; all these problems will resolve into contentment, happiness and progress once the warm light of knowledge dispels the darkness in which labour in India at present lives and moves and has its being.

I for one am not pessimistic about the solution of these problems. Every industrial country at some time or other of its industrial evolution has had to face these problems. We, coming far behind them, may learn our lessons from the hard and bitter experience that they have had to go through. All the same evils must and do exist in any transitional period, the more so when an agricultural country develops within itself urban concentration for industrial purposes. And I am sanguine enough to believe that in the peaceful years that are before us the problems which our labour is confronted with will disappear one by one. If, for instance, you can produce some day in the future within eight hours what it takes now twelve to produce, there is no reason why the labourer should work more than eight hours. If, again, he produces more and adds to the wealth of the country, there is no reason why his wages should not be higher. But the fundamental consideration that I should like to urge for your serious consideration once again is the necessity of increasing efficiency by diffusing education. And in that great work, may I hope with you that the Government of the country will play its part as it should.—*From the Presidential Address to the Industrial Conference.*


BOOKS AND NO BOOKS

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BY

MR. C. D. J. PINTO.

**Judge, Court of Small Causes.*

 European Principal once happening to take a class of Indian boys came across the word, egg, in the course of the lesson, when accidentally more in jest than seriously he asked one of the boys if he had ever seen an egg, and was astonished to receive the answer that he had not. He repeated the question to each of the boys and found that most of them had never seen an egg. He flew or pretended to fly into a rage and told them to go home at once and send for an egg and not only have a good look at it but also eat it. Here then was a class of boys, some of them probably very clever boys, who had read of eggs but had not seen an object so familiar to the eyes and palates of every European in his own land or out in India. This story illustrates two facts. First, how entirely our system of education consists in cramming words into the minds of our boys without any attempt to bring home to them the ideas or facts which the words represent. In the second place it shows a lamentable absence of the spirit of enquiry which impels one to acquaint himself with all that is known if not penetrate into the regions of the unknown.

Instances may be multiplied. I have seen little boys trying to make by heart the names of the municipal wards of their town without knowing what a ward means or stepping within the limits of one, or of the chief antiquities of their town, such as an ancient battery without ever approaching them. I have seen boys trying to get by heart the various parts and properties of objects from books, without the objects before them, whereas they should not be allowed to have access at all to such books (which should be only in the hands of the teacher) but should be confronted with the object to be described, and asked to describe its parts and properties from their own observation and informed only of any parts or properties which escape their attention. The purpose of the so-called Nature Study is to cultivate the power of observation but as a matter of fact this purpose is completely missed and instead the boys' memory is strained: their attention is directed to the words by which parts and properties are described, and not to the parts and properties themselves.

The Aryans possessed the spirit of enquiry in a pre-eminent degree. It is this spirit which led them to spread themselves over India and Ceylon

on the one side and over Europe and the New World on the other. But in course of time a decline had come over the Indian Aryans. In Bhavabhuti's *Uttararamacharita* which is believed to have been written in the 8th century A. D., there is an episode which indirectly describes the system of education prevailing in his time. Kusa and Lava are being educated in Valmiki's hermitage along with other boys of their age. Rama had sent out the horse which was eventually to be sacrificed. In the course of its wanderings it entered the hermitage when some of the boys observe it and run up to Lava with the information. Thereupon the following dialogue takes place:—

Boys (in excitement). Friend, we have heard of a certain animal which they call a horse in the country; the same we have seen with our eyes to-day.

Lava. They speak of the horse in treatises on Zoology and Warfare; tell me how it looks.

Boys. Listen.

Behind it has a huge tail which it shakes constantly; its neck is long and it has four hoofs like other animals; it eats grass and throws out balls of dung each as big as a mango: but why describe it thus! It is going farther and farther off; come, come; let us follow it up."

In other words these boys have learned various sciences including Zoology and yet have never seen that familiar animal, a horse, though the sight of a horse could certainly have been procured by a visit to the nearest town, if not within the forest itself. I am sure this scene reflects the system of education prevailing in Bhavabhuti's time, though he places it in Rama's time when I believe the Indian Aryans were in all their prime strength and concerned more with facts than with words. We can see traces of this system of education to this day in many Sanskrit pandits. Students of Sanskrit literature are familiar with the conception of ancient Indian Aryans as to the ideal gait of woman which is that it should be like that of a swan or elephant. A pandit who could quote by heart volumes of Sanskrit Philosophy and Poetry was asked to describe the gait of a swan. He tried to dodge the experiment and finally essayed it. He walked as swift as whirlwind which no swan or elephant, I suppose, usually does.

There is too much of words and too little of ideas, too much of books and too little of words. In my opinion the teachers wanted for young boys should be of the type of Vishnu Sarma and Mr. Barlow. The former used no books at all and the latter very sparingly. The latter took his pupils out for walks and explained things to which he drew their attention or which they themselves observed. He got one or other of the boys to read out interesting stories true and fictitious. Vishnu Sarma's method was even more extraordinary. The king had a wild set of sons. They apparently spent all their time in hunting and such other occupations if nothing worse, but to knowledge such as is usually understood, they were utter strangers. The king was much concerned as to how they would be able to govern the country when the time came for him to lay down the burden of power. Vishnu Sarma undertook their education. By a series of stories to which the lads listened with undistracted attention, he showed them the various ways of ruling men, or gaining one's end. This was a method which was calculated to stir up their minds to their depths and lead them up spontaneously to those studies which their father had in mind when he deplored their ignorance.

So much for the present Indian system. Just see the English method. A European Collector was passing along a road skirted by trees with hollows in them. He told one of his attendant Indian officers that if he put his hands into one of them he would find young ones of parrots. The officer did so and pulled out a number of young parrots. How many Indian young men would have noticed the fact, which the Collector did!

An Indian gentleman, in the course of conversation happened to ask an English gentleman if he had read "She Stoops to Conquer." The reply was that he had not read it but had seen it acted. In the case of dramas, seeing them acted is probably a better method of understanding them than reading them.

Children should be early encouraged to note the facts and objects which they come across and are surrounded by, and not only to do so but to seek an explanation for them. Thus they should be early taught (1) the cause of clouds, rain, dew, thunder, lightning and such other phenomena whenever they occur, (2) the stars and their names, (3) the names of all the flowers, wild and cultivated, which they can find on the roadside, in the woods and elsewhere, (5) the birds they behold

especially those which press themselves upon the attention by their sounds and plumage, (6) the antiquities of the place, the history and geography of the town, (7) the various classes of inhabitants, their languages, origin and so on. A teacher once asked a class of small Indian boys why the cow was furnished with a tail. There was no answer except from one boy who replied "To drive away flies." "How do you know?" "I have seen it." "I should like to see more boys of the sort who observe things.

The ignorance that prevails in these matters even among the so-called educated Indians is appalling. In a certain town there is a large community of silk weavers. Two educated Indian gentlemen of the station were not aware that the language talked by the silk weavers was a dialect of Gujarati. One of them did not know that Gujarati and Hindustani were twin sisters and both daughters of Sanskrit. The district is rich in historical associations. The principal town holds a palace of the last Hindu rajah, a scion of Sivaji's race. How I wished an Indian Meadows Taylor would arise and repeople the palace with its old occupants! Then we should have a better idea of the town under its Maratha rulers than anything else could convey. But so far from any interest being displayed in such studies, few people know that a village which they frequently pass through by rail was the scene of the final conflict which resulted in the Marathas wresting the province from the previous rulers.

To every Englishman the trees and flowers of his village are familiar objects. How many of us can say the same of ourselves! In English literature we find the oak and other trees referred to with such affection and veneration. At one time I used to wonder why we had no such trees. But the fact is we had as noble, if not nobler, trees, only we were unaware of our own possessions. We have no eyes for such things. The English eye is trained to such things. See how admirably Mrs. Croker in her novels speaks of the Teak, the Neem, the Pipal etc. Fortunately we are also awakening. This is how Mr. Kamakshi Rao Nimbalkar writes about the Neem (Tamil: Vepam):—

"It is a large ornamental tree indigenous to India and is planted in all parts of the country on account of its medicinal properties. It is also planted in avenues for shade * * * Among the Hindus the planting of Neem trees around the villages is very common and is connected

with their religious ceremonies * * * Dr. Watt alludes to the usefulness of this plant as follows:—'The air passing through the Neem tree is thought to be highly beneficial to health and hence the practice among natives of planting Neem trees near their dwelling houses. Many Europeans even believe in North-Western Provinces and Oudh and frequently cite villages surrounded with Neem trees as proverbially free from fever while adjoining villages have suffered severely.' * * * The leaves, bark, root, flowers, fruit, the seed etc. have been the articles of *Materia Medica* from time immemorial. The leaves are local stimulants and antiseptic. The paste of the leaves is used for curing the pustulous eruptions of small-pox. The juice of the leaf is anthelmintic and is given in a variety of diseases, such as jaundice, boils etc. * * * The leaves and oil cakes of the Neem are useful for manuring purposes. They are chiefly used in paddy fields for reclaiming saline lands * * * The oil cake is not only rich in manurial value but is also a good remedy for salt land in addition to drainage. It also acts as a preventive against insect attacks to which the crops are constantly exposed * * *

He applies the following lines of Milton to the Banyan tree:—

"Branching so broad and long in the ground
The bending twigs take root and daughters grow
About the mother tree a pillared shade
High overarched with echoing walks between."

Aryan Hindus had a keen love of Nature. Witness the *Cloud Messenger* and the *Seasons* of Kalidas. Here are some lines:—

"Lakes are sweet with opening flowers
Gardens gay with jasmine bowers
And the woods to charm the sight
Show their bloom of purest white."

How many of us who have a knowledge of Sanskrit have identified the trees, flowers and birds that appear in Sanskrit literature! For example, the Asoka, Kesara, Bakula, Vanjula, Madhavi, Sthala Kamalini, Nameru, Thipa, Yuthika, Kadamba, Kutaja, Ketaka etc., the Sarika, Sarasa, Chataka etc.

How many of us have identified the Kokila and its voice which run through every line of Sanskrit Literature, the bul bul which we come across even in English Literature!

So many birds' voices greet our ears every day, every hour as it were. How many of us have traced them to their owners! For example the steady tong-tong of the copper smith, the Kotru

of the green barbet and so on.* How many of us have noticed the plumage of birds, the gold of the Oriole; the blue of the Jay, the snow of the Bird of Paradise! Connected with birds is the question of birds' nests. No person who has ever seen even a few of birds' nests will fail to be interested in them.

I only put in a plea for the spirit of observation, enquiry and adventure on a small scale. Not that it will suffice. But from small beginnings, great things grow. From one's village or town it will extend its operations to the district, from the district to the country, from the country to the world, from the known to the unknown. Children will in this way learn many things without having recourse to books. What is learnt in this manner is better impressed upon the mind. It will confirm and impress on the mind what is read in books. This spirit is at present preeminently a Western trait. We see the strength of it in "Westward Ho." A handful of Englishmen, make their way across strange waters to strange lands where they cut a path through primeval forests, overcome strange people and gradually spread themselves over a wide continent which is eventually turned into one of the most civilized parts of the world. Descendants of these very men afterwards penetrate to the Arctic regions. The history of the English in India itself is an outcome of this spirit. It led to the discovery of the common origin of the Aryan Hindus and Europeans, a discovery which has enhanced the mutual regard of the two nations for one another. When the English came to India none knew the exact extent of the treasures of Sanskrit Literature. Soon various servants went about collecting manuscripts, taking copies where owners refused to part with the originals for love or money, cataloguing manuscripts whether in possession of Government or private parties, printing, publishing, translating such of them as were worth the trouble. Not content with this, they began to evolve a history of Sanskrit Literature, endeavouring to ascertain the dates of the works and the history of their authors. The result is that we know more or less exactly what there is in the way of Sanskrit literature so far as past researches go. The task is not ended but is still going on. Take again the Gazetteers. What monuments of research they are! The history, customs and resources of every part of India have been laid bare as far as possible. This spirit was once the privilege of the Aryan Indians. I am certain it is not dead but only slumbers.

THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS.

HIS Honour Sir Benjamin Robertson, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, opened the last session of the Indian Science Congress at Nagpur on the 12th January. The Central Provinces, said Sir Benjamin, were considered backward, but they had immense potentialities with the richest Manganese mines and up-to-date textile mills, and with rapid strides taken in scientific agriculture he was confident that the Provinces would take high rank in scientific achievement. In requesting Dr. Ray to deliver the inaugural address, Sir Benjamin referred to his splendid research work in Bengal which he pointed out would bear fruit in industrial development. In the course of his presidential address Dr. Ray traced the history of science and civilization in modern India (See p. 89) and showed how the contact with the west brought in new ideas and new modes of thought in Indian life.

We stand to-day at the threshold of a critical period in the history of our country. The war has happily terminated, and we are in the midst of rejoicings over the peace celebrations. It has been fought by the laboratory men. Indeed, it was from the nitrogen of the air out of which Germany manufactured synthetic nitric acid and thus defied the world for four years and more in spite of the stringency of the blockade. It is now becoming abundantly clear that the fate of a nation will henceforth depend more upon the achievements of its students of science than upon the skill of its generals or the adroitness of its diplomatists and statesmen. Let me illustrate what I have said by a concrete example. The first thing which America did, when she joined the Allies, was to initiate a census of chemists, and in July 1917, a fully detailed description was available of some 15,000 chemists and a research staff consisting of 1,200 technical men with the necessary assistants was enlisted for the research division of the chemical warfare service alone.

Our people are however, "sunk in abysmal ignorance and their illiteracy is simply colossal." Barely 3 per cent of our population, continued Dr. Ray, are under instruction in all types of educational institutions. Dr. Ray deplored the want of general education as an insuperable war to scientific progress.

Research institutes, such as we have got here at Pusa and elsewhere, are excellent things in their own way. You may wax eloquent over hybridisation and the adoption of an improved strain of seed and the efficacy of fertilisers with their proper percentages of phosphates and nitrogen and point out that the out-turns of the crop may thereby be doubled; but the simple fundamental fact is coolly ignored that you have to deal with a *ryot* whose excessive sub-division of land and fragmentation of holdings, coupled with his ignorance, conservatism and narrow outlook, render him incapable of profiting by laboratory experiments. You might as well appeal to deaf ears.

Surveying the position of scientific education in India, Dr. Ray, urged that educated Indians should take a greater part in original investigations and that steps should be taken for the diffusion of Scientific knowledge among the rank and file of the people.

A signal proof of what can be done by Indians when they are allowed to work under a healthy and free atmosphere is afforded by the University College of Science, Calcutta.

This College grew out of the magnificent and princely gifts of Sir Rash Behari Ghosh and the late Sir T. N. Palit, and was established in 1916; but owing to limitation of funds, the laboratory, the library, and the workshop could not be properly organised. In spite of these discouraging conditions, it is the only institution which has shown anything like life and activity as evidenced by the output of original contributions published in the leading scientific Journals of England and America. During the academic year 1918-1919, there were 17 original contributions from the department of Applied Mathematics, 24 from the Physics department, and 21 from the Chemistry department. Yet this promising institution is treated like a charity boy by the Government and has had only miserable doles ladled out to it.

There is another way in which Government could have helped but had strangely retarded the progress of scientific knowledge. Dr. Ray adverted to the tardy way in which Indians are admitted into the service of Scientific Departments and he illustrated this meagre recognition by the following table:—

Table showing the composition of the existing scientific services.

Name of the Service.	Officers (Imperial Average pay of Grade)			
	Europeans.	Indians.	Europeans.	Indians.
Botanical Survey ...	2	...	1,000	...
Geological Survey ...	16	...	1,010	...
Zoological Survey ...	3	1	970	700
Agricultural Service ...	38	5	1,000	460
Forest Service ...	9	1	1,040	660
Medical and Bacteriological Service (on Civil Employment).	24	5	1,220	520
Indian Munition Board.	11	1	780	300
Meteorological Department ...	10	2	970	770
Veterinary Department (Civil) ...	2	...	1,100	...
Educational Service ...	34	3	910	490
Indian Trigonometrical Survey. ...	46	...	...	...

Dr. Ray then passed on to consider the importance of applying science to the development of industries. While recognising the need for technological institutes he put in a plea for pure science :—

We must bear in mind that applied science cannot stand without pure science. As Prof. Huxley says: 'What people call applied science is nothing but the application of science to particular problems.' The advanced nations of Europe have passed through a probationary and evolutionary period of scientific research before they have been able to achieve their industrial supremacy. We are apt to lose sight of the fact that at the bottom of every successful electrical or chemical undertaking lie years of slow, silent and patient research by the devoted students in the laboratory. Almost a century ago, Faraday repeated Oersted's experiment and saw with wonder a magnet going round an electric current. This was the origin of our electric motors, and it would be difficult to calculate how many millions, nay, billions the electric motor has added to the wealth of the world. Wireless telegraphy which is now an inseparable adjunct of modern life is not an 'invention' standing alone and conceived apart from all other researches, 'it is a by-product of a consistent and consecutive system of enquiries,' to quote Professor Bragg and 'the fruit of many men's work' from Faraday and Maxwell to Hertz and Marconi.

The claims of both pure and applied science are paramount in India as in any other country. I have no intention to-day to inflict upon you a lengthy dissertation on the comparative merits of pure and applied science. Every country in the world has need of both; no country can do without either. India is just now on the threshold of a political renaissance and no political renaissance is possible without the full development of the intellectual and industrial resources of the country. India, therefore, must not only give her full attention to the cultivation of pure science but equally great attention to applied science.

• Concluding, Sir P. C. Ray said :— •

"Considering from every point of view the progress of scientific knowledge is imperatively necessary to our individual and national growth. For the accomplishment of this object the whole-hearted co-operation of both the Government and the people is indispensable. While the Government must be more liberal in its grants for the cultivation of science, our public-spirited and patriotic countrymen have also a duty to perform. Science owes a great deal to the millionaires of the world. In our country too the examples of Tata, Palit and Ghosh are not wanting. I stand on the platform of a city which is the home of a thriving cotton industry. Here we have merchant princes and successful mill-owners and businessmen. The great philanthropist Andrew Carnegie, himself a self-made man, acted on the motto that 'To die rich is to die disgraced,' and gave away more than 100 crores, mainly for workingmen's reading rooms and research institutes. I appeal to our men of wealth and eminence to follow in the footsteps of the great benefactors of men and I am sure that with their help the cause of science will flourish.

On the conclusion of the Address the Congress divided itself into different sections for discussing various topics. A number of papers were read in each. The section of Agriculture was opened by Mr. D. Clouston, C. I. E., M.A., B.Sc., the Director of Agriculture, C. P., with an address on "The Possibilities of Agriculture in India within the next twenty years."

He recapitulated at some length the definite lines of investigation already adopted by the Department of Agriculture and the splendid results that had been obtained which were full of promise for the future. He pointed out how research had been hampered by the inadequacy of staff and strongly emphasized the need for European specialists and experts in the working out to their logical finish the problems of Indian Agricultural improvement. There was a net asset to the people already of several crores of rupees as a result of the work done by the Department, and this would be increased a hundredfold if the necessary machinery of development asked for was immediately and ungrudgingly supplied.

A paper on "Bamboo as Green Fodder" was read by Mr. F. J. Plymen, Deputy Director of Agriculture, C. P. Referring to Egyptian clover he pointed out :

Experiments made with a small variety of bamboo have shown that this variety of bamboo can be grown in the poorest of soils without irrigation. It gives a large average yield of green fodders towards the end of the hot weather when other green fodders are absent. The nutritive value of bamboo leaf is about as good as that of ordinary spear grass found on light soils, while the yield per acre is many times greater.

Mr. T. V. Ramakrishna Iyer of the Agricultural College, Coimbatore, submitted a paper on the "Weevil Fauna of South India."

Of about 185 different species studied by him, he said, that over forty had been recognised as economically important. Some of the injurious forms are very serious pests causing considerable loss to the country year after year.

"The rice weevil, the palm weevil, the cotton-stem borer, the sweet potato weevil and the mango-seed weevil are examples of some of the notorious individuals of the family against which the poor Indian cultivator of the plains has to fight season after season. Of these the rice weevil alone has been estimated to cause an annual loss of 120 million rupees a year according to the late Mr. Noel Paton, some time Director-General of Commercial Intelligence in India."

The *Scientific Conversations* on January 14, was accompanied by an exhibition of the customs and manners of the aboriginal tribes of the Central Provinces. These had been brought

together from their inaccessible retreats at great distances by the efforts of Rai Bahadur Hiralal and had been given facilities to camp on the magnificent grounds of the Maharaj Bagh.

The most numerous of these aborigines in the Central Provinces are the Gonds, who, according to the Census of 1911, numbered over 2¼ millions. They muster strong on the Plateau division and the Chanda district of the Nagpur division, while in Mandla and the Bastar State they form the major portion of the population. Numerous sub-tribes have branched off from them, many of which have attained the status of independent tribes.

There were many exhibits of great interest but the most powerful attraction came from the people themselves who had been kept in excellent temper by feasting and presents. After merry-making there was also an archery competition followed by the celebration of a number of marriages.

An important feature of the *conversations* was an exhibition of experiments and lantern slides by Prof. C. V. Raman illustrative of the research work in physical science carried on during the past year by himself and his pupils at Calcutta. The first part of the discourse was with reference to musical instruments.

Passing on to the subject of General Physics, photographs were shown on the interesting geometrical forms of percussion figure produced within thick glass plates by the impact of polished steel balls. The explanation of these forms and their bearing on the problems of optical technology were referred to.

Ripple photographs which showed an interesting analogy to the theory of supernumerary rainbows were also exhibited.

In the department of Heat, slides were shown in which the air rising from a cylindrical electrically-heated rod appeared as a luminous stream of light, and the utility of these photographs in clearing up the exact processes occurring during the connection of heat was pointed out.

In the field of optical investigation, a considerable volume of research work was being carried on, which the Professor passed over in rapid review. The geometrical treatment of various cases of the diffraction or bending of light by screens or apertures of various forms was one of the subjects referred to. The optical analogue of the well-known phenomenon of the whispering gallery was also illustrated by a series of photographs. It was shown that light waves cling to a curved surface and travel along it in much the same way as sound waves are said to do in whispering galleries.

The Congress concluded its sittings on the 17th. On the previous day the members visited the Mangnese Mines at Ramtek and the Empress Mills where they were cordially received.

In addition to the Sectional Meetings three public lectures were given, one by Dr. Gravely on "Indian Spiders," the second by Dr. C. L. Bose on "Choice of Food," and the third by Dr. Simpson, F.R.S., on "Science in the Antarctic," the last being read by the Hon. Mr. Mayhew in the unavoidable absence of the author.

Among other papers read were :—

"The Tank of the God of Death" by Mr. Chanda—being a descriptive account of the ceremonies performed by the women of the high caste Hindus of Bengal.

"Traces of Stone-age and Copper-age Culture in Chota Nagpur" by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy.

"Fish-manure and oil" by Mr. A. K. Menon of Calcutt.

"Gur making" by Mr. V. G. Patwardhan in which the author described certain results he obtained by his own investigation.

The other papers dealt with were "Habit in Sugarcane," by Mr. U. Vithal Rao, and "Adaptability of wild fodder grasses to certain classes of soils and their utility in Mal (poor) lands of the Deccan" by Mr. L. B. Kulkarni.

A few papers were also presented in connection with medical research. Major Mackenzie read a paper on Influenza. This was a thoughtful and careful contribution to the subject of the susceptibility of animals to the disease and its transmissibility from animals to man.

Major Blackmore, Major Morrison, Lieut.-Col. Buchanan, and Khan Bahadur Dr. Bharucha also joined in the discussion.

Major S. R. Christophers' paper on 'A Summary of Recent Observations upon the Anopheles of the Middle East' was on account of his absence read for him. The paper by Major Cunningham, I.M.S., and Mr. T. N. S. Raghava Chari, B.A., on the "Purification of Water by Filtration" was also read by proxy in the absence of the authors. A most interesting lecture and demonstration on Midwifery Mechanics was delivered by Lieut.-Col. Buchanan, I.M.S., Civil Surgeon of Nagpur. A "Preliminary Report of a Malaria Survey of Calcutta and Environs" was given by Mr. M. O. T. Iyengar, B.A. The proceedings of the section terminated with two papers by Lieut.-Col. W. F. Harvey on "Estimation of Erythrocyte and Haemoglobin Content of Blood" and on the "Use of Birds as Laboratory Animals."

ECONOMIC LIBRARIES FOR INDIA

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BY

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AN earnest and a sincere student of Economics must, for purposes of a proper study of the subject, have access to Economic Libraries of the sort mentioned below :—

1. The Goldsmiths' Company's Library of Economic Literature.

2. The various Manchester libraries like the Portico Library, the Library of the Manchester Statistical Society, etc.

3. Foreign Office library in England.

4. The various U.S.A. libraries like the John Crerar Library, Chicago; private libraries like those of Prof. Seligman of Columbia University and Prof. R. T. Ely of the University of Wisconsin. I do not think that either the Indian University Libraries or the private libraries of college professors of Economics answer to those of the foregoing type. Let me say a few words on the typical foreign libraries before I directly or indirectly set forth my ideal of economic libraries in India as a necessary equipment for any individual student of Economics or an Indian School of Economics like the London school which must sooner or later arise for a good organization of economic studies in our country.

THE GOLDSMITHS' COMPANY'S LIBRARY OF ECONOMIC LITERATURE.

'This is a collection of books and tracts intended to serve as a basis for the study of the industrial, commercial, monetary and financial history of the United Kingdom as well as of the gradual development of economic science generally.'

Look at the manifold types of economic literature represented in the library (p. 720, Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy*, vol. iii) The topics range from the earliest history of English trade up to the most up-to-date economic topic of interest. There is a fair collection of not only economic literature in English but also in Italian, Spanish, German, Dutch, etc. 'No pains or expense have been spared to ensure that, as far as possible, all sides in a controversy should be represented.' Besides books ranging in number from thirty to forty thousand, there are hundreds of manuscripts, a good many autograph letters of standard economists and statesmen, sample copies of varieties of paper money and regular cart loads of statistical information of a very rare value.

The chief object of this and several other famous economic libraries is evidently to facilitate economic research in many directions and save the enormous expense to the research scholar of economics who, if he has no access to such a valuable storehouse of literature, would find the necessary expense a great strain on his petty and modest income.

THE MANCHESTER LIBRARIES.

It is no wonder that Manchester of industrial fame can boast of many useful libraries. I gather that some collections contain 'much unused material for the history of commerce and industry.' One library has 60,000 vols; another 1,00,000; a third 1,10,000; a fourth 1,55,000. The last figure is the number of books in the Reference Library with 'literature of political economy in its widest sense.' The second of the above figures gives the number of books in the Economics section of the University of Manchester. The important collections made by Prof. William Stanley Jevons come to about 2,394.

THE FOREIGN OFFICE LIBRARY.

It is said that this Library has many reference works dealing with the Colonies and many other countries in the world. Most of its works are very rare and must hence be presumably of supreme significance to any patient writer of economic history.

THE U. S. A. LIBRARIES.

Besides the Crerar and the Newberry libraries of special interest, the Congressional Library at Washington and the several University Libraries and those attached to the various Historical and Economic Societies in the U. S. A. abound in huge collections of treatises on Economics of all shades of thought, and a vast deal of periodical and pamphlet literature, though of mostly American colour, dealing with finance, money, banking, free-trade and protection and a host of other important topics. Of the private libraries, the most notable is that of Prof. Seligman of the Columbia University. It has about 30,000 volumes in Economics. It is no wonder that a professor of such resourcefulness should produce excellent treatises on Economics and Finance. The private library of Prof. R. T. Ely of Wisconsin University (sold in 1902) had covered the whole of Political Economy, though specially

strong in works dealing with American labour and social movements.

THE JOHN CRERAR LIBRARY, CHICAGO.

This deserves special mention amongst the world's economic libraries for the large numbers of volumes in the department of social sciences. The social sciences alone have in round figures 55,000 volumes (about 28 per cent. of the total number in the library) of the eleven divisions into which the department of social sciences has been divided: 'the most important is political economy with about 16,000 volumes and 12,000 pamphlets.' Commerce and communications which has been treated as a separate division of the social sciences is credited with about 2,500 volumes. It has also often taken advantage of fresh additions to the library by buying private libraries whenever offered for sale. Congressional documents of the U. S. A., early and later parliamentary papers of England, and many serial official publications of Sweden, Austria, France and Germany (all dealing with economic subjects) are to be found in large numbers in the Library. There are about 500 periodicals on the social sciences, besides 8,000 volumes of society transactions offering much material to the student of social sciences. Another most delightful feature of the library is the list of bibliographies of special subjects giving 'not only the distinctly bibliographical works on each subject but also the works which contain bibliographical material thought to be of value.' Each of the libraries I have attempted to describe has excellent organizations for the use of their contents by research students in the many domains of Economics. One striking evidence of their fruitfulness is the cartload of excellent treatises, pamphlets and periodicals of economic interest.

ECONOMIC LIBRARIES IN INDIA.

Now that I have given a rough sketch of the chief features of some of the best world's economic libraries (the information is culled from the various learned contributions to Palgrave's third volume of the Dictionary of Political Economy), let me say a few words on the economic libraries in India. In the first place I do not know if in this extensive land of ours there are any economic libraries worth the name except a few hundreds or tens of hundreds of volumes (text-books by standard and minor writers, a few periodicals of both continental and Indian fame and a big unanalysed and ill-classified heap of Government publications and Commission Reports all counted together) even in the University Libraries. A

glance at the catalogue of our Madras University Library (both the original and the recent supplement) will show that not more than six or seven pages are devoted to the names of periodicals—not all of economic interest—those of economic interest can be counted on one's finger's ends. The number of standard works on Economics (general and Indian) has perhaps the same tale to tell. As for the other University Economic Libraries, I frankly confess I have not seen them or heard much of any special interest about them. The economic libraries of some seven colleges affiliated to our Madras University I personally had the pleasure of seeing and they do not even approach the ideal of Europe and America either in the matter of the number of standard books and periodicals or in any outward signs of their having been used by any body except perhaps the lecturers and a few others. . . .

A Government College in the south had not 'the Economic Review' until very recently and the college from which I come began to import 'the Economic Review' only since last year. As for private libraries of professors of Economics, about four years ago I had seen one of a Government College professor and the other of a Native State college professor. The library of the latter though it cannot of course stand comparison with that of a Professor Seligman of the Columbia University is by far the best of the private economic libraries in Southern India and I must acknowledge that myself and our humble College Library, Economic section, at the Findlay College, Mannargudi, have derived not a little inspiration and suggestion from it with regard to an average equipment of books for coaching our B.A. students for the University Examination. As for the big Madras University Library and the other metropolitan college economic libraries, I am given to understand—I am open to correction if my information is wrong—that very few people use the books and periodicals there and perhaps fewer people know how to make use of the valuable information stored in the few standard works, periodicals and government reports of economic and statistical importance. I shall be glad if the University Economics Professor and his able staff would organize a series of special demonstration lectures as to a rational use of economic libraries not simply in the City of Madras to the fortunate few economic students here but even in some select localities in the mofussil. (*From a paper prepared for the Economic Conference.*)

The Industrial and Commercial Conference 105

THE joint session of the Indian Industrial Conference and the Indian Commercial Congress was held on the 23rd and 24th Jan, in Bombay. The Industrial Conference has been in existence these fifteen years while the Commercial Congress was started only four years ago. By a formal resolution the two bodies have been amalgamated and henceforth the combined movement will be known as the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress.

Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit, Chairman of Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, delivered a lengthy address. He claimed that the Industrial Conference had succeeded in creating an intelligent and powerful public opinion on mercantile and commercial matters and explained the reasons for the amalgamation of the Commercial Congress with the Industrial Conference. The Reform Act was an important step towards the realization of their goal and the atmosphere created was encouraging and helpful. The Industrial Commission's report marked a new era of broad and statesmanlike industrial outlook on the part of Government. Mr. Petit however, deplored the deliberate removal from the scope of its enquiry of the question of the adjustment of tariffs. What had been vouchsafed to them in the Reform Act was not real fiscal autonomy; It was only a step in that direction and he hoped complete transfer of it to the people would not be withheld from them longer than necessary. He summed up his views in the following trenchant sentences:—

"When one comes seriously to consider the entire policy adopted in the past by the Government of India and England, under one pretext or another towards the trades and industries of this country, one cannot escape the inevitable conclusion that both these Governments are not always serious in the oft repeated professions of solicitude for the mercantile and industrial welfare of this country. The new era that has now dawned, will, I sincerely hope, mean a different, and may I add a more honest and straightforward attitude towards India."

Mr. Petit then discussed the labour problem in India and referred at some length to the strikes. He also said some sharp things on what he called "coquetting with labour on the off-chance of becoming popular heroes" and he warned the country against the dangers of Trade Unionism.

"Whatever you do," said Mr. Petit, "please do not fall within the clutches of trade unionism which is sapping the very foundations of European trades and industries. You need not allow yourself to be tyrannised by capital. No body wants that. The way to avoid it is not to allow yourself to be driven under the tyranny of labour. Trade unionism has proved itself to be a peril to civilization and a canker to the trade and industries of Europe and America. Let us in this country profit by their experience and avoid these dangers. The course of modern trade unionism is coercion and intimidation and the enforcement on all and sundry at the point of the bayonet the

dangerous doctrine of less work and more pay. Europe is already beginning to suffer from the consequences of this spirit of intimidation and artificial restlessness which is for fast leading to serious national disaster in the form of declining wealth and rapid reduction of its productive capacity. Men of thought in Europe are now staggered with the prospect that is in sight in view of these condition and realise more



MR. JEHANGIR B. PETIT.

Chairman, Reception Committee.

bitterly than ever the fact that what is most needed is the formulation of means for rapid and increased production. If we are to hold our own in the industrial struggles of the future, let us steer clear of those dangers which are already eating into the vitals of Europe and America.

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj was then formally elected as President. He welcomed Mr. Harkishen Lal—the Napoleon of Indian Finance—on behalf of the Conference and read messages of sympathy from H. E. the Governor of Bombay, Hon. Mr. V. S. Sastri, Mrs. Besant, Dr. Mann, Mr. M. B. Dadabhoj and others. In

the course of his address Sir Fazulbhoj dwelt at length on the main industrial problems of the day, such as the application of the principle of Imperial preference to India, the organization of an industries department, currency trouble, the improvement of the condition and status of labour, etc. and said that on the whole he took an optimistic view of Indian industrial regeneration and concluded by urging the organization of an Indian commercial bureau in every important town so that commercial and industrial India might be well organized to take a leading part in the material and moral development of the country.

Referring to the Reform Act, Sir Fazulbhoj characterised it as a 'noble achievement of the British Government' and eulogized the services of Mr. Montagu and said that special thanks were due to him for securing under the Act fiscal autonomy for India, though under limitations, which he considered to be the first 'real step towards full fiscal freedom.

I am sure there is no need for us to give the assurance to the British public that India will exercise her fiscal power with due regard to all her obligations to the Empire. There are several questions, for instance, the abolition of the excise duties on the manufacture of cloth, whereon the Government of India and Indian commerce and industry are at one, although an autocratic Secretary of State may be given an elastic meaning to the proviso above referred to; and though there may be occasions on which the Government of India and the Imperial Legislative Assembly may not agree—at least as long as the constitution of the central government remains as it is—yet I hope that the concessions secured will prove fruitful.

Sir Fazulbhoj gave the following reply to those who urge that the commerce and industries department should not be transferred to Indian control:

It is, unfortunately a peculiarity of this country that exotic trade and industries think their interests demand that the administration of trade and industries should be in hands other than Indian. Indians have proved their capacity to hold the highest positions under the State. They have proved also their fitness to establish and manage commercial and industrial enterprises of a great magnitude. I do not know in what words to characterise the attitude of those people who, in face of this tangible evidences of the fitness of Indians to manage above all the departments of commerce and industries, seek to make out a case against transferring these branches of the administration to Indian control. In fact, I go further and say that the backward condition in which India finds herself in regard to her industrial growth is due to the official machinery being in the hands of the members of the Indian Civil Service who, in the majority of cases, are practically out of touch with the realities of

Indian trade and industries. British trade and British industry flourish in all countries, even where they have no preponderating voice: I see no reason why in a self-governing India they should be threatened with any risk. In fact, the greatest argument against this outside contention is afforded by the experience of several newly started industrial and commercial concerns a majority of which have decided to adopt to British management.

Sir Fazulbhoj offered an indignant protest against the attempts to oust Indians from East Africa. Referring to the pathetic message of the Rev. O. F. Andrews that Indians are now threatened with eviction and deprivation of all their rights and privileges, the President rightly urged:

The Congress is vitally concerned in this question: for Indian traders had no little hand in developing East Africa and I hope that you will all support the resolution which will be placed before you dealing with this subject. (The text of the resolution is given elsewhere.)

The President's observations on the labour problem deserve special mention. We invite the readers' attention to that part of the address printed in page.

At the sitting of the Conference on the 24th, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas is moving a resolution for a commission to enquire into the labour conditions said whatever differences of opinion may exist on the question of apportioning blame for the deplorable conditions of labour in India, there was unanimity on the fact of the miserable conditions of labour as regards wages, housing, education, etc., and on the need to take steps to remedy the existing conditions and improve the efficiency and the status of labour. These were due to labour, not as a matter of favour, but as one of right. Considering that the employers of labour would be represented on the commission of enquiry into the labour conditions he did not fear that the interests of industry would be overlooked. Labour conditions needed radical reforms and to formulate these the commission as proposed in the resolution was necessary.

Mr. S. R. Bomanji in moving the resolution on the Imperial Bank pointed out that according to the skeleton scheme of forming the Imperial Bank by the amalgamation of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidency Banks, Indians would almost have no control whatsoever over the Imperial Bank that would be dealing in Indian money and trade.

Lala Harkishea Lal who was received with enthusiastic ovation, in seconding the resolution said they had to remember that the idea of the amalgamation of the presidency banks emanated

from the Government. It was the fundamental right of Indians that in State affairs and other institutions that affected the country's interests they should have a share in their control. Though the major number of shareholders of the Imperial Bank might be non-Indians, still huge deposits of money that would enable the bank to finance huge industries and trade would mainly be drawn from deposits of Indians and of the surpluses of banks in India and Government Treasury balances; and with the opening of over a hundred branches the Imperial Bank would have a wide network of banks all over the country and would be in a position to greatly mar or help Indian commerce and industries and in view of the fact that the Imperial Bank would deal with Indian funds they had a right to ask for control to enable them to see that the Indian interests were safeguarded.

The resolution was carried with acclamations.

The Hon. Mr. Purushottam Das Thakore Das moved for the amalgamation of the Industrial Conference and the Commercial Congress. The next resolution on liquor urging early local prohibition of its manufacture, import and sale was moved by Mr. Maoji Govindji and seconded by Mr. Mukherji and Mr. K. Natarajan. The President Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy next put the following resolution from the chair:—

The Conference recognises the urgent need of

having Indians with trade experience as trade representatives in the most important commercial centres of the world to look after the industrial and commercial interests of India and strongly recommends Government to appoint immediately Indians and commercial attaches at least in the United States of America, Germany, France, Japan and China and trade commissioners in East Africa and Mesopotamia.

The Conference then adopted a resolution condemning in emphatic terms the anti Indian agitation in South and East Africa and urging retaliatory measures against the British colonies that mete out to Indians differentiating treatment, by closing British or Indian services to the citizens of those colonies and by prohibiting the export of all raw materials and also resolving to send a deputation under the auspices of Imperial citizenship Association under Mr. C. F. Andrews' leadership to assist in leading evidence before the South African Commission and then to go to England. Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya, Madras, moved a resolution urging the early publication of the Currency and Finance Committee's report* and to defer definite action till public opinion has been ascertained and in the meantime to remove the embargo on the import of precious metals.

The text of the resolutions passed will be found in another page in this issue.

* Since published. *Vide Summary:*

REPORT OF THE CURRENCY COMMITTEE

The report of the Committee appointed to enquire into Indian exchange and currency has been published and is signed by Sir H. Byington Smith, Chairman, Lord Chalmers, Sir Marshall Reid, Sir James Brunyate, Mr. F. C. Goodenough, Mr. C. S. A. Adlis, Mr. C. T. Needham, Mr. M. M. S. Gubby, Sir Bernard Hunter and Mr. T. W. McMorran. The Indian member, Mr. D. M. Dalal, did not sign the report but appended a minority report which runs to 16 pages. The following is the official summary of the conclusion arrived at by the majority whose report covers 38 pages:—

i. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS.

(i) It is desirable to restore stability to the rupee and to re-establish the automatic working of the Indian currency system (Para 36.)

(ii) The reduction of the fineness or weight of the rupee (para 38), the issue of 2 or 3 rupee coins of lower proportional silver content than the present rupee (para 39), or the issue of a nickel rupee (para 40) are expedients that cannot be recommended.

If the legal tender limit of one rupee for the 8 anna nickel coin should prove an obstacle to its free circulation the question of raising the limit to Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 should be considered. (Para 40.)

(iii) The maintenance of the convertibility of the note-issue is essential, and proposals that do not adequately protect the Indian Paper Currency from the risk of becoming inconvertible cannot be entertained. (Para 41.)

(iv) The rise in exchange, in so far as it has checked and mitigated the rise in Indian prices, has been to the advantage of the country as a whole, and it is desirable to secure the continuance of this benefit. (Para 50.)

(v) Indian trade is not likely to suffer any permanent injury from the fixing of exchange at a high level.

If, contrary to expectation, a great and rapid fall in world prices were to take place, and if the costs of production in India fail to adjust themselves with equal rapidity to the lower level of prices, then, it might be necessary to consider the problem a fresh. (Para 51.)

(vi) The development of Indian industry would not be seriously hampered by a high rate of exchange. (Para 52.)

(vii) The gain to India of a high rate of exchange for meeting the Home charges is an incidental

advantage that must be taken into consideration. (Para 53.)

(viii) To postpone fixing a stable rate of exchange would be open to serious criticism and entail prologation of Government control. (Para 58.)

(ix) The balance of advantage is decidedly on the side of fixing the exchange value of the rupee in terms of gold rather than in terms of sterling. (Paras, 56-7.)

(x) The stable relation to be established between the rupee and gold should be at the rate of Rs. 10 to one sovereign, or, in other words, at the rate of one rupee for 11 30,016 grains of fine gold, both for foreign exchange and for internal circulation. Para 59.

(xi) If silver rises for more than a brief period above the parity of 2s. (gold) the situation should be met by all other available means rather than by impairing the convertibility of the note-issue. Such measures might be (a) reduction of sale of Council bills; (b) abstention from purchase of silver; (c) use of gold to meet demands for metallic currency. It should be absolutely necessary to purchase silver, the Government should be prepared to purchase even at a price such that rupees would be coined at a loss. (Para 59.)

(xii) Council drafts are primarily sold not for the convenience of trade, but to provide for the Home charges in the widest sense of the term. There is no obligation to sell drafts to meet all trade demands; but, if without inconvenience or with advantage the Secretary of State is in a position to sell drafts in excess of his immediate needs, when a trade demand for them exists, there is no objection to his doing so, subject to due regard being paid to the principles governing the location of the reserves.

Council drafts should be sold, as now, by open tender at competitive rates, a minimum rate being fixed from time to time on the basis of the sterling cost of shipping gold to India. At present this rate will vary; but when sterling is again equivalent to gold, it will remain uniform. (Para 61.)

(xiii) The Government of India should be authorised to announce, without previous reference to the Secretary of State on each occasion, their readiness to sell weekly a stated amount of Revenue Councils (including telegraphic transfers) during periods of exchange weakness at a price based on cost of shipping gold from India to the United Kingdom. Para 62.

(xiv) The quantity of gold taken by India for all purposes in the period before the war was not disproportionately large having regard to her social customs and economic position; but more productive methods for employing wealth should be encouraged. (Paras, 63-4.)

(xv) The import and export of gold to and from India should be free from Government control. (Para 65.)

(xvi) The Government should continue to aim at giving the people the form of currency which they demand, whether rupees, notes, or gold; but gold can be employed to the best advantage in the Government reserves, where it is available for meeting the demand for foreign remittance.

It would not be to India's advantage to actively encourage the increased use of gold in the internal circulation, but it may for some time be difficult to meet all demands for metallic currency in rupees, and a more extensive use of gold may be necessary. In

order that confidence may not be disturbed by exceptional issues, the issue of gold coin in moderate quantities should be one of the normal methods of meeting demands for currency. (Para 66.)

(xvii) The Bombay branch of the Royal Mint should be re-opened for the coinage of sovereigns and half-sovereigns and facilities should be afforded to the public for the coinage of gold bullion and for the refining of gold. (Para 67.)

(xviii) The obligation of the Government to give rupees for sovereigns should be withdrawn. (Para 68.)

(xix) Opportunities should be afforded to the public to exchange sovereigns in their possession at the rate of 15 rupees per sovereign at the time of the introduction of the new ratio. Similar opportunities should be given to holders of the gold mohur which should eventually be demonstrated. (Para 69.)

(xx) The prohibition on the import of silver should be removed as soon as is convenient. (Para 70.)

(xxi) When the prohibition on the import of silver is removed the import duty should also be removed, unless the fiscal position demands its retention. (Para 71.)

(xxii) The prohibition on the export of silver should be retained for the present with a view to the protection of the silver currency from depletion by export.

If the silver mined in India should cease to be purchased by the Government, its export should be permitted under licence. Para 72.

xxiii. Improved banking facilities and increase opportunities for the investment of savings should be afforded. Para 73.

xxiv. No recommendation is made for modifying the present practice regulating the purchase of silver for coinage. Para 74.

xxv. The statutory minimum for the metallic portion of the Paper Currency Reserve should be 40 per cent of the gross circulation.

As regards the fiduciary portion of the reserve, the holding of securities issued by the Government of India should be limited to 20 crores. The balance should be held in securities of other Governments comprised within the British Empire, and of the amount so held not more than ten crores should have more than one year's maturity, and all should be redeemable at a fixed date. The balance of the invested portion above these 50 crores should be held in short-dated securities, with not more than one year's maturity, issued by Governments within the British Empire.

The existing permissive maximum of 120 crores should be retained for a limited period.

The sterling investments and gold in the Paper Currency Reserve should be re-valued at 2s. to the rupee. The depreciation which will result from this re-valuation cannot be made good at once, but any savings resulting from the rise in exchange will afford a suitable means for discharging this liability in a limited number of years. Para. 78-79.

xxvi. With a view to meeting the seasonal demand for additional currency, provision should be made for the issue of notes up to five crores over and above the normal fiduciary issue as loans to the presidency Banks on the security of export bills of exchange. Para 80.

xxvii. The silver and gold in the Paper Currency Reserve should be held in India except for transitory purposes. Para 81.

xxviii. As soon as circumstances permit, free facilities for the encashment of notes should be given, and the restrictions imposed during the war should be withdrawn. The Government should have the option of redeeming its notes in full legal tender gold or silver coin. Para 82.

xxix. No limit can yet be fixed to the amount up to which the Gold Standard Reserve should be accumulated, and when profits again accrue on the coinage of rupees they should be credited in their entirety to the reserve. Para 83.

xxx. Under the present conditions Government should hold such gold as they obtain in the Paper Currency Reserve rather than in the Gold Standard Reserve. The Gold Standard Reserve should when practicable contain a considerable proportion of gold; but the most satisfactory course at present lies in keeping the reserve as liquid as possible by the holding of securities with early dates of maturity.

The amount of securities in the reserve with a maturity exceeding three years should not be increased, and the aim should be to hold all the invested portion of the reserve in securities issued by Governments within the British Empire other than the Government of India and having a fixed date of maturity of not more than 12 months. Para 84.

xxxi. A portion of the gold in the Gold Standard Reserve, not exceeding one-half, should be held in India, the sterling investments should continue to be held in London. Para 85.

ii MR. DALAL'S MINUTE.

Mr. Dalal, in his minority report, has made the following recommendations:—

a. The money standard in India should remain unaltered; that is, the standard of the sovereign and gold mohurs with rupees related thereto at the ratio of 15 to 1.

b. Free and unfettered imports and exports by the public of gold bullion and gold coins.

c. Free and unfettered imports and exports by the public of silver bullion and silver coins.

d. The gold mint at Bombay to be continued and to receive gold bullion from the public and to coin free of charge gold mohurs of the same exact weight and fineness as the sovereign and to hand the over to the tenderers of gold bullion in less than 15 days.

e. The Bombay mint to undertake refining of raw gold for the public and not to make any profit on the transaction.

f. The existing silver rupees of 165 grains of fine silver at present in circulation to continue full legal tender.

g. As long as the price of silver in New York is over 92 cents Government should not manufacture silver rupees containing 165 grains fine silver.

h. As long as the price of silver is over 92 cents Government should coin 2 rupee silver coins of reduced fineness compared with that of the present silver rupee and the same to be unlimited legal tender.

i. Government coin a new 8-anna silver piece of reduced fineness and the same to be unlimited legal tender.

j. Government note to coin an 8-anna nickel piece.

k. Government to sell Council bills by competitive tenders for the amount defined in the Budget as required to be remitted to the Secretary of State. The Budget estimate to show under separate headings the amount of Council bills drawn for Home Charges, for Capital Outlay, and Discharge of Debt. Council bills to be sold for Government requirements only and not for trade purposes, except for the purpose mentioned in the next succeeding recommendation.

l. 'Revenue' drafts on London to be sold only, at 1s 3 29/32d. The proceeds of 'Reverse' drafts to be kept apart from all other Government funds and not to be utilized for any purpose except to meet drafts drawn by the Secretary of State at a rate not below 1s. 43/32d. per rupee.

m. Currency notes should be printed in India.

n. Government not to interfere with the immemorial practice of the Indian public of melting current coins.

o. The sterling investments held against the Indian note issue to be liquidated as early as possible and transmitted to India in gold.

p. The use of one-rupee currency notes to be discontinued as early as possible and meanwhile not to be forced into circulation.

iii. ANNOUNCEMENT BY S. of S.

The following announcement by the Secretary of State is also published:—

"The Secretary of State for India has considered in consultation with the Government of India the majority and minority reports received from the Committee appointed by him under the Chairmanship of Sir Henry Babington Smith to advise on the subject of Indian exchange and currency. The majority report, which is signed by the Chairman and all the members of the Committee except Mr. D. M. Dalal, states as its object the restoration of a stable and automatic system and the maintenance of the convertibility of the note issue.

2. The fundamental recommendations of the report are as follows:—

a. that the present rupee, unchanged in weight and fineness, should remain unlimited legal tender;

b. that the rupee should have a fixed exchange value and that this exchange value should be expressed in terms of gold at the rate of one rupee for 11'30016 grains of fine gold, that is one-tenth of the gold contents of the sovereign;

c. that the sovereign, which is now rated by law at rupees 15 should be made legal tender in India at the revised ratio of rupees ten to one sovereign;

d. that the import and export of gold to and from India should be free from Government control as soon as the change in the statutory ratio as been effected, and that the gold mint at Bombay should be open for the coinage into sovereigns of gold tendered by the public;

e. that the notification of Government undertaking to give rupees for sovereigns should be withdrawn;

f. that the prohibition on the private import and export of silver should be removed in due course and that the import duty on silver should be repealed unless the fiscal position demands its detention.

3. These recommendations develop with the necessary modifications required by altered circumstances

the principles on which the Indian currency system was established before the war, and are accepted by the Secretary of State in Council as expressing the goal towards which Indian administration, following the previous policy, should now be directed.

4. Under the conditions existing prior to the war sterling and gold were identical standards. The existing disparity has made a choice between the sets standards necessary, and the Committee's recommendation is in favour of placing the rupee on a gold basis.

5. In recommending a rate, namely that, above-mentioned for the exchange value of the rupee the Chairman and majority have taken account of the high range of silver prices and of the importance of safeguarding the convertibility of the Indian note issue by providing so far as possible that the token character of the rupee shall be restored and maintained, i.e., that the Indian Government may be in a position to buy silver for coinage into rupees without loss. They were also impressed by the serious economic and political risks attendant on a further expansion of Indian prices such as must be anticipated from the adoption of a low rate.

6. The arguments advanced in favour of a gold basis and of a high rate of exchange appear to the Secretary of State in Council to be conclusive, and he has decided to take the necessary steps to give immediate effect to the recommendations on these points. Accordingly, the Government of India have to-day announced that the rate which they will pay for gold tendered to them under the Gold Import Act by private importers will henceforth be fixed at one rupee for 11'30016 grains of fine gold, i.e., Rs. 10 for the gold contents of the sovereign. The consequential changes in the regulations relating to the sale of Council drafts by the Secretary of State in Council and of reverse drafts by the Government of India will be notified separately.

7. The question of the internal ratio presents special difficulties. The Committee recommend the maintenance of gold on a legal tender footing especially in view of possible difficulties in obtaining adequate supplies of silver. A fixed ratio must, therefore, be established between the rupee and gold, as used in the internal circulation, either one sovereign for Rs. 15 as at present or one sovereign for Rs. 10 in correspondence with new exchange ratio. The former alternative would give the sovereign status of an over valued token coin, necessitating permanent control over the import of sovereigns and making an open gold mint impossible. The Secretary of State in Council agrees with the Committee that such condition ought not to be contemplated as a permanent arrangement. On the other hand, the lower ratio cannot be effectively introduced while a great disparity continues to exist between the commercial price of gold in India and the intended Indian mint par of one sovereign for Rs. 10.

8. Present conditions are a product of the war and in some sense artificial. They cannot be immediately remedied without the risk of shock to the economic and monetary system in India, and of re-action elsewhere to which India cannot in her own interests be indifferent: a gradual process of rectification and of adjustment to new conditions is required. For some time past action has been taken in India to reduce the premium on gold by regular Government sales of bullion to the public, and this measure will be

further developed. It may be expected that in that way a natural adjustment may be effected until the path to legislation is cleared:

9. The Secretary of State has decided, therefore, first, that the import of gold shall continue for the present to be controlled by licence under the Gold Import Act, with a fixed acquisition rate as mentioned above; second, that meanwhile periodical sales of gold bullion to the public shall continue; and third, that as a provisional measure during the transition period sovereigns shall remain legal tender at the present ratio of Rs. 15.

10. In arriving at these decisions the Secretary of State in Council has not failed to give careful consideration to the minority report signed by Mr D. M. Dalal. Mr. Dalal's main object is the effective restoration and maintenance of the ratio of Rs. 15 to a sovereign as a measure both of exchange and of the circulating value of the rupee. In order to secure this he relies upon freedom for the melting and export of rupees and correspondingly to freedom for the import of gold. To meet the possible result in shortage of silver coins he recommends that as long as the New York price of silver remains above 92 cents, Government should coin to rupee silver coins of reduced fineness the coinage of rupees of the present weight and fineness being meanwhile suspended, and only resumed when the price of silver falls to the figure named. He also recommends that sterling drafts on the Secretary of State should be sold only at 1s 32.9 32d.

11. The Secretary of State in Council is satisfied that this programme could not be adopted without untoward consequences. The heavy exports of silver coin to be anticipated under the scheme must threaten not only the whole silver circulation but also the Government reserves of silver coin, and entail the gravest risk of inconvertibility of the Government note issue. The demand for the gold required continually to make this deficiency good must greatly aggravate any strain there may be on the gold stock of world when the freedom of import is restored. Nor is it safe to assume that these difficulties could be met by issuing new silver coins of inferior fineness: the evidence against the acceptability of an inferior substitute for the present rupee has impressed the majority, and their recommendation on this head is accepted by the Secretary of State as decisive. Mr. Dalal's recommendation in regard to the rate for sterling drafts, if adopted, must produce an immediate crash in exchange, bringing unmerited disaster to those who have reasonably relied on some continuity of policy. The only cover which his scheme affords is the export of the country's circulating currency. In any case, even if a return to the pre-war level of exchange could be accomplished without a shock to trade or risk to the Currency system, it would lay India open to a further serious inflation of prices, while the majority's recommendation would tend towards a reduction of general price levels in India.

12. Both during and since the war Indian Currency and exchange have presented problems previously unanticipated and more perplexing than any encountered since the decision to close the mints in 1893. But the Secretary of State in Council is satisfied that decisions reached promise an eventual solution, and he desires to express his acknowledgments to the Committee and their Chairman for the ability and thoroughness with which they have explored the issues and have framed their recommendation."

iv. THE GOVERNMENT'S COMMUNIQUE.

A Government of India, Finance Department, Communique, dated Delhi, 1st Feb says :—

The acquisition rate for gold imported under license into India, which has hitherto been subject to variation notified from time to time, has now, in accordance with the Secretary of State for India's separate announcement published to-day relating to the recommendations of the Indian Currency Committee, been fixed and the following fixed rates will apply to transactions on and after Monday, the 2nd February, namely Rs. 10 per each sovereign tendered for import or one rupee for 11 30016 grains of fine gold.

2. Council drafts will continue to be offered at the Secretary of State's discretion for weekly sale at the Bank of England by competitive tenders. The rate for deferred telegraphic transfers and Bills will until further notice rank for allotment with tenders at one-sixteenth of a penny higher for immediate telegraphic transfers. No announcement will be made of the minimum rate at which tenders will be accepted, and the Secretary of State in Council reserves the right of rejecting the whole or part of any tender. In accordance with the Committee's recommendations the Government of India will when occasion requires, offer for sale stated weekly amounts of sterling reverse drafts on the Secretary of State including immediate telegraphic transfers. The rates for immediate telegraphic transfers on London will be announced on each occasion by the Controller of Currency and will be based on the sterling equivalent of the price of 11·30016 grains fine gold as measured by the prevailing sterling dollar exchange, less a deduction representing the charge of remitting gold. The

rate for deferred drafts on London will until further notice be one-sixteenth of a penny higher than the immediate rate, as at present.

3. The Finance Department notification No. 4071 dated the 11th September, 1897, providing for the issue of rupees at the Reserve Treasuries in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, in exchange for sovereigns and half sovereigns, at the rate of Rs. 15 and Rs. 7½ respectively, is cancelled. Notification No. 6908-A, dated the 11th December, 1906, regarding the receipt of sovereigns and half sovereigns at the Mints is also cancelled.

4. The existing prohibition on the import of silver is cancelled, and the import duty of 4 annas an ounce is abolished. The prohibition on the export of silver remains.

5. The notifications under the Defence of India Act prohibiting the use of gold and silver coin otherwise than as currency, or dealing therein at a premium, are cancelled.

The following communique dated Delhi, 1st. February was subsequently issued :—In the Secretary of State's announcement regarding the Currency Committee's recommendations, it has been intimated that pending the removal of the control over the import of gold, the periodical sales of gold to the public will be continued and developed. The Government of India now announce that after the sale of 750,000 tolas on the 5th February, during the following six months not less than 15 million tolas will be sold. The conditions of sale be the same as heretofore, except that the minimum limit of Rs. 23-14-4 per tola is withdrawn, though Government reserve, the right to refuse any tender. The dates of each sale and the amount offered on each occasion will, as usual, be announced by the Controller of Currency, from time to time.

USE AND ABUSE OF EXAMINATIONS

In this number we give the views of distinguished educationists on the important subject of the Use and Abuse of Examinations with special reference to the educational opportunities and needs of Bengal. What is true of Bengal is more or less true of the rest of India as well. The observations contained in the following symposium are in answer to the following questions framed by the Calcutta University Commission : i. whether in the existing university system, teaching is unduly subordinated to examinations ii. whether an attempt should be made to reduce the rigidity of the examination system and iii. the limits within which examinations may serve as a test of fitness for a specific career. [Ed. I. R.]

SIR GOOROO DASS BANERJEE, M.A., D.L.

(i) The criticism that in the existing university system teaching is unduly subordinated to examination is valid only to this extent, namely, that the University regulations, by defining the extent of each subject with embarrassing minuteness, and by apportioning the marks to, the different heads of language subjects with painful particularity, encourage the idea that teaching should be conducted in all its details so as to make students learn the subjects not in their completeness, but with special reference to the portions specified in the syllabuses, attaching to each portion or

head of a language subject of importance proportionate to the marks allotted to it. And that idea is worked out to its fullest extent by teachers and professors who teach their pupils not so much to learn their subjects of study, as to learn how to pass their examinations. The fault lies, therefore, not with the system alone, but with the system and the manner in which it is worked.

(ii) The rigidity of the examination system should, therefore, be reduced by making the definition of subjects less detailed and more general, and by leaving the apportionment of marks more to the discretion of judicious examiners than to detailed specification by rules.

SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR, M A, Ph D, LL D

My general view about examinations is this:— They are necessary in order to find out whether teachers and students have been idle all the time or doing their proper duties. But, since university degrees are not to be had without an examination, the attention of the student is fully concentrated on the requirements of the examination. The teacher's tendency is also in the same direction and, if he strays a little from the courses laid down by the University, students may feel interested for a time in the new things placed before them, but do not develop that interest or care to remember those new things; i.e., learning, at least, is unduly subordinated to examination, and, in most cases, teaching also. Students even go so far, when an examiner is appointed from the teaching staff of a college, as to make it a point to procure the notes dictated to students by the examiner while lecturing to his pupils in his college and oftentimes the reading of these notes enhances their chances of passing. How to render examinations which are, of course, necessary, not harmful to proper learning and teaching, and how to make the student take an interest in the subject solely taught, and not to confine his attention to the mere acquisition of a knowledge sufficient to enable him to answer the examiner's questions, is a difficult problem. But I will make an attempt to answer it. The teacher himself should be a person of such high qualifications as will, naturally, enable him to inspire respect for himself in the minds of his students. He should so arrange his lectures as to awaken the interest of the students and intermix his lectures with questions to ascertain whether the students have really understood him and do appreciate what is told to them. The harmfulness of an examination is due not only to the examination as an examination, but to the qualifications of the examiner also. His questions should be such as are calculated to test whether the examinee has devoted any thought to the points raised in the book he has learnt and made them his own or appreciates them at their true value. But sufficient care is not bestowed by the syndicate on the appointment of proper examiners and cases are not wanting in which the syndicate reproves an examiner for putting testing questions, especially when there are complaints about them in the newspapers or representations from relations or teachers of examinees. The examiner should be left free to put questions on matters intimately connected with those contained in the

book prescribed, though not actually mentioned in the book itself. In other words, the examiner should be required to set questions calculated to test the candidate's general knowledge of the subject treated in the book taken up.

Subject to these general observations:—

(i) (a) The teaching should be defined, as at present, by prescribed examination requirements.

(b) The suggestion should not be accepted except in the case of a teacher of known eminence and interested in the maintenance of his reputation.

(c) The teaching alluded to might be given. But, I am afraid that, if not tested by a formal university examination, it will not be cared for by my students.

(iii) I think that after the final examination in these subjects the passed candidate should, for one year at least, be required to serve as an apprentice to an eminent practitioner in these professions.

PROF. B. C. ROSE, M.A.

Prof. of English, Presidency College, Calcutta.

(i) The charge that teaching is now unduly subordinated to examination appears pretty correct. Yet, evidently it is due not to any intrinsic defect in the system itself, but to the way in which it is usually worked. For instance, some of the questions set at a university examination are often such as to be beyond the capacity of candidates; hence, they have to get up a mass of unadorned verbiage to be able to 'pass'; and many teachers are tempted to encourage their pupils to be more attentive to the peculiar tactics helpful for getting through, than to such a natural and liberal study of the subject itself as would be prompted by a genuine interest in it. If the questions be so framed that they can be well answered by one who has a thorough grasp of his subject up to the prescribed standard, but who has no care for any artificial dodges, and cannot be answered without the former in spite of the latter, the tendency of boys and masters to neglect proper education for unintelligent cramming will be automatically set right. And, it should be noted, such a change in the method of working is quite consistent with the principles of "the existing university system" and, hence, can be well introduced without much alteration in the system itself.

(ii) In the present state of education and other circumstances in the country no relaxation of the existing examination system seems desirable.

HON. SIR BIJAY CHAND MAHTAB.

Mahararadhiroja Bahadur of Burdwan.

(i) The criticism that in the existing university system teaching is unduly subordinated to examination is true. There have been some improvements upon the old system, which was far too rigid, but even the present system is not quite up to the mark. Teachers have, no doubt, at present been given some freedom in the choice of courses but, as the results of class examinations are not taken into account, the effect is not as it could be desired. Students generally aim at passing the university examinations without any attempt to acquire a thorough knowledge of the prescribed subjects and teachers generally fix their attention on university questions and make the same selection of courses almost everywhere, as the questions of the University are generally limited to some definite courses.

(ii) (b) Teachers should be given a maximum of freedom in the choice of courses and the class examinations should be adjusted to the courses given by individual teachers, but these examinations should further be supplemented by university examinations on the general knowledge of the subjects up to some definite standards fixed in respect of each degree or diploma. The selection of subjects and the determination of standards must rest with the University.

(iii) For the legal profession I think a general knowledge of English and Logic is required such as that reached by the present B. A. standard, and a special knowledge of jurisprudence and principles of equity is particularly necessary. Besides these, Hindu Law, Muhammadan Law, the laws of evidence, contract, conveyance, and some other civil and criminal laws should be studied. The numerous codes that are at present prescribed for law students do not always appear to be necessary.

MR. UMESH CHANDRA HALDAR, M. A.

Headmaster, Zilla School, Rungpur.

(i) Yes; the subordination is due mainly to two causes—inefficient teaching and defective methods of examination.

(ii) If there be any rigidity of examination that might be relaxed by permitting candidates who happen to fail in one or two subjects to appear at the next examination in those subjects only.

RAI BAHADUR RADHA CHARAN PAL.

(i) I am emphatically of opinion that under the existing system teaching is wholly dominated by examinations, and this is probably the root cause of students not getting the full benefits of a university career. Anything which would tend to make reading free and agreeable should be encouraged. Study for the sake of passing a mechanical system of examination cannot but be distasteful, and certainly does not generate a craving for knowledge for its own sake.

(ii) (b) More freedom given to the teacher will be a move in the right direction, but the teacher must be of sufficient calibre. If such teachers were obtainable I would indeed go so far as to advocate a system under which absolute uniformity of courses or standards need not be insisted upon. In the absence of these, examinations, common to a number of colleges will, no doubt, be a difficulty, though, in practice, it would probably be found that colleges could be grouped for purposes of examination, and the results would not be satisfactory if the pupils under examination were given a very ample choice of questions selected to suit candidates from institutions working under slightly different curricula. It would probably be found most satisfactory that each college should examine its own pupils, the questions having been previously submitted to and finally settled by a board appointed by the University, in whose hands the general control of the examination should be placed. Each college should, on the result of its own examination, be required to submit a list of students considered deserving of a degree. I see no reason why the system I advocate should not be applied, at all events as regards the intermediate examination, even if it should be considered unsuitable for degree examinations.

PROF. E. D. LUCAS, M. A.

Principal, Forman Christian College, Lahore.

(i) Yes a great deal of validity in the Punjab.
(ii) If all honours and post-graduate teaching were definitely in the hands of the University itself the rest of the course could be committed to the colleges themselves, under the safeguards above mentioned.

(iii) Some of the best teachers, in my judgment, are men who would not shine in any examination that could be invented to test their ability to teach. There should be an examination system to test minimum requirements but, beyond that, each profession makes demands upon personality which no examination can ensure.

DR. N. ANNANDALE, B.A., D.Sc.

Director, Zoological Survey of India.

(i) My own experience of examinations has been unfortunate. I ceased to take any part in the ordinary examinations of the Calcutta University some ten years ago, and finally severed all connection with the University, because I found that in such examinations there was a very strong tendency among the examiners to lower the standard of examination on every possible occasion and on every conceivable ground, out of pity for the individual student. My colleagues, however, who still conduct examinations, tell me that, at any rate so far as zoology is concerned, things have greatly improved in this respect. My own impression is that more harm is done by lowering the standard of examination than by insisting on the examination itself.

(ii) For the reasons given in the preceding paragraph I do not think that any attempt should be made to abolish the examination system so far as ordinary degrees are concerned, but consider that it would be beneficial if greater license were permitted so far as syllabus, etc., were concerned in the B. Sc. and other higher degrees.

(iii) In present conditions it seems to be an unfortunate necessity, especially in dealing with large bodies of students, that examinations should be made the test for admission to certain professions, such as medicine, law, and engineering. I am very doubtful, however, whether they provide any useful test in connection with agriculture, commerce, and industry; I am sure that they are quite useless in purely scientific posts.

So far as public services are concerned I can only cite my own experience, which is confined to the lower branches. I have never in my own department appointed as a clerk or assistant any man who had a university degree. The posts to which I have had to make appointments of the kind have, as a rule, carried salaries considerably above the lower limit at which it was possible to obtain the services of a university graduate, but it has been my experience that I could engage a better man by ignoring university qualifications among the candidates, giving a little practical examination of my own and insisting on a short, but strict, period of probation. By better men I mean not men who were better acquainted with rules and regulations or more capable of assimilating official routine, but men who were better able to adapt themselves to changing conditions and different kinds of work, even if their actual powers of intellect were not so highly trained. As

laboratory assistants, indeed, I have, as a rule, engaged quite young boys with nothing more than "the three Rs," an active intelligence, and a good school record to their credit. So far as I am in a position to judge, the graduate clerk, as at present produced in Calcutta, is a highly specialised being who has been taught that to think for himself is a breach of official etiquette. He is at home only in the atmosphere he has created for himself in ordinary Government offices.

I think that junior clerks are not true legitimate offsprings of a university. I would prefer to see them formed and polished in special clerks' colleges, not invested with the spurious dignity that attaches to a university degree.

MR. CHINTA HARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

Principal, David Hare Training College.

(i) Under the existing system teaching is unduly subordinated to examination. Teachers and guardians are more anxious for the success of the student in the examination than for the development of his body, mind, and character. There is a lamentable lack of higher ideals of culture for its own sake.

(ii) The rigidity of the examination system should be reduced to its minimum especially for professional subjects of study.

(iii) The possession of a diploma or degree is not an infallible test of fitness for a specific career, e.g., teaching. The present method of holding the practical examination of the L. T. and B. T. candidates to test their fitness for teaching is defective for the following reasons:—

(A) The external examiner appointed by the University has not got sufficient time to test thoroughly the skill in the teaching of individual candidates by judging their three lessons in the manner required by the regulations of the University. He can form but a superficial estimate of a candidate's teaching skill from his extremely short acquaintance with the candidate's practical work.

(B) The principal of the training college as an internal examiner has now only a divided responsibility in adjudging passes in the practical test. He cannot, therefore, conduct the practical examination of his students in the same responsible manner as he would have done had he been the sole judge in the matter. As he knows most intimately the candidates' skill and qualifications in practical teaching through their work under his supervision during their period of training his opinion should be final in the matter,

DR. PRABHU DUTT SHASTRI, M.A.

Prof. of Philosophy, Presidency College, Calcutta.

(i) It may be truly asserted that under the existing university system teaching is unduly subordinated to examination.

(ii) But, as examination is the most convenient way of testing students' fitness it cannot altogether be dispensed with. The way in which it is at present conducted needs reform.

(A) For the sake of uniformity a syllabus should be defined in every case, but it could be made sufficiently elastic if the system of inter-collegiate lectures is adopted, especially for the B.A. honours and the M.A. The syllabus should be drawn up by all those engaged in the teaching of a certain subject and, so far as teaching goes, each teacher should limit himself to that branch and portion of the subject in which he may be specially interested. Students may attend different courses according to their requirements.

(B) The B.A. pass course should be provided for in each college independently. Inter-collegiate lectures are recommended for the B.A. honours and the M.A.

(C) All regulations requiring students to complete a certain percentage of lectures in order to be eligible for the examination should be abolished. They should be allowed to attend any lectures they may like.

(D) University professors should also be attached to a college by rotation.

(E) The Intermediate examination should be abolished altogether.

(F) Either the I.A. classes should be added to the school course or, if the existing system continues, student may be promoted to the third-year class by the college authorities on the strength of class record.

(G) I do not think that it is necessary to have a formal university examination for each section of a subject.

(H) None should be appointed to teach the M.A. classes who does not possess a British degree, with some distinction, or else has not had at least five years' teaching experience after taking his Indian degree.

(I) The practice of dictating 'complete notes' to students is nowhere so common as in Bengal. Hence, examinations should be so conducted as to discourage 'cram', and to require a first-hand acquaintance with the original texts and some evidence of independent thinking.

(J) There should be a *viva voce* test in every examination.

(K) For professions such as medicine, law, teaching, etc., it is desirable to have special examinations. The practice of admitting only graduates should cease. For each professional course there should be a 'preliminary' test, on the passing of which one should be admitted to the course of study. It is not necessary to have a formal university examination at the end of each year's course. For instance, in law, only the B.L. might remain a formal examination, and the other two examinations, viz., the preliminary and the intermediate, might be abolished, and students' work may be judged by their class exercises. At present, students attend their law classes simply for making up the required percentage. In teaching also only the B.T. examination might remain a university test; the L.T. may be turned into a mere departmental test, without any formal examination, and the record for the lessons given by a pupil teacher during the whole session may receive due consideration.

RAI BAHADUR P. K. BASU.

Professor, Holkar College, Indore.

(i) How far examination has subordinated teaching can be gauged from what is very often noticed during an inspection of English high schools. A boy in the preparatory class is often in doubt whether he himself or his name is the noun and a boy in the top class is dumb when asked why a flat curve does not come under the definition of a straight line given in his text-book. Teachers complain that boys do not pay any attention to fundamental principles as these are never asked in the final examination.

(ii) Under the circumstances the modification I would propose is that the examination should conform to a definite standard and the teacher be given full freedom within that standard.

(iii) University examinations can never take the place of professional studies. They can, at best, form a basis for subsequent work. Even in the profession of teaching a university degree does not necessarily indicate a good teacher. In some of the professions, e.g., medicine, law, etc., it is perhaps unsafe even to assume that success at an examination in a special subject indicates any special aptitude for that subject. Examination tests, other than those in the actual field of work, can only fix the minimum of educational attainments.

DR. C. E. CULLIS, M. A. PH. D.

Prof. of Mathematics, Calcutta University.

(i) If teaching means only training of the faculties and guidance in the acquisition of knowledge it can be said that teaching is, often unduly subordinated to examination. The remedy must lie in the character of the examination and a sufficient supply of good teachers who are able to take a real interest in their subjects. For training only less extensive schemes of study are appropriate.

If teaching includes, as in general it must, the imparting of knowledge irrespectively of the methods used, then the degree to which it must be subordinate to examination is very variable, depending on the object to be attained, and on the nature, extent, and degree of development of the subject taught. In this case it can only be said that a good teacher who has sufficient leisure will always pay as much attention as is possible to training the faculties of his students.

(ii) A relaxation of the examination system hardly seems to be feasible where it is required to classify a large number of students. The classification arrived at by examination is, in general, correct; a good first class man is better than a second class man; a man who specially distinguishes himself has exceptional ability, and so on. It becomes sufficiently precise in an individual case when it is supplemented by personal knowledge and personal observation.

MR. KARUNA KANTA DAS GUPTA, B.A.

Head Master, Collegiate School, Gauhati.

(i) There is much truth in the criticism that teaching at present is unduly subordinated to examination. This is due to many causes of which I shall take the liberty of mentioning a few:—

(A) Percentage of passes in the examination is a test of success, or otherwise, of a school or college.

(B) The possession of a university degree is a passport to many services, and to the study of law—and the condition of the country is such that service or law is looked upon as the final goal by a not insignificant number of students.

(C) A plucked candidate is always considered as a person of inferior merit by our society no less than by employers when filling up vacancies or newly created posts.

(D) The standard, for instance, of knowledge demanded of a matriculation candidate seems to be lower than it was ten years ago. As a necessary

consequence the number of passes in the first division is quite disproportionately larger now than before.

(ii) In my opinion, a subject in which teaching is given, but no university examination is to be held to test it, will be neglected in schools as being considered superfluous for the success of the school. In such cases, a departmental test by the inspector of schools or the headmasters to qualify pupils for sitting at the matriculation examination may reduce, to a certain extent, the evils thereof.

(iii) There should be special and distinct boards or universities for the professions of medicine, engineering, law, agriculture, commerce, and industry, but admission to these should be subject to the condition of a candidate being at least the holder of a science or arts pass university certificate.

As a test of fitness for the profession of teaching in schools one must be an I.T. or B.T., but this should be under the control of the divisional universities.

MR. MAHOMED SULTAN ALUM.

Attorney-at-Law, High Court, Calcutta.

(i) I think that teaching is very greatly subordinated to examination. Students study the books on the lines of examination so that they may pass the examination creditably, and not to acquire real knowledge. They read the keys of those books and memorise them with the sole intention of passing an examination.

(ii) I think, to some extent, the rigidity of the examination system should be reduced, and examiners ought to show leniency to the examinees and, in that case, many more students would pass, and that would do no harm to Government or to any class of people. This will rather increase the ardour of young men which, I think, is a necessary thing. The more educated men the better.

(a) The teaching might, for certain purposes, be denied, as at present, specially in the matriculation and I. A. by prescribed examination requirements.

(b) I do not approve of it as it would involve multifarious examinations.

(c) This ought to be observed for the B. A. examination, and, specially in the M. A., there ought not be any test by a formal university examiner.

(iii) I think it advisable to have limits within which examinations may serve as a test of fitness for a specific career.

PROF. S. G. DUNN, M.A.

Fellow of the Allahabad University.

(i) My experience in the United Provinces convinces me that this criticism is justified there, but that the evil is not due to the examination system. It is due to two causes:—

(A) Students have been so badly trained in the schools, they have so little general knowledge, and their thinking powers are so underdeveloped, that the teacher in a college finds himself compelled to concentrate his attention on the bare requirements of the course prescribed for the examination. In the English course, for example, his whole time is spent in the interpretation of the texts prescribed for study; for even this elementary work he has not time enough since the difficulties experienced by his pupils are so many and baffling owing to their deficient knowledge of English as a language. If the teacher is to get his pupils safely through the examination he must neglect the real business of education, the wider issues, the broad view. He can only hope to impart these in the hours outside the lecture-room, and these are few.

(B) The second cause is the weakness of the teaching staff. Too many of our teachers in colleges are not men of a real university type; they are capable of cramming their students for examinations because they can themselves make use, for this purpose, of text-books, notes, and "keys"; but they have no original views, no power of awakening interest, no grasp of their subject. They subordinate their teaching to the examination because they do not know how to teach in any other way.

The evil will continue until we have better material sent up by the schools and better teachers to deal with that material. No reformation of the examination system, no grant of greater freedom to the teachers, will avail while the present conditions exist. The student is also to blame in the matter. The Indian undergraduate is probably no more lazy than the young men of other countries, but in India there are, not the same inducements to make him work as there are elsewhere, and there are, at the same time, many things to distract his attention, even in those periods of the year when the climate is favourable to mental exertion. It must be remembered that, apart from a real interest in "divine" speculation, there is in India a traditional distrust of "humane learning and literature" rarely defined and sometimes indignantly repudiated, but as powerful a deterrent from activities that seem in its eyes "vain."

MR. GAURANGNATH BANERJEE, M.A.

Premchand Roychand Scholar.

(i) I think that there is absolutely no validity in the criticism that in the existing University system teaching is unduly subordinated to examination. This criticism has, however, been frequently brought forward by some unscrupulous and interested persons to bring discredit to the existing system of the University.

(ii) An attempt should be made to reduce the rigidity of the existing examination system.

(a) The teaching might, for certain purposes, be defined, as at present, by prescribed examination requirements. This, I think, however, should be allowed up to the B. A. pass standard.

(b) The system of leaving teachers with a maximum of freedom, and the examinations being adjusted to the courses given by individual teachers, should be introduced in the B. A. honours classes and in the post graduate department of the University; for, in these cases, only one teacher is engaged in teaching a special subject under the guidance and control of the board of higher studies in that subject.

(c) Yes; this is quite possible in some particular subjects or sections of a subject, e.g., history of fine art, comparative mythology of the Aryan nations, etc.

PROF. R. N. GILCHRIST, M.A., F.R.E.S.

Principal, Krishnagar College.

(i) Teaching is unduly subordinated to examination in the University; in fact, though there are many teaching colleges in the University, students, as far as examination results are concerned, might all be external students. I have already spoken of this in the first question in reference to the University organisation, to the lack of knowledge in English, to cramming, and to text books.

(ii) (a) I consider that under any university organisation the teaching must be defined by prescribed examination requirements. The present University defines work in this way, but the prescription of work should be on the lines given in the University regulations, not as these regulations are interpreted in the calendar. I have the strongest condemnation for prescribed books or suggested books. Suggested books tend to become prescribed books. The scope of the work should be set down, and the method of teaching, as well as source of teaching left to the teachers. Prescribed classics, of course, must be continued, e.g., Shakespeare's plays in English or Aristotle's *politics* in political science.

DR. ABDURRAHMAN, B.A., LL.B.

Educational Adviser to H. H. The Ruler of Bhopal.

The examination for the B.A. degree in its present form was begun at Oxford in 1802.

Written examinations have never been known in India; and, up to this time, private Sanskrit *patshalas* and Arabic *madrasahs* do not recognise them.

In Germany the universities do not believe in written examinations and employ the dissertation and oral examination method for testing the educational progress and intellectual capacity of the student.

In America the system is a graft of the German on the English method; the tendency is to reduce the number of examinations as far as possible. It is high time now that the evils of over examination in the Calcutta and other universities were removed.

In Germany a student who is awarded a doctorate appears at no written examination. In Oxford or Cambridge a student who obtains his B.A. degree appears only at one written examination, and there is not to this day any examination for the master's degree. But in India a graduate who receives his M.A. degree from the Calcutta or any other university has to appear at the intermediate, B.A., and M.A., three successive university examinations.

The overpressure of examination in the Indian universities is one of the chief causes of physical degeneration among the educated classes.* * *

Information acquired for examination is often obtained from "keys," "made-easies," and "epitomes." Such unassimilated knowledge is worse than useless since it is not only incapable of practical application, but takes up the room of better material. "Its presence weakens the potentiality of the soul."

I do not object to the system of prescribing and recommending (with sufficient alternatives) books to be studied. Perhaps in no country in the world do they play such an important role as in this country, and teachers and pupils have come to lean upon them so such a degree that perhaps they cannot all at once be abolished. They help in bringing about a similarity of method in the teaching system within the University area and, at the same time, permit sufficient variety in the mode of education. The text-book system should disappear gradually.

The system of Indian University examinations has reduced the profession to such a low level that it would not be far wrong to say that a

professor in this country is a person who dictates notes to a class of students. His object generally is that his scholars should pass their examinations, and he is content to take the readiest means of attaining it. He teaches, but does not educate, there is no 'bi-polarity', or intellectual reciprocity, between him and his students. The process unceasingly and gradually, but surely, diseducates the professor himself and, in the end, instead of making the student a copy of the teacher, reduces the teacher to become a copy of the student. He becomes as Edward Holmes would say 'machine-made' and produces nothing but 'machine-made scholars'.

I propose, therefore, that, according to the limitation imposed on paragraph (a) above, the professors should teach after a standard. I would then leave them with a maximum of freedom and require the examinations to be adjusted to the courses given by the individual teachers.

The best method to achieve this is that, the University examinations, as they are held now, should be abolished and college examinations should take their place. Each college, in conformity with a set standard, should examine its own students. The examiner should, in each case, be the teacher of the subject of examination, who alone is the best judge of what he has taught, and whose testimony on the student's work is the most reliable; and one external examiner, appointed by the University, whose presence should help to maintain a stable standard and be a safeguard against other dangers. The results of all the colleges should be published by the University in the *University Gazette*.

.. PROF. A. E. BROWN.

Principal, Wesleyan Mission College, Bankura.

(i) There is no doubt that, at present, teaching is entirely subordinated to examination.

(ii) In our opinion, one of the chief defects in the present system is in the character of the questions set. We consider that these should be so altered as to be a real test of a student's mastery of the subject and his power to think for himself.

We believe that this change would do much to discourage "cramming" and create a real need for teaching. At the same time, we recognise that, so long as students are required to answer questions in English, examiners will hesitate to set questions of such a nature as indicated above. Examiners know quite well the extreme difficulty which the majority of students experience in trying to express any original thoughts in English.

MR. RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE, M. A.

Editor, The Modern Review.

- (i) There is.
(ii) Yes; an attempt should be made to reduce the rigidity of the examination system.

(a) Yes.

(b) The teacher should certainly be left with a maximum of freedom. It would be the ideal thing to adjust examinations to the courses given by individual teachers of *recognised standing*; but it would be practicable to do so only in a university of a moderate size, not in one like the present Calcutta University.

Nevertheless, the suggestion may be carried out in the case of courses given by a few of our most distinguished post-graduate professors.

(c) Yes.

(iii) In the professions of medicine, law, teaching, and engineering, and in agriculture, commerce, and industry, examinations may serve as a test for a specific career. In the judicial branch of the public service the examinations in law may serve the same purpose as at present. In the executive and other branches separate competitive examinations would be desirable.

MR SURENDRANATH BANERJEE, M.A.

Professor, Ripon College, Calcutta.

(i) Yes; teaching is unduly subordinated to examination. Students preparing for any university examination often assimilate as much of the teaching as they consider absolutely necessary for this purpose; as a consequence of this they rely upon the numerous hand-books, notes, etc., which are now flooding the market.

(ii) Certainly an attempt should be made to reduce the rigidity of the examination system; and, for this purpose:—

(a) the teaching might be defined by prescribed examination requirements in arts subjects; and

(b) the teacher might be left with a maximum of freedom and the examinations be adjusted to the *practical* courses given by individual teachers in science subjects.

Acquisition of knowledge is one thing, and the passing of an examination is quite another. Indian students have been somehow led to believe that the passing of a university examination is the goal of their existence and of their college career. Many candidates are known to have scored success at the degree examination simply by committing to memory notes given by their professors or those that are published. Consequently, the average B. A. of our universities can

hardly be said to be real scholars. Why should an Indian graduate be inferior to any graduate of a foreign university, both as regards the depth and breadth of his culture?

It is because the Indian student thinks only of the particular tricks for passing his examination and is almost indifferent to the subject matter. If the question papers of several years be scrutinised it will be seen that one can easily find out from the frequency of any particular question, or set of questions, the relative importance of only those answers and the student necessarily pays his sole attention to only those parts of the subject for the purpose of passing the examination. The paper setters are also not always very careful and judicious in framing the questions. They ought to go through the prescribed text-books themselves and then make a judicious and careful selection of questions.

It is a queer system in our universities which does not allow the actual teachers to be examiners of those particular subjects. The business of framing questions, when left to outsiders, is likely to bring about the defects already pointed out. Under proper safe-guards teachers ought to be considered the best persons for setting examination papers in their own subjects.

PROF. MANMATHANATH BANERJEE.

University College of Science.

(i) There is no denying the fact that in the existing system teaching is, to a certain extent, subordinated to examination and, in some cases the degree of subordination is too great. But I think that is a necessary evil under the present conditions for it is noticed, that students often neglect those important branches of a subject on which minimum marks are assigned in the paper by the regulations.

(ii) (a) I am in agreement with the lines suggested for reducing the rigidity of the examination system.

(b) I am opposed to examinations being adjusted so as to suit the courses given by individual teachers; at least in the lower stages, for this would be impracticable and undesirable. Of course, teachers may, with advantage, be given freedom in teaching. I insist that the present system of including outsiders amongst the paper setters is salutary and should not be dispensed with.

(c) I think there is much expediency in the condition contemplated, but I want to impress that some sort of practical examination must be a necessary test in every science subject.

DR. PROFULLA CHANDRA MITTER.

Sir R. B. Ghose Professor of Chemistry.

(i) In an affiliating university like Calcutta, with many of its colleges at distant centres, a fixed syllabus is necessary in order that there may be some sort of uniformity in the standard of teaching. As the syllabus serves as a guide also to the examiners a teacher may be tempted to be guided entirely by the syllabus as to what he should teach. Though teaching may in this way be now and then subordinated to examination good teachers are by no means rare who regard the syllabus as the absolute minimum required and who are prompted by a genuine desire of doing their best by their pupils.

A welcome change in the examination system would be to allow all post-graduate students to substitute a piece of research work in lieu of a part, or the whole, of the written examination for the M. A. or M. Sc. degree. There should be no written examinations for the doctorate.

MR. MARK HUNTER, M. A.

(i) There is certainly validity in the criticism that in Indian Universities teaching tends to be duly subordinated to examination. The thing is, unfortunately, inevitable. Whether critics correctly gauge the extent of the evil, or whether the remedy they have in view is the right one, is quite another matter.

(ii) (b) I do not consider the changes indicated to be practicable.

(c) I do not consider it desirable, except perhaps in the case of some of the more advanced courses in which a certificate given by a University professor, or some college professor whose judgment and independence could be thoroughly relied on, might, in certain parts of the course, be accepted in lieu of an examination test. Still, even here there would be difficulties. To give power to one professor to grant certificates, and withhold it from another, would be invidious; to trust all would be fatal. In the ordinary courses the plan, I am convinced, would not work. Even were lecturers willing to teach, the majority of the students would be at no pains to learn subjects in which their proficiency is not tested by an examination. College examinations could, no doubt, be substituted for university examinations, but the consequence would be every variety of standard in the examination and a most undesirable variety in the value of degrees granted, to some extent, on success in college examinations. I believe the true remedy should be sought in steady improvement within the present system.

Course and examination should be closely inter-related so that each in its proper sphere should be duly subordinate to the other. Provided the examination presumes the right sort of course, and the proper conduct of such course, there is no reason why courses should not, so far, be conditioned by examinations. But in order to effect this harmony it seems essential that the men who are really responsible for the courses should, in practice, control the examination. This would not preclude the appointment of external examiners, but these should be in a distinct minority.

BABU KISHORI MOHAN CHAUDHURI.

(i) There is no doubt that under the existing system teaching is unduly subordinated to the needs of examination.

(ii) It is only in the highest classes, viz., those in which students are carrying on independent researches, that the examinations may be dispensed with. Otherwise, for admission into the University, as well as for its degrees, I do not see how there can be any teaching without an examination to test the progress made by students. The only thing that can be done is to see that examinations are so conducted as to be a proper test, as far as possible, of the attainments of students.

(iii) If, each technical college is allowed to have an independent status, there would scarcely be any necessity for separate university examinations on these subjects. It would be quite easy for the college authorities to grant certificates to deserving students in consideration of the character of the work done by them during their college career, both of theoretical and practical training and apprenticeship. For a career in the public service I would insist upon a special examination after obtaining degrees, followed by a probationary appointment on the result, till the departmental examinations are passed.

As regards medicine, law, and teachership I would insist upon a period of apprenticeship.

Law study should not be allowed simultaneously with the study for the M. A. degree, at least in the second year. The law examination may be restricted to one year, followed by apprenticeship for one year under the guidance and supervision of a practising lawyer of some standing. If the competitive test for public service be introduced the demoralising tendency for securing by any means an M. A. degree for success in nomination and weighty recommendations would be much minimised.

SYED HASAN IMAM

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BY

MR. R. K. VENKATARAMAN.

HASAN IMAM'S FAMILY.

HR. HASAN IMAM comes of a highly respected Syed family, the members of which obtained great distinction during the Moghul period. His ancestors came to India before the Moghul Empire was founded, and one of them, Mullah Saad was tutor to the Emperor Aurangzib. Mullah Saad's son Nawab Syed Khan rose to be a Vazir of the Empire. One of the forefathers of the subject of our sketch, Nawab Mir Askari was Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Nawab in the time of Lord Clive; Mr. Imam's great grandfather, Khan Bahadur Syed Imdad Ali retired as a Sub-ordinate Judge of Patna, while his son, Khan Bahadur Shams-ul-ulama Syed Wahid-ud-din was the first Indian to be made a District Magistrate and a District and Sessions Judge. From 1854 to 1858 Mr. Wahid-ud-din was the District Magistrate of Monghyr (Bihar) and towards the end of his service he became the District and Sessions Judge of Shahabad. Mr. Hasan Imam's father, Shams-ul-ulama Nawab Syed Irdad Imam was for sometime Professor of History and Arabic in the Patna College and is well known to-day all over Bihar, for his great facility in writing Urdu poetry and his vast and varied scholarship.

Mr. Syed Sharf-ud-din, late Judge of the Calcutta and Patna High Courts and ex-Member of the Bihar Executive Council, is the maternal uncle of Mr. Imam, and another of his uncles Khan Bahadur Syed Nasir-ud-din, was the Finance Minister of Bhopal. Mr. Imam's elder brother the Hon'ble Sir Syed Ali Imam, K.C.S.I., an ex-Law Member of the Executive Council of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India and lately a Member of the Bihar Executive Council is too well-known a personality in India to need any special mention here. Sir Ali Imam has recently

been appointed the first President of the Executive Council just instituted by H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad. He, along with the subject of this sketch, is deservedly held in great respect and looked upon with just pride by the people of Bihar.



MR. SYED HASAN IMAM.

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION.

Mr. Syed Hasan Imam was born on the 31st August 1871 at Neora, little village in the District of Patna. As a child, Mr. Imam was of a very weak constitution and delicate health. It was due to his delicate health that young Imam could be sent to school only about the close of his ninth year, when he was first admitted into the T. K. Ghosel's Academy, but subsequently after a year had to be transferred to the Patna Collegiate School. He was not three

* Condensed from a sketch prepared for the "Eminent Indians Series," G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price As. 4.

years at school, when his studious habits made him ill again and he had to be sent to Arrah, a district in Bihar, for a change, where he joined the Government School and studied for two years. His elder brother passed the Entrance Examination in 1887 and had to come to Patna to prosecute his studies further; young Imam also went with him and joined the Collegiate School again. In the September of the same year Mr. Ali Imam sailed for England. At school Mr. Hasan Imam was far more ahead in English literature than in other subjects. English Poetry and English History were, as they are even now, his favourite subjects and while yet in his fourteenth year he was believed to have read most of the English poets, Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Cowper and even some of the poems of the then Poet-Laureate, Alfred Lord Tennyson. His style and command of the English language elicited admiration from his Head Master, Mr. Phillips, who used to read out his essays to the class as models of composition. Though a school boy he was allowed to join the Patna College Debating Society, and take part in the discussion. His speeches in the Society were always characterised by a great mastery of the language and a wonderfully correct English accent. The idea that he too should go to England first emanated from his mother and on the 24th of July, 1889, he sailed for England.

IN ENGLAND

Mr. Hasan Imam had a very busy time in England. The attendance book of the Middle Temple Library will yet testify to the fact that for five days in the week he would be found from 10-30 A. M. to 6 P. M. attentively poring over some big volume or busy taking notes. At night he used to take lessons on Elocution from his Elocution-master, Mr. Julian Ivan Emmanuel von-Berlin, grandson of Baron Berlin who was instructed in the art of public speaking by the great actor, Sir Henry Irving. English literature he studied under the Revd. Charles Caron-Buss, who is now one of the eminent dignitaries of the English Church. Six months after he was in England

he was joined there by his friend Mr. S. Sinha, and the two thenceforward lived together and had practically a common purse between them. Sometime after this, the two began attending regularly for one year the History lectures of Professor Henry at the London University College. Mr. Imam regularly attended the debates in the Paddington Parliament in London of which he was a recognised leader. His speeches in that parliament were generally the best of the session and used to be frequently noticed by the press. But while Mr. Hasan Imam was doing so much for his own improvement he was not in the least forgetful of the interests of his country or community. He was the Secretary of the Indian Society, which had the Honour of having our late Grand Old Man, Mr. Dadabhoi Naoroji as its President. He was the Secretary also of the Anjuman Islamia of London.

He was also one of the principal canvassers for Mr. Naoroji in the general election of 1891 for Central Finsbury.* * * He left England in 1892 after having been called to the Bar.

AT THE BIHAR BAR.

Mr. Hasan Imam began to get good practice as soon as he joined the Bar. He soon acquired the reputation of being a powerful speaker, a successful debater and a man of vast and varied studies and began to be appreciated for his work and worth by the Senior Counsel of Bihar and elicited the confidence of a rapidly growing clientele. It would be idle to narrate here the many *causes-celebres* in which he has figured prominently. For sometime past Mr. Imam has been the undisputed leader of the Patna Bar and there has been hardly any important civil or criminal case in any part of Bihar in which his services have not been requisitioned by one side or the other.

A JUDGE AT CALCUTTA.

In November 1910 Mr. Hasan Imam transferred himself to Calcutta. There also his large Bihar clientele followed him and he very soon acquired a large practice on the appellate side. His forensic ability and his legal acumen were very soon recognised by

his compeers at the Bar and the Judges. Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the late Chief Justice of Bengal, was one of those who quickly got enamoured of him and persuaded him to accept a seat on the bench in April 1911. On the bench Mr. Hasan Imam was soon able to distinguish himself as a fearless and upright judge whose legal ability was only equalled by his desire to do justice. * * *

BACK TO PATNA.

But the damp climate of Calcutta began to have its effects on Mr. Imam and by the year 1913, his health had become so bad that he once fainted on the steps of the High Court of Calcutta. Although he betook himself to England in quest of health and never failed to run up to hills when opportunity offered, Mr. Imam's health was shattered almost beyond redemption. The doctors advised him to leave Bengal and go to a drier climate. He had hoped to come to Bihar as a Judge of Patna High Court but the bureaucrats willed otherwise. And he was face to face with two alternatives, either die a martyr to his duties as a judge or to betake himself elsewhere and give himself another opportunity to serve his country. Fortunately for the country he chose the latter and came to Patna and joined the Patna Bar. For a man of his ability and for one who already occupied the position of the leader of the Bar, it was not difficult to immediately take up the threads of the profession and win back his old position. He is to-day the acknowledged leader of the Patna Bar. In the middle of last year, he was offered a seat on the Bench but he was so much identified with politics and had entertained so many public claims upon his time that he regarded his translation to the Bench as the betrayal of national trust. He, therefore, refused the offer once again contenting himself with the practice of his profession. * * *

Mr. Hasan Imam's PUBLIC ACTIVITIES are on a par with his success in the practice of his profession. As in the profession he reached the highest rungs of the ladder so in politics

he attained the highest eminence permitted to an Indian under the present circumstances. The interest of the country has ever been nearest his heart. He served his apprenticeship in Indian public life as a member of the Municipality and the District Board of Patna. And it is no exaggeration to say that his subsequent activities have justified the high hopes entertained by his friends and acquaintances.

"No observer of incidents in this country, harsh and agonising as are the jarring elements that make our nation, will hide from you the fact that till we establish harmony amongst ourselves a foreign hand must guide our destiny." * * So said Mr. Imam on a memorable occasion "Let the motherland be the first in your affections, your province the second, and your community wherever thereafter you choose to put it." Consistently with his political creed Mr. Imam has been in principle opposed to the granting of special electorates to the Mahomedans. Mr. Imam speaking at the Allahabad Congress of 1910, said:—

"It is quite apparent that when a few thoughtful men of this country at the time that the reforms were inaugurated raised their voice of protest against all scheme of separate electorates, they fully realized the consequent effect of such scheme, . . . every thoughtful man in the land realised, and justly realised, that their pernicious scheme would travel down from the Chamber of the Viceroy's Council to the chambers of the District and Taluk Boards. It was then that we considered that our voice ought to be raised against all institutions that might create a division between the various classes that inhabit this land."

EDUCATIONAL BENEFACTIONS.

Like other leaders of Bihar public opinion Mr. Hasan Imam has been proud of the historic past of the Bihar province and been hopeful of the glorious future that awaits Bihar. Mr. Imam's latest acts of public generosity of which any Indian may well be proud, acts which stand unique and unparalleled throughout India and which in one sense raise him above the level of ordinary publicists, are his equal donations to the two great Indian Universities of Aligarh and Benares.

It has been a matter of the greatest moment to Mr. Imam that the predilections of

the youngmen should be formed in the best interests of the country and he has consequently devoted a considerable portion of his time and a large amount of his money on the education of both Biharis and outsiders. The Bihar National College has received substantial support from him and it is an open secret that once when the College stood in fear of disaffiliation owing to its inability to deposit a certain amount within a specified time, Mr. Imam generously came forward and placed the necessary sum at the disposal of the Committee. He used to give Rs. 1,000 to the B. N. College every year before its absorption by the Government and its welfare has always been a matter of Mr. Imam's greatest concern in life. He spends a very considerable amount of money in educating a number of Hindu and Moslem young men at his expense and he is well-known as a liberal patron of needy students. * *

The STUDENTS' MOVEMENT IN BIHAR has one of its warmest supporters in Mr. Imam who has guided the young men along the paths of disciplined citizenship.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.

In August 1917 Mr. Imam presided over the BIHAR PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE held for the purpose of protesting against the internment of Mrs. Besant and the policy of antagonism to the Home Rule agitation on the part of the Government which was then in evidence. Mr. Imam spoke at some length on the need for persistent agitation against the repressive policy of the Government, referred to the war and reconstruction of the Empire on a more liberal and rational basis and urged "Home Rule" as "our one goal." Said Mr. Hasan Imam:—

It is because we are satisfied that there can be no political and economic progress in our land till the bureaucracy is replaced by popular legislatures with full control over the executive and the judiciary, that we have placed before us as the goal of our aspiration, the establishment of self-governing institutions in this country. It is idle to tell us that the bureaucracy have done for us this, that and the other, that they have given us good government with its concomitants of peace and contentment. Good government which the bureaucracy profess to have given us is no doubt better than no government, but in the first place good government need not be necessarily synonymous with bureaucratic government. Even a fairminded member of the Indian Civil Service—

Mr. Bernard Houghton—has had the candour to admit in his well-known work called *Bureaucratic Government* that "the menace, the real peril, lies not in the grant of more popular government to India; it lies in the continuance of the present bureaucratic system—a system which has served its purpose and which India has now outgrown."

SOCIAL REFORM.

Mr. Imam does not however forget our shortcomings. He realises more than any one else, the limitations under which we have to work as also the many defects in our social organisation which make our difficulties so perplexing. He is of the opinion that "much of our troubles is due to our social conditions" and that the reform of social institutions must go side by side with, if not precede, political advancements. "With the depressed classes in a state of eternal servitude and the women in a state of hopeless neglect and unreasonable subjection, your wheel of progress will more likely run backward than forward" passionately exclaimed Mr. Imam once at the Gaya Students' Conference. He is convinced that unless we emancipate our Zenana 'our claims to equality of treatment with the more advanced people of the world has to be examined before it can be decreed' and that the foundation of the world's great battles were always laid by the fireside of the home.

It is an open secret how many of the Hindus were pressed by him to go to England for their studies. In 1908, when the late Babu Nandakishore Lall was able to induce and influence six students to be sent out to England, thus giving a rude shock to the old-world people, Mr. Hasan Imam organised a grand garden party to which he invited the most influential Hindus from all parts of Bihar in order to enable them to meet these young men and give them a hearty send-off.

THE MOSLEM LEAGUE.

Mr. Hasan Imam succeeded his elder brother as a trustee of the Aligarh College in 1911. He was made the President of the Bihar Committee formed for collecting funds for the Aligarh University and he along with his other friends made it a point to set apart all Sundays for visiting other towns of Bihar for the great national movement. Mr. Imam has been a staunch Congressman and when

the first meeting of the All-India Moslem League was held at Dacca, Mr. Imam in company with the Hon'ble Mazar-ul-Haque, a great nationalist, travelled all the way to Dacca and it was due greatly to them that the League was stripped of much of its militant sectarian attitude. When in the year 1903 a mass meeting of Patna Moslems was held to undo the effect of Mr Surendranath Banerjee's visit to carry on the Congress propaganda, Mr. Imam went there as a spectator and in spite of the entreaties of many of his friends and relations, stood out of the pandal as a protest against the holding of the meeting.

FOUNDING OF *The Searchlight*.

Mr. Imam realised that the interest of his province greatly suffered on account of the lack of an independent organ of public opinion. He along with his old co-worker Mr. S. Sinha, a veteran journalist, immediately set to work and it was due to their collaboration that the *Searchlight* came into existence on the 15th June 1919. It has to be admitted however that had it not been for the princely donation of Mr. Hasan Imam and his standing surety for all its liabilities that paper would yet have been in the land of dreams. The *Searchlight* however came into existence and is to-day, though hardly a year old, the most powerful and influential organ of public opinion in Bihar.

THE SPECIAL CONGRESS.

A man of such sterling character and superb abilities, an undaunted champion of the people's rights—could not long remain without recognition at the hands of his countrymen. His name for several years past had been proposed for election to the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress; and in July 1918 he was with the unanimous approval of the Congressmen elected to preside over the Special session of the Congress held at Bombay. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme had been promulgated and was the subject of much bitter and sharp controversy. In India politicians who had years ago divided into extremist and moderate sections had by the exercise of mutual forbearance and mutual

accommodation attained some measure of solidarity at the Lucknow Session of the Congress in 1917. But the Reform Scheme revived the old division and the political life of India was once again full of mutual distrust and mutual recriminations. A section of Indians were avowedly in favour of the rejection of the scheme. While another section desired drastic changes to make it acceptable to Indians; while yet another was willing to accept the scheme such as it was and only press for improvements. Thus it was no ordinary responsibility that Mr. Imam took upon himself in responding to the call to preside over the Special Congress. As a practical orator he fully realised that nothing was so important to win the country's fight as union. He perceived that in the disagreement between the different schools of politicians the difference on fundamentals was much less than those on mere negligible details. He, therefore, pitched his Presidential Address in a key of sobriety yet of firmness.

If you will permit me to point out, there seems to me no material difference between those that advocate rejection and those that advise acceptance, for the common feature of both is to continue the struggle till our rights are won. In politics as in war, not combat but victory is the object to be pursued and where ground is yielded, not to take it would be to abandon what you have won. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy in their Report have earnestly exhorted us to put our heads together in constructive statesmanship and I have no doubt that at this crucial juncture in our political history we shall preserve that deliberative calm which is necessary for the building of a great project.

He then passed on to discuss the proposals from the standard of the Congress-League Scheme and concluded with an appeal for calm and dispassionate consideration coupled with strenuous agitation :—

The subject itself is vast, the atmosphere in which it has to be discussed has to be calm, heat has to be avoided, rhetoric has to give place to sound reasoning. To my countrymen I say "Press your demands forcefully and insistently and if you are not heard now, your cause being righteous you will prevail in the end." And to the great British nation I commend the warning words of their great liberal statesman, Lord Morley: "If Imperialism means your own demoralization, if it means lowering your own standard of civilization and humanity then in the name of all you hold precious, beware of it." (*Bande Mataram*)!

SATYAGRAHA AND THE ROWLATT BILLS.

When Mr. Gandhi inaugurated his Satyagraha movement against the Rowlatt Legislation, Mr. Hasan Imam, was one of the very first of the Congress leaders to extend his moral support to it.

The mental processes by which he came to the decision of giving his support to Satyagraha Movement are veritably the epitome of his entire political career. He was convinced that the principles underlying the Rowlatt Legislation were not only unjust and inexpedient but also pernicious in as much as they tended to dwarf the growth of Indian Nationhood. He was also convinced that the whole country thought on this aspect of the Black Legislation in the same way as he himself did. He found the voice of protest against the Rowlatt Bills being raised from every corner of the country,—in the press and from the platforms. He saw that the official attitude was that of relentless obduracy. But what was India in her present abjectly crippled state to do to vindicate her self-respect and her rights? Armed resistance was out of


question, for it not only was an impossible and impractical proposition but also would have sullied for ever her deep and abiding loyalty to the British throne. Yet was an Indian to sit reticent and thereby imply his acquiescence in the Rowlatt Legislation? The situation to Mr. Imam was of agonised despair. To one of his mentality to succumb to counsels of moderation was tantamount to the weakening of his faith in the ultimate destiny of the motherland but also the betrayal of her honour and her rights. Thus Satyagraha came to Mr. Imam as a call of duty. Success or failure was to him a matter of very secondary importance. He signed the pledge in a spirit of service.

ON DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND.

We have said that Mr. Hasan Imam is essentially a man of action. When the time came for urging the Reforms in England, he led the Home Rule League Deputation and served the cause of India with his accustomed zeal. He also represented Indian feeling against the proposed dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. In November (1919) he returned to India.

STUDIES IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

BY PROF. S. J. CRAWFORD, M.A., B. LITT.

 R. Whibley's studies in English literature* begin with the Renaissance and end with Swift: they begin with a period characterised by national self consciousness and self-confidence, when the achievements of the Tudor and Elizabethan captains and navigators in the physical world were being paralleled by the conquests and discoveries of intellectual adventurers in the realms of literature. The voyages of pioneers like the Cabotts, Chancellor, Gilbert, Davis, Hawkins and Drake, who followed in the train of the Portuguese and Spanish Navigators of the 15th and 16th centuries, find their literary analogues in the buccannering translators who plundered many a rich colony of Greek, Latin and modern European literature in the interest of their own nation; while we may perhaps see in

the works of Shakespeare, Jonson, Bacon, and their great compeers and successors a parallel to the accomplishment of the founders of England's colonial empire beyond the seas. The great Elizabethans called into being a new literature which, while it is essentially English and intensely national in character, owes its very existence to the stimuli exerted by classical literature upon minds capable of reconciling, or at any rate of utilising, the warring forces of romanticism and classicism for artistic purposes, and of investing their creations with a universality of appeal hitherto unknown in the annals of English literature. Our seamen, merchants, soldiers, and colonists carried the English language round the known world and made it the most widely spoken language of the modern world: if modern English literature is worthy of the universality of the English tongue, and second only to Greek among the

* *Literary Studies*. By Charles Whibley. (Macmillan & Co.)

literatures of the world, we owe it to the enterprise and patriotism of the spiritual adventurers of the 16th and 17th centuries.

That such a parallel is not altogether fanciful, may be gathered from Philemen Holland's preface to his Translation of Pliny, where he says: "I would wish rather and endeavour by all means to triumph over the Romans in subduing their literature under the dent of the English pen, in requital of the conquest sometime over this island; achieved by the edge of the sword."

And what an array there is of these patriotic literary buccaneers! Time would fail me to tell of the labours of Philemen Holland, of Chapman's Homer, of Nicoll's Thucydides, of Wylkinson's Ethics of Aristotle, of Golding's Metamorphoses of Ovid, and, to keep the choicest to the end, of Florie's Montaigne and of Sir Thomas North's Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans. We refer the reader to Mr. Whibley's narrative for news of those and many other worthy pioneers who pillaged the treasuries of foreign literature and, to use Mr. Whibley's picturesque phrase, 'brought back to our English share many a noble stranger, whom their industry had taught to speak with our English Tongue.'

But we fear we may be leading our readers to infer that Mr. Whibley is mainly interested in the 16th century. This is by no means the case though we should like to linger over his chapters on 'Rogues and Vagabonds of Shakespeare's Time' and his chivalrous defence of Sir Walter Raleigh, faithful to two policies, the discomfiture of Spain, and the foundation of another England across the seas (In passing, we might suggest that Indians interested in Guiana might do much worse than read Raleigh's 'Discovery of Guiana').

It is a far cry from the Elizabethans to the court-poets and dramatists of the Restoration; as far as from the captains who led the English fleet against the great Armada to the nobles and courtiers who commanded the fleets of Charles the Second against the Dutch. The Restorationists represent a reaction both in life and art against the ideals of the Puritans. In his epilogue to Fletcher's 'Pilgrim', Dryden, referring to Collier's attack on the immorality of the Restoration stage, traces the change of taste back to its source:

"Perhaps the parson stretch't a point too far,
When with our theatres he waged a war,
He tells you that this very moral age
Received the first infection from the stage.

But sure a banish't court, with lewdness
fraught,
The speeds of open vice returning brought."

The king and the court were determined to amuse themselves; and we have the result in the vicious ribaldry, of Buckhurst, Sedley, Rochester and the society painted in the 'Memoirs' of Gramont and Pepy's 'Diary'. Mr. Whibley says that the true wits were blamed for the excesses of those, who had never tasted the waters of Helicon, and that what he calls the 'brutalities' of Rochester, Buckhurst and Sedley were but incidents in long and honourable careers. What truth there is in this contention may be seen in the foot-notes of what still remains the best book on English literature between 1660 and 1744, Professor Beljame's *Le Public et les Hommes de Lettres en Angleterre au Dix-Huitieme Siecle*.

An extremely interesting chapter, 'An Under-world of Letters, describing the work of certain early denizens of Grub Street, like Tom Brown and John Phillips, together with that of Roger L'Estrange and Charles Cotton is followed by one of the best studies in the book, that on Jonathan Swift.

Perhaps there is no great man who has been 'treated by posterity with the same injustice as Swift. This is one of the many crimes which have to be laid at the door of Macaulay, though Thackeray too is far from guiltless. But listen to Macaulay;—

'In the front of the opposite ranks appeared a darker and fiercer spirit, the apostate politician, the ribald priest, the perjured lover, a heart burning with hatred against the whole human race, a mind richly stored with images from the dung-hill and the lazar-house'.

This is an outrage and a travesty. Swift once wrote to Pope: 'I heartily hate and detest that animal called man, though I heartily love John, Peter, Thomas and so forth. As Professor W. P. Ker (followed by Mr. Whibley) has well pointed out, Swift's misanthropy was the converse of that philanthropy, which combines love of the whole human race with indifference to the individual. Swift's bitterest anger was reserved for injustice and oppression, and against them he employs a style as free from superfluous tissue as the muscles of a well-trained athlete, and a gift for irony unrivalled in English literature. The various sides of Swift's genius are brought out by Mr. Whibley, and something like justice is done to a cruelly mis-judged man.

MADRAS LAWYERS' CONFERENCE

THE Lawyers of the Madras Presidency met in Conference for the first time on Saturday and Sunday, the 24th and 25th of January last at Kusal Doss Gardens, Kilpauk. No fewer than 600 delegates attended, in spite of comparatively short notice, from Madras and almost all the districts; but the barristers decided to wait and see before throwing in their lot with the Conference.

The Hon. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, the Advocate General delivered the Presidential Address. In the course of his remarks he pointed out the necessity for such a Conference and declared that in the matter of legal reform, professional ethics, and etiquette, the rules of practice of the courts, the position of juniors, training of apprentices, legal education, law reporting, prevention and reduction of unnecessary litigation, protection of the interests of the litigant public, provision of legal assistance to the poor, effacement of any sectarian feeling in the profession and the re-organisation and unification of the bar, an association such as this would be of the greatest help.

Rules for the conduct of the Conference and its committee were then passed *adseriatim*.

One resolution aimed at the starting of a bar association in every place where there should be a court and at making every practitioner member of such an association. A representative committee was appointed to frame a code of professional ethics and etiquette before the meeting of the Conference next year. Proposals were made for the amendment of the Court Fees Act and the Suits Valuation Act.

With regard to the question of recruitment to the bench directly from the ranks of practising lawyers, the following resolution was adopted.

This Conference is of opinion (a) that one-half of the District Judgeships and one-third of the Subordinate Judgeships should be recruited directly from the ranks of practising lawyers of this Province and that, in any event, the proportion of appointments to District Judgeships as between the Bar and the provincial service shall be not less than two-thirds for the Bar, as recommended by the Public Service Commission; (b) that the higher ministerial appointments in the High Court and in the District or Subordinate Judge's Courts should be filled up by practising lawyers; (c) that the claims of attorneys to a Judgeship in the Presidency Small Causes Court should be recognised; (d) that at least one-half of the Magistracy should be recruited directly from the ranks of practising lawyers; (e) that recruitment should take place without reference to communities and with sole regard to the higher interests of the administration of justice.

THE JALLIANWALA BAGH.

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[The following appeal signed by Messrs. M. K. Gandhi, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Motilal Nehru, Shradhananda, Harikishen Lal, Kitchlu, and Girdharilal has been issued to the press.] :—

WE are glad to be able to inform the public that the Jallianwala Bagh has now been acquired for the nation in terms of the resolution that was passed by the last Congress. The undersigned were appointed as a committee to carry out the wishes of the Congress. The purchase price has been finally fixed at Rs. 5,40,000 inclusive of costs and has to be paid to the sellers within three months from the 5th instant. Lala Dewachand, proprietor of the firm of Messrs. Radhakishen Ramkishan of Amritsar, has been appointed treasurer and Lala Girdhari Lal of Amritsar as secretary of the fund. The Central Bank of India, the Punjab National Bank, the Punjab and Sindh Bank and the Allahabad Bank, Amritsar, have been appointed bankers. Subscriptions should be remitted direct to one of these banks or their branches and the fact should be communicated to the treasurer or the secretary. A formal receipt signed by the treasurer and the secretary will be sent to every donor. Relying upon the enthusiasm shown in this matter as an index of the national wish we trust that donors will without any personal canvassings send in their own subscriptions. Whilst the least amount necessary is six lakhs, our aim is to collect ten lakhs and not more, but not even less, if possible, though we have come to no final conclusion.

We propose that the Bagh should be converted into a park whereon a simple memorial will be erected with a suitable inscription perpetuating the memory of the dead and commemorating Hindu-Muslim unity. There will not be a word in it calculated to promote or encourage bitterness or ill-will against anybody. We invite suggestions as to the inscription and also tentative proposals regarding the use of the ground. We consider that it should be used as a place of national pilgrimage. We desire emphatically to repudiate the suggestion made in some quarters that the memorial is designed to perpetuate the bitterness between Englishmen and ourselves. Nothing can be further from our wish than any such idea, but we believe that it is our bounden duty, in some shape or other, to cherish and perpetuate the memory of the many hundreds of innocent men who were shot dead on the fateful 13th of April. It was a tragedy of national importance which cannot be allowed to be forgotten and we came to the conclusion that there was no better method of achieving the object than by acquiring the site hallowed by innocent blood and using it in some such manner as we have suggested. We trust that all without distinction of party, not excluding Englishmen, will subscribe to the memorial and respond to the committee's invitation for suggestions as to the inscriptions and the use of the Bagh.

Taxation of Business Profits

The expediency of taxing business profits in order to cover by taxation on other non-loan resources our growing expenditure is described at length in the current number of *The Economic Journal* by Mr. J. C. Stamp. He says there are three main lines of thought at present active. (1) a substantial increase of the income-tax and super-tax rates (2) a levy upon capital—either upon all capital or upon war-fortunes and (3) the taxation of business profits by method different from the present excess profits duty. It is to the third of these that attention is now specially directed. Increases in income-tax will check the accumulation of capital and will lead to the discounting of future goods as compared with present pleasures. A levy on capital is rendered extremely difficult by practical difficulties in relation to the assessment of life interests, reversions, trusts, insurances and the like and it could not be carried through on simple lines and it cannot be properly related to the principle of ability to pay, because the ability varies from year to year, whereas the burden of levy is by hypothesis a burden on income over a long period. The levy cannot deal satisfactorily with the distinction between the gains of profiteering and ill-gotten wealth and the results of pure thrift and worthy enterprise in the past and it does nothing towards the problem of future profiteering.

A tax on business profits is calculated on the difference between the present rate of profit and the pre-war amount of profit which was accepted as that to which there was a normal title; and it is this that forms the basis of the principle to tax. Two companies might be identical in capital, pre-war profits and excess profits; yet in one instance the share-holders might be all poor or might be persons whose total incomes were reduced. If the effect of payment of duty were traced forward as an individual tax, in a reduction of the potential dividend, we should find the principle of ability violated in the most extreme ways. We must inquire whether the principle of ability can apply only to an individual as such and whether it must be judged by the amount of income; in the second point the question should be, not merely, how much one's income is; but also how he got it.

It is most important, on the other hand, to get the profits of corporations at the source and not to wait until they have been divided into their components in the hands of individual shareholders.

Mere progression of the tax according to the size of the business units, rather than according to success would be a serious counterpoise to the economics of amalgamation and would act as a deterrent to large scale production. American experience seems to be that the larger concerns do not in fact tend to make a higher ratio of profit, but rather the reverse.

According to Mr. Hobson, where tax falls on surplus, it tends to stay there. Surplus is that portion of income which is non-functional i.e., not earned in an economic sense. The surplus can bear taxation without affecting production or the consumer. Mr. Hobson presumes that rental or surplus elements are more likely to exist in incomes of large amounts and that the larger the income, the greater the proportion of income which is rental and not costs. But this assumption may not accord with facts in some cases.

The surplus principle as applied to individual taxation is wholly impracticable, because the amount which is functionally surplus at the economic origin may cease to be such at its economic destination.

It is nearer the truth to say that the bulk of the surplus in amount is the profit-surplus which can be tested in a fairly approximate way by an abnormal or unusual yield per cent upon the capital invested. When pure interest and reward for risk-bearing are deducted, the balance is surplus, due possibly to unforeseen circumstances or luck or to good management. Moreover the tax becomes the more substantial, the greater the amount of apparent luck and therefore the greater the presumption of real surplus is.

Such a tax may not enhance prices very much because it will apply very lightly over the major part of a supply and with competitive forces freely working, such a result is far less likely. But it may also cheapen goods and encourage production. The monopolist will be induced to supply a larger quantity of goods at a much lower price, because the differences in the total yield of capital are so much reduced in taxation, and the relative yield of marginal capital so much increased.

There is no doubt that the tax will have some tendency to damp initiative and lower general enthusiasm. But if the tax is not heavy until the reward is high, the psychological effect must be small. If the tax rises to high rates upon high yields, labour can be shown that real profiteering is progressively hit, the more obviously it becomes profiteering.

Government and Religious Education

The Bishop of Bombay, writing in the current number of *The International Review of Missions* speaks of (1) the relation between a state which in regard to religion is neutral and religious educational institutions etc. (2) the position and aims of Christian missionaries engaged in educational work in India. As regards the first, he believes that a neutral government should encourage religious educational institutions to exist as being the best form of educational institutions. This principle has been accepted by the Education Commission of 1882 and is implied in Government approving of the Hindu University of Benares. The state however should award certificates and degrees only on the basis of the secular subjects taught and state inspectors and examiners should not have anything to do with religious instruction; and grants-in-aid should "be given only on the ground that the institutions provide effective secular education. The neutrality of Government will be best expressed by giving all advantages, whether to pupils or educational institutions, solely on the ground of proficiency in the non-religious subjects and by abstaining from interference with religious teaching. Pure secular education is not an ideal, but a *pis aller*. Students can gain by free intercourse with others of different creeds and traditions only in their University stage.

All Christian missions except the Catholic, wish to present a completely and avowedly 'Christian education to any one, whether Christian, or non-Christian who wishes to receive it. They do not want to give Christian education to any one who does not want to receive it, but they are not willing to offer to students or parents an option to pick and choose among parts of their curriculum.

We do not want in our schools and colleges those who wish to avail themselves of a conscience clause. We see no justice whatever in the attempt to force us to take them at the price of the sacrifice of our educational ideals. While this is our view in general, some mission schools have made (and the authorities of others have openly professed their willingness to make) exceptions by individual exemption from the Scripture teaching, where a very small number of pupils in a district strongly desire it, and their number is not great enough to justify the establishment of another school. But though we should make such exceptions, as of grace, in the case of trifling numbers, we are not ready to make numerous exceptions in any school or college. To make numerous exceptions would alter the character of the school or college.

The Meeting of East and West

Mr. G. Hibbert Ware, writing in the January number of *the East and The West* remarks that no such profound analysis of educational problems as the Report of the Calcutta University Commission has ever been made before. The Report is a survey not merely of University education but also of secondary education, and keeps in mind the possibility of the application of their recommendations to the other universities of India. David Hare and Carey and Duff had made Western learning rush in like a flood into Bengal, and in 1884 Sir W. W. Hunter, in his report on the results of the policy of Sir Charles Wood in his Despatch of 1854, remarked that in the matter of self help in education Bengal was foremost in all India. But there began to grow up evil aspects, (1) the appearance of the type of school which existed not to give an education, but to secure successes in examinations and (2) the leavening of the Indian mind with the revolutionary ideals of Western Europe. The present Commission remarks that the secondary school system is wholly inefficient, schools and colleges are badly equipped and the various subjects are not taught in a thorough and efficient manner, especially English. But there is also the better side to Western education in Bengal. The movement has evoked self-sacrifice on the part of countless fathers and sons, generous benefactions on the part of the well-to-do, enthusiasm for noble literature on the part of the more intellectual and the straining after political freedom on the part of the whole educated people.

The writer concludes by quoting from the Report the following para on the services of missionary education.

"The influence which has been exercised by the missionary colleges upon the development of education in Bengal has been of the highest value and importance. No colleges wield a deeper influence over the minds of their students. None have a stronger corporate spirit. . . The missionary teacher may not always be a man of the highest academic qualifications, though in point of fact some of the ablest teachers in Bengal, and some of those whose influence is, and has been, greatest in University affairs, belong to this class but for all those aspects of university life which lie outside of, but are by no means less important than, the formal studies of the curricula, the missionary teachers have, as a body, exceptional qualifications. It is they who have laboured, with the greatest earnestness and the most marked success, to cultivate the humaner side of student life, to provide the student with healthy conditions of living, with moral guidance, and with the opportunities for physical training. . .

The Brotherhood of the Sword

A writer in the New Year number of *East and West* mourns that the good old days are passed when Sir Charles Napier fought side by side with his men and there was a rare comradeship between Britons and Indians and when valour and honour were more in men's minds than rupees and medals. East and West were nearer brotherhood than perhaps they will be even again. Sir Charles Napier, the acknowledged hero of a family of heroes and the most eccentric commander-in-chief that ever ruled an army had an occasion to offer an honour to a young Scots officer who scored a brilliant feat at arms with 3 Indian cavalry officers. The honour was preferred only to the Briton but not to the brave Indians who shared with him all his perils.

"Honours were rare in those days. A man might fight all his life, be wounded in battle after battle and at last retire upon his pension with his breast as bare of ribbon, clasp or medal as his brow was of hair. It was therefore no ordinary compliment for a mere Ensign to be singled out for distinction by the Commander-in-Chief himself. But the Highland blood ran true. The Ensign replied at once that he could accept no reward unless his Indian comrades who had shared in the action, shared in the honour. He half expected a Court Martial as the result of his answer; but Charlie Napier was Highland too, and saw the point at once. He wrote the Ensign a letter which the Ensign preserved for 40 years, wherein in language as unfettered as it was vigorous, he lauded the Ensign's decision and described in terms of unprintable opprobrium what he (His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief in India!) should consider himself if he failed to recognize valour equally in Briton and Indian.

"But for further and fuller particulars of His Excellency's language in this rare document, which must surely have been written under the stress of deep feeling—in the stirring of that sense of brotherhood between East and West which prevailed then among all brave men of the sword, whether Briton or Indian, Jangy Lat or Sowar—I must refer you to the files of the Imperial Record Department at Calcutta where I deposited the original letter when the old Major General committed it to me for that purpose."

• Bolshevism and Religion

The January number of the *Hibbert Journal* contains an article by Prince Eugene Troubetzkoy, Professor of Law in the University of Moscow, which should attract general interest because of the light it sheds on the conditions existing in Russia at the present time.

Under the title "The Bolshevik Utopia and the Religious Movement in Russia," the writer gives an interesting analysis of the spiritual as well as the social struggle now going on in Russia.

According to the author, "Bolshevism is first and foremost the practical denial of the spiritual Economic and material interests constitute the only social nexus Considerations of justice have nothing to do with the claim of the proletariat to be sole possessor of all material goods. That claim rests solely and exclusively in the right of the strongest"

"The natural consequence of the denial of the spiritual bond is that intellectual forces are held in contempt Since there is no spiritual bond between the two sexes, there can be no constant relation"

In short, the feature most characteristic of Bolshevism is to be found in the practical method it adopts for the realisation of its Utopia. This method is the armed conflict of the classes: *war to the death against all who possess*. And this, from the standpoint of a consistent materialism, is, beyond doubt, the one certain means of causing the strongest to prevail"

"A pack of wolves gathered for hunting in common, and then tearing each other to pieces when no more prey is to be found, furnishes an exact image of a society where the advantage or the appetite of each member has become the sole law of conduct"

"The real opponent of Bolshevism in things moral and intellectual is the religious movement which began in Russia after the Revolution, towards the end of 1917 What renders the Red authorities most uneasy is the growth of friendly relations between the 'classes' under the influence of religion"

"At a moment when ferocious appetites and bestial passions were everywhere pursuing the work of destruction, the Church stood alone in Russia to remind its children that they were men, and not wild beasts"

Japan's Trade with India .

The huge development of the Japanese trade with India and the South Seas is not so much due to the real and national development of Japan's trade as it is attributable to the war. Japan has been using capital borrowed from foreign countries and before the war has been a country of excess-imports. But now she has become a country of excess-exports and has removed herself from the debtor-side to the creditor-side with abundant capital. Everything is in a boom and the Japanese are in a period of expansion. But this expansion is entirely due to the war and is altogether abnormal. Count Okuma, writing in the *Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association* (Dec. 19) says that Japan, contrary to conditions in Europe, has not only continued the convertible system with the expansion in her wealth, but enjoys a large increase in her specific reserve. While in other countries, gold has been lost sight of, in Japan and America, gold reserves have increased. Japanese prices are bound to be the cheapest and this itself would make for a continuation of trade prosperity. For a long time to come, Japanese industries need not fear over-production and the super-abundant money of the Japanese can be invested in the taking of goods from foreign countries.

The Count is very optimistic about Japan's future and says :—

"Japan has increased in wealth, ships, and factories during the war, but somehow or other co-operation and union among the Japanese have made very little progress. This is a great gap in our society. Our competition with the European nations requires a more systematic and organic union, which will save the energy and increase the momentum of energy. In the present condition of Japan, we have much cheaper wages, with a greater momentum of labour energy than in European countries. Besides, our money market is much less light than in Europe and America, and we have less heavy taxes which fact, too, is enough to make our prices cheaper than those of Europe and America. We have, as is said elsewhere, a geographical advantage on our side, in the competition with the western countries, and we need fear nothing about it. If we have domestic co-operation into the bargain, the crude manufactures will disappear from our foreign market and other evil customs will be done away with. We shall not only adapt the negative measure of keeping customers whom we won during the war, but we shall have many

positive developmen'ts. We must have much closer relations between the manufacturers and foreign traders between those engaged in marine transportation, and bankers circulating money in foreign trade working in more systematic and organized co-operation. Then our trade with India and the South Seas will no doubt show a greater development and our merchants will enjoy the most important situation in our trade in this part of the world."

The Jallianwalla Incident

The *London Nation*, writing of the tragedy at Jallianwalla, observes :

On our handling of this shameful episode much depends for ourselves, our subjects, and our Empire. General Dyer is a common type among professional soldiers, and five years of war have weakened all over the world the habitual reluctance of civilized men to kill. There are potential imitators of this man in many a mess-room in India, Egypt, and Ireland. So far he has fared well. The Governor of the Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, has approved his act, and his military superiors have given him another brigade. If the thing ends there with the thanks of the "Morning Post" and the pæans of Anglo-Indian society, we must expect that massacre on the Amritsar scale will become a recognized feature of our rule. What was done in the Punjab, in April, may be repeated in Dublin to-morrow, and when next, a really alarming strike arouses the anger and fears of the circles to which the General belongs, some fanatic may think it safe to "shoot well and strong" at a crowd of English miners. It is finally a case not merely for dismissal, but for the intervention of the civil law. At the earliest possible moment, General Dyer should be recalled to England, and put upon his trial. Is it thinkable that a man should slaughter four hundred of his fellows, and leave a thousand more struggling unaided in their pain, without undergoing even such penalty as he would have suffered for a common assault? It may be said that General Dyer thought he was doing his duty. But how much vanity and senseless intolerance went with that feeling? He did not choose to be laughed at.

* * We shall show ourselves as a nation unfit to rule if we pass this thing over lightly. To condone it, to minimize it, is to court its repetition. We repeat that we may be on the verge of happenings in Ireland which will give the General Dyers of that island their chance. The British Empire would not survive many Amritsar massacres. It lies with Parliament to make this the last.

Thoughts about the Drain on India

Mr. W. H. Moreland writes in the New Year number of *The Asiatic Review* that the two main items that India receives in return for her excess of exports are (1) £28 m. in gold and silver and (2) £26 m. which is paid into her accounts with the Secretary of State and spent by him on her behalf. The question is whether she gets good value under each of these heads. Mr. Moreland maintains that India does not get good value in the gold and silver that she gets. The quantity of these metals which is put to useful purposes in India is very small; the bulk of both lies useless or at the utmost ministers to the vanity of the people; yet in order to obtain them, India has been giving useful things like grain and oil-seeds, cotton and jute some of which she could have used for herself while others could have been exchanged for things which would have helped to increase the real income of the people. It cannot be maintained that the quantity of gold and silver imported on balance is not great enough to make a material difference. The annual sum works out at 1s. 9½d. per head of the population. The absorption of gold alone totalled to £191. m. in the forty years ending with 1913; and in that year the total of India's oft denounced sterling debt was only £183 m. Tried by such tests as these, the drain of useful things given in return for the precious metals stands out as a serious economic evil; its continuance undoubtedly means that the country is much poorer than it need be while the results on social life are all bad.

India certainly gets better value for the £26. m. paid yearly into her account in London. Among the important items of the expenditure of this sum £1. m. was spent on stores for India, about £15. m. on railways and canals and about £10. m. on defence and administration. There is no doubt that India got full value for the stores. One can however wish that it is possible to buy more of them in the country. The money spent on railways and canals went out partly in buying up private owners, partly in paying interest on capital and partly in providing new equipment.

"Such, then, are the facts. India gets exceedingly good value for the money spent abroad, but she loses heavily by the import of gold and silver on which her people insist; and a financier might be tempted to ask why Indian critics concentrate on the first item, and have nothing whatever to say about the second. The answer I should give to this question is that the money spent abroad does in fact represent a sentimental, though not

a material, drain; in a word, it hurts. It involves a drain on India's newly-found self-respect, an immense national asset, though its value cannot be shown in the country's balance-sheet. Young India is not really interested in knowing whether she gets good value or not; confident of her own efficiency, she objects to the existence of these payments as a whole. Now just because this national self-respect is a new growth, and not as yet firmly rooted in the past, it overlooks certain material factors; the hard truth is that India makes payments to foreigners to secure her national existence solely by reason of her secular national inefficiency."

Nationalism in Japan

Surprise is frequently expressed at the supposedly unparalleled progress Japan has made during the last fifty years, assimilating all the best ideas of western minds and making her own the best achievements of western civilization. But this process of assimilating foreign thought and civilization, says Dr. Kuroita, in the *Japan Magazine* was no new thing in Japan. The country had been accustomed to assimilating continental ideas for many centuries. "In fact the greater part of our civilization has been assimilated from the continent. Thus in digesting and assimilating alien thought and civilization Japan has more experience than almost any other nation. Having had such vast experience through the centuries in thus assimilating the thoughts and civilization of China, Korea and India, it was not at all surprising that Japan should have so rapidly assimilated the thoughts and civilization of western countries.

What is remarkable about Japan is the fact that she has been assimilating foreign ideas for centuries without losing her own civilization or becoming any less Japanese. The Japanese national traits and spirit are as pronounced and positive to-day as ever; and our nationalism is perhaps more aggressive to-day than ever before. Thus instead of being weakened by foreign ideas Japan has been greatly strengthened and advanced. Is it not true that all nations make progress only as they come intimately into contact with other peoples and their civilization. With all these valuable experiences behind her Japan is now the most expert nation in the world at the art of assimilating divergent civilizations and thus bringing harmoniously together both East and West. This is her mission to-day, and she must rise to it without question, for in no other way can she so much benefit mankind."

Sufism in Afghanistan

Mr. Ikbal Ali Shah, writing in the *Occult Review* for the current month describes the life of a great Afghan Sufi, Mullah Miran, who, as other eminent Sufis were, was distinguished by his learning as well as by his devotion. In Afghanistan as elsewhere Sufi mysticism and devotion are expressed through poetry and in the shape of the ardent love of the creature for the creator. In Afghanistan as elsewhere Sufi poetry is so full of religious allegory and so saturated with mystical allusion that what to the initiated reveals deep spiritual truth may appear to the profane but a Bacchanalian riot of luxury and eroticism.

Mr. Shah sums up the essence of Sufism as it is understood by the best minds of Persia and the Middle East in the following passage.

"To sum up the whole matter, let us understand how completely Sufism is interpenetrated with the belief that the souls of men are one in essence with the Divine. However much men may differ in degree from divinity, they are, after all, particles of the Divine Being and will ultimately be re-absorbed in Him. He is universal substance; in Him alone is perfect Goodness, perfect Truth and perfect Beauty; the love of Him alone is real love. That love which is wasted on inferior objects is but an illusion and a snare; nature itself is a mirror wherein the divine Beauty is reflected: from all eternity the Supreme Goodness has been occupied in diffusing happiness among those capable of receiving it. There was once a covenant between God and man and it is only when man recovers his relationship with God that he attains real happiness, nothing really exists but the Mind or Spirit; material things have no real substance as the ignorant believes;

Let us note, in conclusion, that all beneath the gorgeous imagery and mysticism of Sufi poetry, whether of Persia or of the Middle East, there is an underlying teaching of deep significance. And we have here a message that we seek in vain upon the pages of Greek and Latin literature. The old Greeks and Romans have taught us much, but we miss in their writings an expression of those deeper and more ardent feelings which are evoked by the soul's colloquy with its Creator. There is little in classical literature which tells of the yearning of the finite for the Infinite. The Sufis deal with a deeper theme. It is the drama of the inner life. Beneath the erotic imagery and the glorification of the juice of the grape, Sufi poetry speaks of a love which is

not carnal and of an inebriation produced from no material vine. There are, it is true, wine cups in profusion and many ardent pictures of human love, but the Spiritual love of the soul for its Creator and the transports of divine affection are the realities which underlie these metaphors. It is the old mystery of life and death, mystery within mystery:

All, all on earth is shadow, and all beyond
Is substance. The reverse is folly's creed."

Indians Abroad

The current number of *The Round Table* says that much feeling has been excited in India by the recent Anti-Asiatic legislation passed by the Union Parliament in South Africa. The trouble began at Pretoria where the Supreme Court issued an injunction restraining a European firm from permitting Indians to reside or occupy certain stands in the township of Krugersdorp. A committee of inquiry was appointed and a bill was passed which gave statutory protection to existing trading rights held by Indians on the 1st May, 1919 in Government townships and proclaimed lands in the Transvaal but declared that no fresh trading licenses, except renewals would be granted to Indians in these areas. On news of this, Mr. Gandhi claimed that the terms of the bill were a direct violation of the 1914 Compact as well as a negation of the acceptance by the Dominions representatives at the Imperial War Conference, of the principle of reciprocity. The Government of India could only secure that the clause of the bill empowering licensing authorities to refuse trading licenses to Indians generally has been deleted in the Senate of South Africa. The future of the Indian community is gravely menaced by, the complete estopment of the growth of new vested rights. Indian opinion has been over optimistic in the immediate past and the sudden re-opening of the whole question has caused a profound and most painful impression in this country.

The question of indentured Indian labour in Fiji has again come to the fore. Government stopped all further flow of labour and demanded the cancellation of existing indentures. The Fiji Legislature have agreed to cancel all indentures outstanding on August 20, 1920. The labour question in Fiji is serious; and an unofficial mission from Fiji is to visit India in the cold weather with the object of persuading Indian public opinion to agree to the resumption of free emigration to Fiji under wholesome conditions. Could a satisfactory scheme be arrived at, both countries would be benefited.

True Art

The following observations of Swami Vivekananda reported in a recent issue of the *Prabuddha Bharata* may be read with interest :—

"Art has its origin in the expression of some idea in whatever man produces. Where there is no expression of idea, however much they may be a blaze of external colours and manipulation, cannot be styled true art. The articles of everyday use like vessels, utensils, cups and saucers should thus be produced as expressing an idea. In the Paris Exhibition I saw a wonderful figure, carved in marble. In explanation of the figure, the following words were written underneath—Art unveiling Nature—that is, how Art sees the inner beauty by drawing away with its own hands the covering veils of Nature. The figure is carved in such a way as to indicate that the beauty of Nature has not yet become wholly manifest but the beauty of the little that has become manifest is such that the artist has become bewitched by seeing it"

The two paths in Hungary

Dr Oskar Jazi, the leader of the Hungarian Radical Party had long been fighting for the improvement of the status of the non-Magyar races as well as of the Magyar peasantry and proletariat. He writes in *The New Europe* (20th Nov. 1919) about the two possibilities alone that remain for Hungary after its terrible national economic and moral collapse :

"If the democratic parties and classes acquire control—especially the peasants and the proletariat of the cities associated with the intellectuals—then will come a fervent period of internal re-organisation, the solution of the land question, intensive popular and especially agricultural instruction, a re establishment of industry on an Agrarian basis, self-government in the counties in place of the ancient oligarchic administration, etc. —in short, a social and democratic policy on a large scale. This was the scope and tendency of our October-Revolution until the amputation of the country by unexpected invaders, the economic ruin of Hungarian industry, hunger and lack of employment, and the mistaken policy of the Entente-missions at Budapest, which understood nothing about the social and moral situation of our unhappy country, led the nation into bankruptcy and Bolshevism.

There is another alternative. If the ancient regime re-establishes itself in Hungary, if the magnates and prelates, with their traditional

allies, the autocratic country gentry and the Jewish usurers of the cities, regain their ancient power, then, all the democratic gains of the October-Revolution are lost, and Hungary, a prey to race-hatred and chauvinism, reverts to its old policy of oppressing the peasantry, the working classes and such few non-Magyars as remain.

This dangerous course is already at work since the collapse of Bolshevik rule. A small group of adventurers—the Friedrich "Government" and the White officials—have replaced the Red terror by a White one, and under the pretext of exterminating Bolshevism, are making war against all democratic, liberal and radical tendencies in Hungary, though these had nothing to do with the communist adventure. If this cruel and anti-democratic rule continues, bloody civil conflicts are inevitable after the withdrawal of the Roumanian troops."

If the first policy should triumph, Hungary would work for friendly relations with its new neighbours and would be a fine rampart for the west against any renewal of par-German or par Slav designs. But if the present oligarchical rule continues, Hungary will become a kingdom once more in a few years and anti-democratic and antimilitary. Thus Hungary is the Achilles' heel of Middle Europe and if unchecked may become the rally of all the counter-revolutionary forces.

The Task before Indians

Mr. T. J. Bennett, writing in the January number of the *Asiatic Review*, makes some observations on the duty of Indians under the Reform Act. He states that he has small patience with those people who say that the Act offers only a small instalment of reforms, for "India will have quite enough to do in the next decade in developing and educating an electorate, and in learning how to choose the best men for the Legislative Councils, just as the Councils themselves will have enough to do in developing a parliamentary spirit and parliamentary aptitude, and in learning how to get the best work out of the men selected to serve it in the Ministries." He further says "the time for arguing on the fundamentals of the question has gone and that 'political administrative facts have now to take the place of arguments.' He describes the Act, which has been condemned by the Indian extremists as 'a little thing,' as a great measure of constitutional government which 'is a triumph of the accommodating practical spirit which has actuated the moderate school of Indian politicians' "

The Birth of a New Day.

Writing on the Indian Reform Bill, in the first number of the newly-started monthly *Britain and India*, *Optimist* says as follows :—

"It is the record and summary of a closed chapter of British and Indian history. It is the opening of a new and hopeful chapter. It is the herald of a new day. It is the symbol of a mutual confidence. It is the emblem of a great hope and the type of a new political purpose. It would be idle to say that it is complete in itself, that it has fulfilled all legitimate desire, that it is the last word in political wisdom. It would be absurd to deny its imperfections and limitations. But it is a right beginning. It is a substantial march in a new and encouraging direction. It is a deliberate shunning of the evil path of racial domination, of alien political supremacy, of foreign exploitation."

The present change may be from an alien bureaucracy to an Indian oligarchy; but the change is in the right direction. The new act gives Indians the occasions to make mistakes, the power to rectify them and the opportunity of learning from them. The possibilities are now thrown open to the Indians and the realisation is from them alone.

Ideal Reconstruction

In the course of an article in the *Hindustan Review* Mr. K. C. Mahindra addresses himself to one aspect of the problem of reconstruction. Taking the social side he says :—

"When we reconstitute our social fabric on the principle of 'Well being for all' and attempt to regulate our daily conduct according to the best rule devised in that light we will find that automatically most of the ills of to-day have disappeared or have lessened in their severity. There is no idea of using the cure as an elixir or a panacea but there should be a recognition of the fact that a faulty system of apportionment of the National Dividend is responsible for many and various maladies almost wholly unconnected with the practice and theory of distribution. Of course we attempt to diagnose the labour unrest of to-day, economic distress presents itself not through distributive injustice alone but maladjustments in the production phase combined with political and social handicaps due to outworn law; and outworn *mœurs* are a considerable factor therein. But it appears to me that removal of injustice and unfairness as regards distribution will contribute very largely towards amelioration. I must not be understood to mean that mere distributive reconstruction will work the miracle; there is as much need of reconstruction in other spheres *pari passu*. With a guarantee of well-being and equal opportunity for all we will be operating to remove the very basis of the fight

between capital and labour. There will be periodic tangles between the boss and the worker, but the essentials in such struggles will be shifted on to a different plane. I gave the analogy of a *catch-who-catch-on* to the conflict between the employees and the employed on wages, hours, housing, health etc. By the introduction of some of our ideal principles in the active life of the community we will be doing away with this catch-who-catch can quality. People will continue to work for wages. They will do so not because without it they will starve but because of their own tastes and their own faculty of creative energy. Their work will not be of the grinding sort, for it will be essentially *free*."

Political Parties in India

The *Modern Review* writes :— "Party politics in India would be less futile, and more dignified in appearance, if the parties had their respective constructive policies and schemes of service to the country, and if there were material differences in them. But there do not seem to be any. At present, a humorist might say that the main substantial differences between the parties consisted in one praying and the other demanding—the use of both the words being attended with equal results—and in one professing to be quite satisfied with and profusely thankful for the alms or dole of reforms obtained and the other professing to be dissatisfied and clamouring for more. We should like the parties to seek to outlive each other in service to the country."

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

SOME COMMON INDIAN BIRDS. By T. Bainbrigge Fletcher R.N., F.L.S., F.E.S., etc. ["The Agricultural Journal of India," January, 1920.]

THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT AND ITS CRITICS. By Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P. ["The Asiatic Review," January, 1920.]

INDIAN ECHOES FROM FRANCE. By "Rev. A. W. McMillan, C. F." ["The East and the West," January, 1920.]

TO THE WOMEN OF INDIA. By Mrs. Despard and Miss Maude Royden. ["Britain and India," January, 1920.]

REVIVAL OF INDIAN MUSIC. By R. R. Bhashyam Aiyangar B.A., L.T. ["Everyman's Review," February, 1920.]

THE ETHICS OF THE RAMAYANA. By Maganlal A. Buch. ["The Indian Philosophical Review," January, 1920.]

INDIAN EXCHANGE. By Gurumukh Singh Suri. ["East and West," January, 1920.]

CHRISTIAN INFLUENCES ON INDIAN CULTURE. By P. J. Thomas, M.A. ["Madras Christian College Magazine," Nov. 1919.]

The Turkish Question

H. H. the Aga Khan in a recent interview opposed the removal of the Turks from Constantinople on the ground that if the Turks were driven from Europe they would relapse into barbarism. He recalled a number of Mahomedans who fought on the side of the Allies during the war saying that this almost gave them the right, which all the Allies had, to ask something of the Peace Conference. They only asked that no injustice should be done to Turkey. Britain and France could obtain perpetual mandate over the hearts of all Mussalmans by moderation towards Turkey. The West never knew when it might again need the help of the East.

Financial Relations Committee

The Secretary of State for India has appointed a Committee to advise on the financial relations between the Government of India and Local Governments under the Reforms Scheme, and more particularly on the question of contributions to be paid by Local Governments in aid of the Central Exchequer. This Committee is constituted as follows:—The Right Hon'ble Lord Meston of Agra, President, Mr Charles Roberts, Lieutenant-Commander E. Hilton Young, M. P., members, Mr D. N. Dutt will be Secretary of the Committee. The terms of reference to the Committee will be to advise on (a) the contributions to be paid by the various provinces to the Central Government for the financial year 1921-22; (b) the modifications to be made in the provincial contributions thereafter with a view to their equitable distribution until there ceases to be an all-India deficit; (c) the future financing of the provincial loan accounts.

The Committee has since begun work, and is touring the country.

Mr. Gandhi on India's Lingua Franca

I have attended all the Congress Sessions, but one, since 1915. I have studied them specially in order to study the utility of Hindustani compared to English for the conduct of its proceedings, I have spoken hundreds of delegates and thousands of visitors and I have perhaps covered a larger area and seen a much larger number of people, literate and illiterate, than any public man, not excluding Mrs. Besant and Lokamanya Tilak and I have come to the deliberate conclusion that no language except Hindustani—a resultant of Hindi and Urdu—can possibly become the national medium for exchange of ideas or for the conduct of national proceedings.

Rabindranath on Panjab

Rabindra Nath Tagore writes in a letter dated April 25, 1919 to a friend of his as follows:—

"Most of the Anglo-Indian papers are crying for more blood. They are sure that there are some mischief makers behind the present disturbances. Certainly there are. But who are they? Serious disturbances have taken place in all three countries where the British have their way—Ireland, Egypt and India respectively, containing three different peoples, widely different in their civilization, temperament and tradition. Is it unthinkable that the mischief makers may be lurking somewhere in the common element which they all have, namely, in one people which govern them? It is not in the system of Government of the law but in the men entrusted with the carrying on of the Government, the men who have not the imagination or sympathy truly to know the people whom they rule, the men who imagine that it is their martial power which carries its own permanence in itself, and that therefore the eternal truths of human nature and moral providence can be ignored in its favour. It is evident that these people in their blind pride will ever go on seeking for the sources of mischief outside themselves, and easily succeed in catching some stray dog to give it a bad name and hang it. This will only prolong their period of harbouring the mischief in their own person and driving it deeper into their constitution.

The Basis of Self-Government

The Round Table writes:—The real hope of the future lies in whatever system makes for a higher sense of public responsibility in individual men. It is a fact as obvious as it is constantly ignored that unselfishness in individuals is the only basis upon which a system of self-government can rest. The more highly developed a society grows, the higher the altruism necessary in the citizens if they are to govern without destroying themselves. But the saving factor in liberty is that it generates the principle of its own existence. In an age of cataclysm society has proved most stable wherever free institutions have been most firmly established. The power which small sections have of holding the whole community to ransom is nowhere greater than in England and America; and the really impressive feature is the extent to which on the whole they forbear to use it. There is great hope for freedom in any community in which Labour still keeps leaders like Thomas, Clynes, and Gompers at its head.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

The Viceroy on the Reforms

H. E. the Viceroy opened the recent session of the Imperial Legislative Council with a speech in which, as usual, he touched on all topics of current interest. At the outset he paid a warm tribute to Mr. Montagu and eulogised the services of Lord Meston, Sir William Marriis and Mr. Muddiman. He also said that it was he that recommended Sir Sankaran Nair to the India Council. Speaking on the Reforms he said :—

"What happier augury could there be for the working of our great experiment? Indian Ministers will find a running machine composed of human parts of the finest temper and quality ready to their hand. The work which has been done is an earnest of what will yet be done. I am confident that nothing will be lacking in the loyalty and efficient working of the machine of Government."

Turning to the preparatory work before the ushering of the Reforms, the Viceroy said :

"We have discussed in conference with the heads of the provinces all the preliminary points which presented any obstacles to immediate progress. It is our aim to take public opinion freely into our confidence, and I will take this opportunity of stating our intentions upon points of wider interest. We contemplate a lowering of the Franchise in Madras and the ~~Provinces~~, which will result so far as our rough estimates indicate, in an increase of something, over six hundred thousand voters in the two provinces taken together. We shall provide for some increase in the rural seats, which the Joint Committee wishes to attain without a reduction of the urban seats. We shall similarly provide for some better representation of the depressed classes. The special case of the urban wage-earner is also being provided for in Calcutta and Bombay, where the class is numerous and important. I hope that under the sympathetic and capable guidance of Lord Willingdon and Sir George Lloyd the difficulties about non-Brahmins in Madras and the Mahrattas in Bombay are in a fair way to a settlement. The process of making the electoral rolls has begun or is beginning and with it will proceed also the shaping of the election rules. Another matter of immediate urgency is the drafting of the rules of legislative, and other business for the several provincial councils and for the Indian legislature.

Mr. Bannerjee on the Reform Act

At the weekly meeting of the Calcutta Rotary Club held on Jan. 27 under the presidency of Dr. Kennedy, Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee delivered an address on the Indian scheme of reforms to a large audience in which the commercial community was largely represented. After referring to the growing friendships and solidarity between Europeans and Indians, Mr. Bannerjee said :—

"Politics, religion, social reform, expansion of civic life, development of industries and growth of spirituality are all interblended and interlinked. They act and react upon one another and strengthen one

another by their mutual interaction. You cannot introduce a political reform of any importance or magnitude without affecting your activities in other departments of life. The authors of the reform scheme sought to confer on our people a richer gift than India had ever enjoyed—the gift of elevated manhood, responsible public life, of increased and increasing national self-respect and all that the possession of these high moral qualities implies. The voter will begin to think that he is somebody in the land that his vote counts for something in the councils of the Government. A higher sense of civic status will be infused into his mind. He will lift up his head amongst his fellows. The whole of his life and conduct will be coloured by his new status. His awakened sense of self-respect will have an elevating effect upon his mind and character. If he is an agriculturist or an artisan or a trader he will be a better agriculturist, artisan and trader for the vote and with a thriving class of agriculturists, artisans and traders the material interests of the country and those of trade and commerce are bound to improve.

Mr. Bannerjee then dwelt at length on the social influence of the Act. Among other things he said :—

Social relations between Europeans and Indians will greatly improve and they will be placed on a better and higher footing of mutual trust and of mutual respect. Public affairs will occupy a larger place in our daily activities than now. There will be closer and more frequent opportunities of contact between Europeans and Indians in the discharge of public duties. The social and political sides of our lives will be broadened and softened by this daily and increasingly friendly inter-course. We shall learn to know one another more and to respect one another more. The fact cannot be disguised and nothing is to be gained by concealment that there were many members of the European community who were frankly mistrustful of the reform proposals. They thought that they were a little too premature and a little too advanced. The verdict has gone against them. The British democracy have declared that responsible government, is to be the end and aim of British rule and that it is to be attained by progressive stages. Your status and our status is the same and here let me make a frank confession of faith on my behalf as well as of the great party to which I belong. We of the Moderate Party believe that the connection of England is a divine dispensation ordained by the Holiest and the Highest. We further believe that India will not attain to the full height of her stature, take her place among the free nations of the earth and fulfil the high destinies in the providence of God or her allotted portion in the evolution of humanity except by and through association with the freest Empire that the world has ever seen. Therefore do I appeal to you representatives of European community, members of the Empire, friends of human freedom, to stand by us to co-operate with us in ensuring the success of the great experiment upon which the honour of England is staked and the future of India so largely depends. I am sure I do not appeal in vain. I am strengthened in this hope by the cordiality of your reception and kind and sympathetic hearing which you have accorded to me and for which I am truly grateful,

Chamber of Princes

Writing in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the Aga Khan, who was uncertain of the proposals regarding the Chamber of Princes, says this idea was one which was advocated by the Maharaja of Baroda twenty-five years ago. It remained as a pious thought ever afterwards.

Lord Curzon's interest, says His Highness, was centred in bringing the Princes together to consider questions affecting themselves only. Lord Minto wished to create a sort of Senate, composed of the princes and the principal land owners of British India. Lord Hardinge inaugurated the Princes' Council, advisory and consultative, possessing the roots of executive power and with a plan to deal with the education of the princes. That is about as far as the matter went under Lord Hardinge.

My idea is that British India should be divided into a Federal system of government, consisting of Senate, Princes and Government. The Government is however, unwilling to relax its authority over the Governors.

The Rulers of Dholpur

The Dholpur Rulers, writes Mr. Kannomal, M.A., have made a deep and abiding mark in the history of chivalrous Rajputana. Their gallantry, liberality, benevolence, piety, amiability of disposition, paternal love towards the people and staunch and devoted loyalty to the British Government are among the most outstanding characteristics of their life-history.

The ruling family of Dholpur are Jata Kshatriyas of Bamroli clan, the name being derived from Bamroli near Agra where an ancestor of the family is said to have been in possession of lands about 1195. They joined the side of the Rajputs against Mussalmans and received a grant of the territory of Gohad about 1505 when the title of Rana was assumed. In 1761 when the Mahrattas had been defeated at Panipat Rana Bhim Singh seized the fort of Gwalior, but it was re-taken by Scindia in 1777. In order to form a barrier against the Mahrattas, Warren Hastings made a treaty with Scindia, stipulated for the integrity of the Gohad territories but after the treaty of Salbai in 1782 this protection was withdrawn and in 1783 Scindia succeeded in re-capturing Gohad Gwalior. In 1804, however, the family were restored to Gohad by the British Government, but owing to the opposition of Scindia His Highness the Maharaj Rana Kiratsing Bahadur agreed in 1806 to exchange Gohad for the present territory of Dholpur.

Awakening in Indian States

The Government of India Act of 1919 says the *Searchlight*, has been understood by some of the more advanced of Indian states as a direct call for them to broaden the popular basis of administration and to thoroughly revise the idea, which appears behind the government of many, that the state exists for the Ruler and not for his subjects. In his speech at the anniversary Durbar, the Maharajah of Alwar announced a series of measures such as the separation of judicial and executive functions, free elementary and secondary education, liberalization of panchayats and extension of co-operative societies. The Ruler of Dewas in Bombay has openly proclaimed that he has made up his mind "to be a strictly constitutional ruler and to admit without unnecessary delay, my subjects to a substantial share in the direction of public affairs."

Reforms in Hyderabad

H. E. Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has just issued an important *Firman* from which we quote the following interesting announcement:—

"In my *Firman* dated the 22nd of Safar 1338 H under which I established an Executive Council for the more efficient administration of my Dominions, I had directed that my Legislative Council would continue to work under the existing rules until they should be modified. This Council was one of the outstanding features of the Reforms introduced by my revered father. Since its establishment, some minor changes have been effected, but they are not sufficient to meet the requirements of present times, nor do they give promise of the fulfilment of those duties and functions which I consider necessary for the prosperity and advancement of my beloved subjects. The Constitution I have given to my Executive Council has set it on the high road of administrative efficiency. It has made an excellent start and I feel confident that its working will demonstrate the wisdom of the steps taken."

The Maharajah of Bikaner

Replying to the toast of his health at the state banquet given at Baroda, Mr. Holland, agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana, in the course of his speech said:—

All the world knows of His Highness' striking career—his remarkable war services, the growth and development of his State under his parental eye and lastly all that he has done for the States as a body, for India and for the Empire. The record of his life as Prince, soldier and statesman is writ large for the public eye to read.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Indians in South Africa.

A recent communique says that the Commission appointed to enquire into the disabilities of Indians in South Africa will consist of the following members: Sir Johannes Lange, Chairman, Colonel James Scott Wylie Yettles, M. V. O., William Duncan Baxter Esquire, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Henry John Hofzyer Esquire. The terms of reference are to enquire and report on the provisions of law affecting (a) the acquisition of land and rights affecting land in the Union by Asiatics and persons of Asiatic descent for trading or other purposes; (b) the trading or carrying on of business by such persons generally or in specified localities; (c) to consider whether it is in the public interest to alter the law in any respect and (d) to make recommendations with regard to any difficulties and grievances which may have arisen in connection with matters (a) and (b). It is understood that the Commission is prepared to commence its sittings at Cape Town about the middle of March.

With reference to the above personnel and terms of reference, Mr. Gandhi said to an interviewer:—

The Commission is neither strong nor impartial, and so far as the terms of reference are concerned, I am not disposed to quarrel with them, and I would have, if it was possible, avoided the Commission altogether and obtained relief regarding land and trading by other means. But I am inclined to think it is possible for Sir Benjamin Robertson to secure the rights of ownership of land and trading which are in imminent danger. The whole situation hinges round the strength that the Government of India, through Sir Benjamin Robertson, puts forth.

Indian Agriculturists in Durban

An Indian Agricultural Association was formed at Durban, Natal, on December 8, by a meeting of delegates representing the Indian farming community in the districts surrounding Durban. The intention is to make an organised effort to help the Indian farming community and inculcate in them the co-operative system of production; also to represent their wishes to the authorities.

Indians Overseas

The Indian Overseas Association is actively promoting the interests of Indians outside India. It has been corresponding with Colonial and Indian officers to secure wider terms of reference and satisfactory Indian representation before the South African Asiatics Commission.

Indians Overseas

The problem of the position of Indians overseas is becoming acute, says the *Indian Social Reformer*. Only in one part of the British Empire, Fiji, has there been a gleam of light. As if to make up for this slight gain, the position of Indians in the Crown Colony of East Africa is being seriously menaced by the interested agitation of white adventurers in that colony. The most extraordinary part of the affair is that these gentlemen profess to be moved by love of morality, the Indians being depicted as a depraved people. There is not a shred of evidence to show that the Indians are more depraved than the Europeans, and there is some evidence to show the contrary. Mr. Andrews sends us a statement by Dr. Albert Cook, O.B.E., in charge of the C.M.S. Hospital, Kampala, Uganda; in which he certifies that in his over 20 years' experience of the largest hospital in Uganda, it is his deliberate opinion that there is less venereal disease among the Indians resident in Kampala than in any other section of the community. On the strength of this unfounded libel, and on the familiar argument that the white man must live, whoever else may have to die, some white settlers in East Africa are agitating to ruin the Indians in that part of the British Empire. From South Africa, Mr. Andrews sends an alarming cable. No one is less of an alarmist than he, and we, for one, are quite sure that what he says in his latest cable is absolutely true. "Worst situation since 1913, every right endangered," he says, and no other evidence of this is needed than that the Government of South Africa which welcomed Mr. Gokhale and showed him every courtesy during his tour in South Africa, have declined to receive an Indian representative with Sir Benjamin Robertson except, if our information be correct, on humiliating terms. That shows the spirit now prevalent in responsible quarters, and there is no use being annoyed when we are told of things which disturb our complaisant belief that the world we live in is the best of all worlds.

Colonisation to Guiana

The Colonisation Committee appointed by the Imperial Legislative Council concluded its enquiry into the scheme of British Guiana deputation on Feb. 10 and resolved to take a favourable view of it, but before recommending definite acceptance would advise the appointment of a deputation of three competent persons to British Guiana to investigate the conditions on the spot and report to the Government of India.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION. 141

Industrial and Commercial Conference

The following Resolutions were passed at the recent session of the Indian Industrial and Commercial Conference at Bombay. An account of the Conference appears in another page:—

FISCAL FREEDOM

"(a) This Conference, while appreciating the assurances given by the Secretary of State regarding the grant of fiscal freedom and the recommendation made in that behalf by the Joint Committee, apprehends that in view of the proposed constitution of the Central Government the just demands of the Indian Industrial and Commercial community may not be satisfied and even the real objects underlying Reforms measures may be defeated, and therefore respectfully urges that the working of the Act should secure the effective exercise by this country of its powers to devise and to carry into effect such tariff arrangements as may be best fitted to India's need as fully and as freely as the Self-Governing Dominions of the Empire.

(b) This Conference further demands that pending the attainment of such autonomous powers the Government of India should impose retaliatory duties against such Dominions and Colonial possessions of the Empire as have imposed differential tariffs against the country."

IMPERIAL PREFERENCE.

"This Conference strongly disapproves of the policy of Imperial Preference attempted to be introduced as manifested in the recent legislation regarding the export of hides and skins; and urges that no measure of Imperial Preference should be adopted till the whole question has been examined by a Committee fully representative of the various industrial and commercial interests of the country, and charged with powers of taking public evidence regarding all fiscal questions, as indicated in the Despatch of the Secretary of State reviewing the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, and until the Indian Legislature is in the position of deciding for itself the fiscal policy best suited to the interests of the country, and of carrying it into effect, as urged in the preceding resolution."

INDUSTRIAL AND CHEMICAL SERVICES.

"This Conference is emphatically of opinion that preference should be given to

(a) Indians on the proposed Industrial and Chemical services, (b) Indian enterprise in the matter of concessions with regard to the development of the natural resources of the country, railways, shippings, manufactures, and concessions in the matter of raw materials, power, etc., (c) Indian firms and manufacturers in respect of the purchase of stores for the requirement of Government Departments and local bodies and Railway Companies"

LABOUR PROBLEMS.

"In view of the present conditions of labour, this Conference respectfully requests the Government of India to appoint a Commission fully representative of labour and capital to fully investigate the labour conditions in India such as wages, education, housing, hours of work etc., and to submit such proposals for improvement as may be compatible with the healthy growth of industry."

IMPERIAL BANK

"This Conference considers: (a) That the Bill dealing with the proposed Imperial Bank should be published in full detail and criticisms invited from the public before any definite action is taken, (b) That the amalgamation as proposed is not calculated to sufficiently safeguard Indian interests and urges that the Government should not support the scheme unless provision is made for adequate Indian representation on all the Boards, (c) and further that the proposed Bank should not be debarred, merely on account of any competition with the Exchange Banks, from any kind of legitimate banking business, if its Central Board thinks it advisable to take it up."

HIGH PRICES.

"This Conference views with great concern the alarming rise in prices of necessities of life in India, specially in foodstuffs, and respectfully but emphatically urges the Government that export of all foodstuffs including dairy products and live stock may be regulated by a Committee of officials and non-officials, and not only Government Departments as at present, and that only to the extent of the surplus over the requirements of the country."

STATE MANAGEMENT OF RAILWAYS.

"This Conference is of opinion that: (a) State management of Railways should be adopted by the Government and regrets that the termination of the agreement with the East Indian Railway was not availed of to take over the management of that Railway, and (b) recommends that the proposed Committee to inquire into this question should have on its personnel representative Indians with commercial and industrial experience; and further (c) urges that the Railway Board should have not less than half of its members Indian; (d) it further views with alarm the serious and continued shortage of Rolling Stock and begs to urge that steps be taken immediately to restore the stock removed from India during the War, and so to increase the stock of Indian Railways as to secure sufficient transport facilities for the Industry and Commerce of the country; (e) this Conference strongly urges that the new department of industries should examine the railway rates now obtaining to prevent their operating unfairly against Indian industries and to the advantage of foreign trade and to particularly look into the system of rates which operates as a bar to the development of indigenous industries in different parts of the country and recommends that the interests of Indian industries and commerce should be represented at the Railway conference and at the meetings of the Goods Classification Committee."

LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

"This Conference urges that in view of the great benefits to trade and industry which have already been secured by the United States of America through their prohibition of liquor and in view of the fact that the efficiency and welfare of Indian Labour have greatly suffered through the liquor traffic, the Government of India should set before themselves the early adoption of the policy of total prohibition of the manufacture import and sale of liquor in the country for intoxicating purposes."

INDIAN COMMERCIAL ATTACHES

[This Resolution appears on page. 107]

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Agricultural Education

The Government of Bengal has issued the following communique:—

In view of the demand for agricultural education in Bengal, and as the Agricultural College at Sabour, which was originally founded to meet the requirements of both Bengal and Bihar as originally constituted, is situated within the boundaries of Bihar, the Bengal Government have had under consideration the lines on which an advance should be made in the existing province.

It has been decided (1) to open two vernacular agricultural schools, one at Dacca and the other at Chinsura as an experimental measure, and (2) to found an agricultural institute at Dacca.

The object of the Vernacular Schools is to provide boys of the agricultural classes with a more specialised form of instruction in agricultural subjects than they can receive in their homes, or derive from their experience. It is not intended to provide them with Government employment on the completion of the course.

Cotton-Growing

The report of the Empire Cotton Growing Committee is now published. With regard to India the report urges early action on the recommendations of the Indian Cotton Committee which it considers well calculated to improve cotton-growing in India. It urges that experiments with cotton growing in Mesopotamia should be continued and extended in order to determine whether cotton can be economically produced on "commercial basis"

The committee proposed a levy of six pence a bale on all imports of raw cotton into Britain producing £100,000 sterling years in order to finance cotton growing.

What Fertilisers may do

The old theory that fertilisers serve only as plant foods is proving inadequate says *Popular Science*. In a late paper to the Australian Chemical Institute it is noted that this view does not explain why exhausted fields are sometimes rich in fertilising elements, why immense quantities of plant food are made available to roots by only average soils, nor why fertility is prolonged by rotation. The recent suggestion is that fertilisers act as neutralising agents to toxic substances produced by growing crops. Supporting evidence is soil sickness, the extraction of plant harmful substances from infertile soils, the effects of weeds, and the stimulation by small quantities of certain fertilisers.

Bihar Peasants' Conference

The First Bihar Provincial Peasants Conference was held at Muzaffarpur recently under the presidentship of Baboo Arikshan Sinha who delivered a long speech enumerating the grievances of the tenantry. The conference demanded free compulsory primary education, a hospital in every four miles, better irrigation system, rights to transfer occupancy lands without landlord's consent, to plant trees, dig wells, build residential houses in Kest lands without the Malik's consent and to have full rights in trees in Nagdi lands. It urged Government to repeal enhancement of rent sections, and pressed for common pasture lands in every village, and demanded adequate representations of tenantry in councils, and district and local boards. The Conference strongly urged Government nominating a tenant representative in the Council when the Tenantry Bill is before the Council and strongly condemned the planter Zemindar alliance as likely to oppress the poor tenantry.

World's Food Crop

The following information has been issued by the International Agricultural Institute at Rome:—The yield of wheat in Spain, Scotland, Italy, Canada, the United States, India, Japan, and Tunis is estimated at 929,525,000 cwt. or 5.6 per cent. below the 1918 crop, and 1.1 per cent. below the average yield of the five years 1913-17. The estimated production of rye for Italy, Canada, and the United States is given as 48,274,000 cwt. or 7.1 per cent. below last year's production, but 67.3 per cent. above the average crop for the years 1913-17. The barely crop for Scotland, Italy, Canada, the United States, Japan, and Tunis is estimated at 159,397,000 cwt. or 15.1 per cent. below last year's production, and 4.1 per cent. above the average production of the years 1913-17. The estimated production of oats in Scotland, Italy, Canada, the United States, Japan, and Tunis is 491,933,000 cwt. or 18.4 per cent. below the 1918 yield, and 7.2 per cent. below the average yield of the five years 1913-17. The maize crop in Italy, Canada, and the United States is estimated at 1,473,592,000 cwt. or 10.2 per cent. above the 1918 production, and .3 per cent. above the average yield of the years 1913-17.

The Improvement of Indian Agriculture.—Some Lessons from America. By Cathelyne Singh. Second Edition Price Re. 1. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," Rs. 12.

G. A. Nathan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION]

Hydro Electric Survey of India. By J. W. Meares (Supt. Govt. Printing, India Rs. 3-2 0.)

The Industrial Commission which completed its labours not long ago recommended a hydrographic survey of India in order to economise the consumption of the country's store of coal, and preserve it for purposes which cannot conveniently be served by other sources of power. Mr. G. T. Barlow and Mr. J. W. Meares were accordingly appointed to investigate and make a preliminary report. It is their report which we have now before us. Unfortunately Mr. Barlow died during the course of the investigation.

The whole question hinges on the local price of fuel. Where this is high, success is assured as in the Mysore and Tata's schemes. Where coal is cheap, no case can be made out. A large capital expenditure is necessary for the hydraulic development; furthermore, as water power must be developed where it is found, a long transmission line is necessary. For these reasons, the total cost of construction is almost invariably higher than that of a steam driven plant of the same capacity, and the annual capital charges for interest and depreciation, correspondingly higher. Against this, however, the running costs are lower as no fuel is involved. The total cost of running does not depend, to any appreciable extent, on whether the plant is fully or lightly loaded. It is otherwise with fuel consuming stations. The transmission line costs in capital and upkeep charges, and decreases the available energy at the far end. These are one or two factors which must be carefully weighed in deciding on any particular method of developing power. Local factors determine one way or the other in this matter.

We congratulate Mr. Meares on his very clear and able report. Thirty six sites have been examined, but over 300 sites require examination. The Tatás have done excellent pioneer work in this direction, and we would commend the report to all interested in the industrial improvement of India.

War and Self Determination By Aurobindo Ghose, S. R. Murthy & Co., Triplicane, Madras.

This is a collection of four thought-provoking essays obviously inspired by the war. True to his vocation as poet and philosopher Mr. Ghose is more concerned with the spirit than with the machinery with which to reconstruct the new world.

Iron and Steel in India. By Lovat Fraser, The Times Press, Bombay.

Sir Stanley Reed writes a brief Foreword to this interesting chapter from the life of Jamshedji N. Tata. The task of an adequate account of the life and work of the illustrious Tata was originally undertaken by Mr. Lovat Fraser. Soon after Mr. Tata's death, the war broke out, and with it was brought to the forefront the greatest of his enterprises—the iron and steel works at Jamshedpur which furnished a continuous supply of rails in Palestine and Mesopotamia. Mr. Fraser has done well to publish separately and without delay this remarkable story of the achievements of a great enterprise—an enterprise which in recent years has assumed, as Sir Stanley correctly says, “a national, nay, an imperial importance”

The New Hazell Annual and Almanack for the year 1920. By T. A. Ingram, M.A., LL.D., Henry Frowde and Hodder and Stoughton, London.

The New Hazell is even more comprehensive and exhaustive than last year's. In addition to varied other information it contains a summary of the Peace Treaties with Germany, Austria and Bulgaria, and the full text of the covenant of the League of Nations, and a number of special articles with appropriate maps

BOOKS RECEIVED

PATRIOTISM: NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL. By Sir Charles Waldstein, Longmans Green & Co., London.

THE ENGLISH SPEAKING BROTHERHOOD AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By Sir Charles Walston, Cambridge University Press, London.

LITERARY STUDIES. By Charles Whibley, MacMillan & Co. Ltd., London.

A CATECHISM OF HINDU DHARMA. (The sacred Books of the Hindus Series). By the late Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vidyanava, Panini Office, Allahabad.

FOR ENGLAND'S HONOUR. By Albert Lee, Morgan and Scott Ltd., London.

THE MAN WHO WENT. By Harold Spender, Morgan and Scott Ltd., London.

A STUDY OR TRUE TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH OF THE ELEVENTH SKANDHA IN SRIMATH BAGAVATHA. By R. Ramasubba Sastrî B.A., B.L., Trivandrum.

INDIAN FINANCE AND BANKING. By G. Findlay Shirras, MacMillan and Co. Ltd., London.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

Jan. 23. Mr. Balfour delivered a speech on the Empire and the war at the banquet of the London Unionists Association.

Holland refuses extradition of the Ex-Kaiser.
Mr. Barnes resigns.

Jan. 24. The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri was presented with an address by the Deccan Sabha, Poona.

It is announced that Mr. Montagu has begun a short course of medical treatment.

Jan. 25. In the course of an interview H. H. the Aga Khan opposed the removal of the Turks from Constantinople.

Jan. 26. The Council of Ambassadors at Paris discussed the Dutch reply to the Allied Note regarding the extradition of the Ex-Kaiser.

Jan. 27. Mr. Asquith speaking at Paisley said that he meant to fight as a Liberal and hoped to win as a Liberal.

Jan. 28. Mr. Joseph Baptista addressing a mass meeting of the Mill-hands in Bombay, advised them to resume work.

Jan. 29. Mr. Albert Thomas has been elected President of the International Labour Bureau.

Jan. 30. H. E. the Viceroy opened the Legislative Council to day with a lengthy speech. Opening of the Social Welfare Exhibition at the Victoria Hall, Madras.

Queen Alexandra's tribute to the Indian Army was read by H. E. the Commander-in-Chief in the Council Chamber.

Jan. 31. A Conference of the South Indian Health and Welfare Association was held at the Banqueting Hall, Madras with H. E. Lady Wellington in the chair.

Feb. 1. Report of the Currency Committee is published to-day.

Feb. 2. The trial of the Newington Tragedy was taken up to day by the Bombay High Court Sessions.

Feb. 3. The Imperial Legislative Council passes several new Bills.

Feb. 4. News is received of the death of the Hon. Wilfrid Thesiger, a brother of H. E. the Viceroy.

Feb. 5. The accused in the Newington case was unanimously found "not guilty" and acquitted.



Farewell meeting at Secunderabad in honour of Mr. Hyderi who leaves for Bombay as Accountant General.

Feb. 6. The Financial Relations Committee met at the Secretariat, Allahabad.

Feb. 7. The Nagpur Municipal Committee unanimously passed a resolution inviting H. R. H. The Prince of Wales to Nagpur during his ensuing visit to India.

Feb. 8. A wireless states that the Bolsheviks have entered Odessa.

Feb. 9. The British Guiana Deputation presented their report in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Feb. 10. The Madras Corporation elected Dewan Bahadur Thiagaraya Chettiar as its first non-official President.

Feb. 11. At the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. Shafi moved that the Dacca University Bill be referred to the Select Committee.

Feb. 12. Mr. K. Srinivasa Iyengar has been appointed in succession to the Hon. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar to the office of the Advocate General, Madras.

Literary

Single Poem Poets

Sir Edward Cook's "More Literary Recreations" will be the last volume we shall have from his gifted pen. It contains an article on "Single Poem Poets," which has its "take off" in a passage from Plato's "Ion," where mention is made of Tynnichus, a bad poet who composed one immortal poem. Sir Edward Cook pursues his quest for a modern Tynnichus amongst prize poems, almost finding him in Dean Burgon, the author of "Petra," and ultimately decides in favour of Wolfe's "Burial of Sir John Moore," with the untraced author of "The Canadian Boat Song," Jean Elliot, who wrote "The Flowers of the Forest," and Hamilton of Bangour, author of "The Braes of Yarrow," close up.

Back to the Classics

There never was such a demand for classical literature as now, says a bookseller in the *London Evening News*. "This is not merely my own experience. Recently I asked a bookseller friend of mine if he found that the classics are read now-a-days, and he said he had never before had so much business in them."

Euripides, the gentle Horace, and Virgil, amongst the ancients; Froissart's Chronicles, Gibbon's Rome, Macaulay, Prescott, and Froyde, on the historical side; and the whole range of poets from Marlowe down to Kipling are inquired for every day where once weeks would elapse between sales."

Newspaper Centenary Celebration

The Centenary celebration of Bengali newspapers in Bengal was held in the hall of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Calcutta, recently before a large and representative assembly. Mahamahopadya Haraprosad Sastri, C. I. E., presided. All vernacular newspapers in Bengal were displayed and it is understood that including the defunct 342 papers have been started up-to-date in Bengal.

Professor Amulya Charan Vidyabushan of the Vidyasagar College read a paper on "the history of the vernacular newspapers in Bengal," in the course of which he made a brief survey of English-edited papers and said that *The Englishman*, though not the first English edited paper in this country, is the oldest of present day English papers.

Rickey's Gazette otherwise known as the *India Gazette* was the first, being started in 1774 and the *Bengal Gazette* was the first Bengali paper, started by Gangadhar Bhattacharjee in 1816.

The next vernacular paper was the *Samachar Darppan* by Rev. J. C. Marshman and the third vernacular paper was *Samvad Kowmudi*, by Raja Ram Mohun Roy and Babu B. C. Bannerjee, started in 1822.

The Englishman, under the name of *John Bull of the East* was started a year before the *Samvad Kowmudi*. In 1835 the name was changed into that of *The Englishman and the Military Chronicle* under the acknowledged editorship of Rev. Dr. Bryce.

The lecturer then quoted the words of Mr. J. H. Stequeler, the principal editor of *The Englishman* :—

"..... I found in Dwarkanath Tagore a Hindu who loved Englishmen and generally encouraged every enterprise from Ram Mohun Roy's dream of Hindu conversion to the extension of Toryism which he knew meant obstruction. Adieu to the *Bengal Herald* and welcome *The Englishman* for, so now I named the paper which had so long offended the liberal nostrils of the *John Bull*."

Tagore's Metre

Mr. J. D. Anderson writes in the *Times Literary Supplement* :—

I am not competent to express any opinion as to the validity of Mr. Bayfield's theory of the rhythm of English verse. I can only say, as anyone who reads Mr. Bayfield's book will say, that it contains a delightful anthology of specimens. But I may without presumption mention one perhaps significant fact. Sir Rabindranath Tagore has written and lectured much on metre. He holds that the metres of all modern languages which he knows are either (1) trochaic, or (2) dactylic, or (3) a compound of these. In the matter of English verse, he obtains this result by omitting from scansion the first syllable of what we regard as an iambic, and the first two syllables of what we call an anapaestic verse. He supplies the missing syllable or syllables by an assumed pause at the end of the verse.

The interest of this, from Mr. Bayfield's point of view, lies in the fact that, in Tagore's native Bengali, all verse must be trochaic or dactylic, owing to this: that the dominant accent in Bengali, on which metrical rhythm is based, is an initial phrasal accent *de duree*. A Bengali prolongs the first syllable of every phrase, in prose or verse. It would seem, therefore, that Sir Rabindranath arrives at results like to Mr. Bayfield's by importing Bengali accentuation into his reading of English verse. That is not in itself a condemnation of Mr. Bayfield's theory. But it is perhaps worth mentioning.

Educational

The Child's Imagination

Madame Montessori, lecturing to the Child Study Association on the possibility of developing a child's imagination by means of fairy tales, gave her audience several shocks. Murmurs of dismay arose when she said that the Latin races did not like the Anglo-Saxon races attaching importance to fairy tales as a means of developing imagination. In many of the Latin races mothers did not tell fairy tales to their children. That was only done by the grand-mothers to keep them quiet on winter nights. They were forbidden in the schools.

She did not possess the intense antagonism to fairy tales with which she was sometimes credited. But she believed the fairy tale which contained philosophical and ironic meaning or literary value interested and amused the adult, and the adult was interested in the way the child reacted to it, believing it to be true. Imagination did not enter into the problem, for it was the adult who created the fairy tale, not the child.

There was a profound difference, however, between amusing the child and helping him to develop—the difference between giving him psychic stimulation and excitement and giving him means to attain psychic strength. Credulity was not imagination. A child's mind required the help of the adult to bring it into the world of reality and help it to distinguish the true from the false.

Maratha Educational Conference

The twelfth session of the Maratha Educational Conference was held at Dhar on the 5th instant, H. H. the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior presiding. Seven hundred delegates were present. The Maharaja of Dhar offered the guests a hearty welcome and congratulated them for securing such an enlightened and broad-minded prince as the Maharajah of Gwalior to preside over their deliberations.

The Maharajah of Gwalior then delivered his presidential address. His Highness paid a glowing tribute to the valour of the Maratha soldiers who fought and died in the Great War. The Maharaja reminded the audience that charity begins at home, but as Pro-Chancellor of the Hindu University he exhorted them to take advantage of the facilities offered by the Hindu University and spoke bitterly against setting up new institutions, instead of supporting and strengthening the ones already existing. He

further said that his ideals and aims about education are literally translated into the aims and ideal of the Hindu University.

Referring to the results of female education His Highness observed that they are disappointing. "The women are getting over-masterful and the husbands are expected to take the second place." He complained that education is responsible in creating queer ideas in our girls as regards marriage and husband.

The Maharaja then regretted the tendency of the young educated members of the community to marry outside the community. It is essential, he said, to keep our blood pure and unadulterated to assure our existence as a separate caste. Every caste must keep its individuality for the progress of our country.

The Maharaja gave one lakh of rupees to the different Maratha educational institutions.

Many resolutions were passed pertaining to educational matters. The next Conference will be held at Gwalior.

Orissa Students' Conference

The seventh session of the All-Orissa Students' Conference was held at Puri on December 28th, the Hon. Mr. M. S. Das, C. I. E. presiding. There was a large number of delegates from the neighbouring districts. The Chairman of the Reception Committee Mr. Neelakantha Das, M. A., in welcoming those present, referred to the early history of the Student Movement in Orissa, the Utkul Association, the need for equipment for citizenship and the nature of the ideals now animating the student world in Orissa. The President in the course of an impressive address pointed out that

the value of passing resolutions is nullified unless carried out and a kind of moral conquest of the spiritual by the physical nature is the result. The ideals of education must change. Fresh opportunities are opened out for the human life, if not for the self, and the glory of Orissa's past and the buoyant enthusiasm of her youth must lead to a mighty future.

The Conference asked for post graduate instructions in Orissa and urged that provision should be made for a course of political training in schools and colleges.

The substitution of Devnagari for Oriya characters in the University examinations was deprecated. The inauguration of boy scouts movement was decided upon. Medals for elocution and essay-writing in Oriya and in English were awarded. Thirteen prizes were announced for social work and for essays on historical subjects.

Legal

The Newington Fiasco

Commenting on the judgment of the Bombay High Court acquitting the minor Zamindar of Kadambur of his alleged complicity in the murder of De La Hey, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes :

The Madras investigating authorities have come badly out of the business, and we trust that the Government of Madras will not rest content till every one responsible for this cruel prosecution of an innocent boy is brought to book. The question remains, who shot Mr. De-la-Hey. A further question for the consideration of the Government of Madras arises from the revelations regarding the state of things in the Newington School. There were only nine students. A costly establishment was maintained for the benefit of the nine men, under European management and supervision. They were supposed to be imbibing the best features of an English public school education in this expensive establishment. What they were really imbibing there is hinted at in one or two remarks in the course of his Lordship's able charge to the Jury. The standard of truth did not appear to have been very high at Newington. Talavankottai was known as the champion liar at Newington. There is no champion unless there is a competition."

Mukhtears' Conference.

The eighth session of the Mukhtears' Conference began at Faridpur in the Town Theatre Hall on December 26. Babu Rajkumar Chowdhury, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, discussed at length the nature of the disabilities under which Mukhtears had to work in the Criminal Courts, as also in the Civil and Revenue Courts and offices. He particularly described the permissive character of the Mukhtears' right to appear in any Criminal Court by virtue of the provisions as contained in Clause R (2) of Sec. 4 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Babu Kailash Chandra Das, Mukhtear, Comillah, then delivered his Presidential Address. He also dwelt on the limitations imposed on the Mukhtears by different enactments and stated that they were all there to raise their status and to get rid of the limitations imposed upon them by the permissive clause in Sec. 4 of the Criminal Procedure Code. The Conference concluded its sittings on

Dec. 27. The following, among other resolutions were unanimously carried :—

That having regard to the educational qualification and legal training of the mukhtears and revenue agents of the present day, and specially in view of the great reforms which are going to be shortly introduced in this country, this Conference once again urges that the time has come when the rights, powers and privileges of the mukhtears and revenue agents as members of the legal profession should be fully secured to them by statute, and that, with this end in view, the following amendments are urgently needed viz :—(1) that clause (r) of section 4 of the Criminal Procedure Code should be so modified as to empower the mukhtears to appear, act and plead as of right in the Criminal Courts, subordinate to the High Court; (b), that the provisions of the Legal Practitioner's Act should be so amended and modified as to empower the revenue agents after 1880 to appear, act and plead in rent suits in all courts subordinate to the High Court, (c) that mukhtears may be allowed to practice in the Civil Courts according to the terms of the license granted to them without any restriction; that a representation to the Select Committee for the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill be submitted immediately after the formation of the said select committee and that members be elected to interview the members of that Committee and other Hon. members of the Imperial Council as far as practicable to represent our cause, that this conference resolves that a fresh memorial be presented to the Hon. Chief Justice and his companion judges of Bengal under the signature of the president of this conference, humbly praying for their kind consideration in revising the rules and circulars of the High Court, so that mukhtears practising in the Civil Courts may have their due rights and privileges.

Childless Marriages

A precedent has just been established by a Tribunal at Milap, where the annulment of a marriage was obtained on the ground solely that it was childless.

This decision is expected to cause numbers of annulment—for there is no divorce in Italy on similar grounds.

The action of the Tribunal is endorsed by the whole Italian Press, and the Socialists are so enraptured by the idea that they are preparing a motion to put in the Chamber that marriages shall be compulsorily annulled if no children result from them.

Medical

Infectious Diseases

An epidemic of infectious diseases is sweeping eastward from Russia, threatening Poland and Europe. Typhus is raging throughout Eastern Galicia, and Roumania has been obliged to close her frontier. A Polish doctor, who has returned from Smolensk, states that official Bolshevik statistics show that there were 134,000 cases of typhus in Russia in the six months ended March, 1919, and in the following six months the increase was 50 per cent. Small-pox was also very bad. Typhus is also raging in the Ukrainian armies. When General Petlura's army broke up, 30,000 troops drifted through the Polish lines, of whom 60 per cent. were infected. The Poles urgently need medical supplies to fight the disease, which it will be otherwise impossible to hold in check.

Child Welfare in India

Presiding over the recent Conference of South India Health and Welfare Association at Madras her Excellency Lady Willingdon said: Maternity and child welfare, saving of lives of babies and mothers or matters which have been sadly neglected in this vast country in the past. The figures of infantile mortality are pitiable reading. Ignorance is the chief cause of those unsuitable, insanitary and dangerous methods which result in the death of so many mothers and so many tiny babies." Her Excellency in conclusion hoped that as the result of the starting of the society, conditions of health and living might be vastly improved for all the classes and the communities in the presidency. The Hon. Mr. Knapp then explained to the conference the rules of the Association. Among other speakers were Mrs. Whitehead and Major General Giffard. A series of exhibits and demonstrations were also given in this connection at the Banqueting Hall.

Restoring Youth to Old Age

Doctor Voronoff, who has grafted bones and joints, thyroid glands, and utilised fetal membranes for the grafting of skin, has considered that the interstitial gland of a monkey grafted on an old man will restore to him his lost strength and youth. Doctor Voronoff says the Paris correspondent of the *Daily telegraph*, has already experimented with the organs of the monkey in human grafting, and has succeeded, and it is the result of his experiments that induces him to hold out hope of a remedy against old age.

Sub Assistant Surgeons' Conference.

The XIV Annual Conference of the All-India Sub-Assistant Surgeons' Association was held at Poona in the Byramji Jeejibhai Medical School on the 18th December last, under the presidency of Col J. P. Smith, C. B., I. M. S., Surgeon-General with the Government of Bombay. The Chairman of the Reception Committee Dr. K. G. Lokohari in a very felicitous speech briefly summarised the grievances of the Sub-Assistant Surgeons class both Civil and Military and gave out his views with regard to the necessary Reform to be achieved in this direction. He welcomed the delegates and cordially thanked them for the sacrifices they have made in going over to Poona from various parts of India. The President-elect was formally voted to the chair in an impressive speech by Dr. Joseph Benjamin of Ahmedabad one of the founders of the Association and seconded by Dr. D. V. Venkappa of Madras. The General Secretary Dr. Raj Bahadur Surju Prasad then presented the annual report for the year 1919 for adoption by the Conference in which he gave a detailed account of the work of the Association for the current year. The manager of the Family Fund explained the working of the Fund for the year 1919. The President-elect spoke at length about the origin and growth of the Sub-Assistant Surgeon Class. He was in favour of all the needed Reforms and expressed that if not in the near future yet in a short time all encouragement will be shown by the powers that be and that the Association must go on working vigorously with regard to its material and scientific advancement.

Treatment for Trigeminal Neuralgia.

As in the case of sciatic, lumbar, or occipital neuralgias, it is claimed that of the facial can also be cured by Roentgen rays. The technique of an eminent professor consists in applying over both temples and cheeks a penetrating dose of from 30 to 40 X, filtered through a 3 m.m. aluminium plate. The nerve is thus reached at its exit from the cranium. In neuralgias occurring in the areas of the ophthalmic and superior maxillary nerves the forehead and cheeks may be irradiated from in front. One should avoid the hair areas as much as possible, in order to avoid the destructive action of the secondary radiations on the hair. This treatment should, be resorted to before intraneural injections or neurectomy (cutting the nerve) has been done. The treatment is also favoured by a general radiotherapeutic treatment and the use of radioactive water.

Science

Mysterious Wireless Signals

Writing in the *Daily Mail*, Chevalier Marconi says that for some time past, wireless operators by day and by night have been puzzled by interruptions of signals taking the form of apparently meaningless combinations of letters not confined to any country or continent heard simultaneously in London and New York. Chevalier Marconi describes the very queer sounds and indications which might come from somewhere outside the earth. Some letters particularly occupy the greatest frequency. "No case has yet been picked up of anything translatable into a definite message. They are identical in intensity and emanate from a very great distance. We have not the slightest proof of their origin. They are possibly due to natural electric disturbances such as eruptions of the sun." Asked whether it was possible that another planet was attempting to communicate with the earth, Chevalier Marconi replied:—"I do not rule out the possibility but there is no proof. The strange sounds are not confined to any particular period and are as frequent by day as by night."

Dreamers are Sane.

Dreams appear to be a safety valve for repressed emotions, desires or imaginings, says the *Popular Science Siftings*. According to Freud, dreams and delusions spring from the same source, the repressed. "Before the repressed has become strong enough to push itself up into the waking life as a delusion, it may easily have won its first success under the more favourable circumstances of sleep, in the form of a dream," says Dr. S. T. Rucker. "During sleep, with the diminution of psychic activity, there enters a slackening of the strength of resistance, which the conscious psychic process offers to the repressed. The slackening is what makes dream formation possible. Therefore the dream becomes for us the best means of approach to knowledge of the unconscious psyche. Only the dream usually passes rapidly with the revival of waking life and the ground won by the unconscious is again vacated."

In Dr. Rucker's study of abnormal psychology he has noticed a striking analogy between delusion and dream. The difference appears to be that a dream is acted out during the unconscious or sleep state, and abandons the field when consciousness is restored; while delusion holds sway over the mind during the conscious or waking state and disappears during sleep.

Now, if, as Freud contends, a dream is the physiological delusion of the normal human being, may not a delusion be the pathological (disease) dream of the abnormal human being? Dr. Rucker's observations have been that persons who dream have no delusions, and those who are dominated by delusions have no dreams. Therefore dreams may perform an important function in maintaining mental balance by letting the "repressed" find a physiological exit during sleep, instead of pushing itself up into the waking life as a delusion.

It does not follow, however, that the non-dreamer is in any way mentally deficient.

The Age of the Ocean

By measuring the salt in them Professor Frank Clarke, of the U. S. Geological Survey, says the *Millgate Monthly*, has estimated that the world's oceans are about 90,000,000 years old.

The water that formed the oceans was once contained in the vapour that surrounded the glowing, slowly cooling mass which is now the earth. After the gases combined to form water the process of making the ocean salt began. This was the work of the rivers. Mineral salts were extracted from the rocks over which they flow and deposited in the sea.

Each year the action of the streams is said to make the ocean slightly more salty, and this is the basis on which its age is calculated.

The amount of salt carried by the rivers of the world is computed by the scientists and compared with the total quantity in the ocean. After evaporation and the velocity of currents have been considered, it is possible to calculate how long it has taken to make the sea water as salty as it is to-day.

The Control of Electrical Machinery.

The control of electrical machinery by the sound of a whistle at any distance up to a mile was recently demonstrated to a *Sunday Express* representative. By the blowing of a whistle a small motor-car was started, directed to the right or left, and stopped by repeated sounds. The model was fitted with the essential batteries, and no wires or wireless apparatus are claimed to have been used. Vibration alone is responsible, and the same results are claimed to have been accomplished by means of inaudible vibrations. The inventor, Captain A. J. Roberts, an Australian flight captain, is said to have produced other inventions connected with wireless in the air and the controlling of torpedoes by the same means.

Personal

Gen. Booth's Impressions of the King

A very interesting account is given by General Booth of a recent conversation with his Majesty the King. The General was asked to go and see the King at Buckingham Palace, and subsequently described the interview as follows :

"I was pleased to note that the King appeared to be in capital health, full of vigour, and in excellent spirit. In the course of conversation, we touched upon an unusual number of topics, and many of the things which were said on both sides were, of course, matters for purely private discussion. His Majesty is a rapid and interesting talker, he emphasises many of his words with appropriate gestures and throws his whole personality into what he says. Many of the impressions which I gathered will remain with me, and I may perhaps be permitted to pass on two or three of them.

First I was struck with the king's personality. He is in dead earnest about many of the most important needs of our's. Nothing of its kind could well have been more impressive than the way in which the necessity for a higher morality and a better control and discipline in the nation's social life was emphasized. I wish that some favourable opportunity could be given the King to speak in the same sketching terms he employed when alluding to certain of the forms of present-day indulgence and license. Or, again, when he urged the importance of maintaining Christian faith and principle among the people, noting the hopeless outlook for our civilization unless it could be made to rest more effectively upon the teachings of religion."

After referring to his Majesty's appreciation of the Salvation Army and its works, Gen. Booth says :—

"His Majesty's knowledge of affairs, and his clear ideas of and views upon many of the leading problems of the times, was another of my outstanding impressions. While I am in possession of no secrets about the King, and though I am aware that under the system of Government which prevails in this country he can exercise comparatively little power as a Ruler, nevertheless I can see how valuable it is to the nation, and the Empire to have in one so highly placed a man who has powers of observation and sympathy, courage and insight, and who has faith for the future, so that his voice is thrown on the right side when great and vital questions arise."

The Prime Minister

The writer of the "Musings without Method" in the *Blackwood Magazine* describes Mr. Lloyd George as a dark horse :—

"What he does in Downing Street we do not know; not even a rumour of his activity reaches us. We do know what he neglected to do in the House of Commons. We may read if we will, the brief speeches which he delivers when he believes that silence is no longer safe. And as he ignores the opinion of the House, so he regards with a kind of anger every word that is said in his dispraise by the press. The lightest criticism directed against him is a "stunt," as he calls it. It is perhaps the clearest proof of his insensitiveness that "stunt" and "proposition" are ever on his tongue. They come from America, and express nothing that might not be better said in English. And far worse than the vulgarity of his style is the petulance of his resentment. After all, England was not made for Mr. George, and if he cannot serve her with dignity and forgetfulness of self, the sooner we get rid of him the better. A great empire cannot long tolerate a Minister who, when he should speak with authority to the whole of Europe, babbles of "stunts," and unpacks from his heart in public the fear and hatred which he feels for what he describes as the Northcliffe Press.

Mr. George, then, demands many immunities—immunity from criticism and attack, immunity from attendance at the House of Commons, immunity from the necessity of explaining himself. What does he give us in exchange for all these immunities? Nothing but cunning, which, as Bolingbroke said long ago, is the "low mimic of wisdom." He is cunning in extricating himself from a difficulty, he is cunning in bringing a slavish House of Commons to heel, if it dare to show a sign of revolt; he is still cunning, though not so cunning as he was, in conciliating this or that group of his supporters in the country. And this cunning is the best measure of his failure. He was given the opportunity of wisdom, and he could not use it, for wisdom is beyond his research. He was given the trust of a people, and he was forced to reject it, because he could not discover which set of incompatibles it would pay him best, for the moment, to support. Yet there he stands—the very symbol of democracy, touchy, wayward, tyrannical, and withal just clever enough to keep his power in the House which he never visits, and to play upon the ignorance of the country which he has duped."

Political

The New French Cabinet

M. Deschanel has been elected President of the French Republic and M. Millerand has become the Prime Minister.

M. Millerand's Cabinet includes the following :

Minister for Foreign Affairs—M. Millerand.

Minister for War—M. Andre Lefebvre.

Minister for Marine—M. Landry.

Minister for Commerce—M. Isaac.

Minister for Finance—M. Marsal.

Minister for the Colonies—M. Albert Garluat, ex-Governor of Indo-China.

The French press is favourable to the Millerand Cabinet and the Premier is praised for boldly choosing experts for several important technical posts, even from outside Parliament.

M. Millerand has created a new Ministry of Pensions under M. Maginot. Only two Ministers of the present Cabinet, namely, M. Jourdan, Minister of Labour, and M. Le Troucquer, Minister of Public Works, served under M. Clemenceau.

Mr. Asquith on Freedom

Speaking at Leeds Mr. Asquith said that never was freedom "in more need than at this moment of jealous and watchful guardianship." We want, he said :

"Freedom—not merely negative, but positive freedom : freedom from artificial restraints, but freedom also to make the most and best both of social and industrial life. We want freedom not only of speech and writing, but freedom, complete freedom, of trade, freedom from compulsory service, freedom by the removal of all factitious obstacles to the fullest and completest self-development, such freedom as we know can only be obtained, as it can only be maintained, by organised and concentrated effort and by a constant remodelling of our legislative and administrative machinery. But always remember that the State is the means to an end and not the end in itself—and it is the end and not the means of which we of the Liberal party should never lose sight.

Freedom is always our goal, and the most formidable foe we have to encounter and to defeat is privilege. Classes and interests, whether great or small, powerful by their wealth or by their number, which place their own ends before those of the community at large, we must all be ready to withstand."

Sir John Simon on Party Government

In a recent speech Sir John Simon said :—

"In these strange times there were many who asked, 'What was the use of party? Could the people not all agree to dispense with it?'. But party government was more needed now than ever it was. A party was an association of citizens who held in common sets of opinions, and were anxious to apply these under certain guiding principles, and the only alternative to party government was a coalition, which could exist only if it put aside all those questions on which different people had different opinions, and which, while useful in the time of war, was not workable in the time of peace. The Liberal party were in office when the war was declared, and it was only when every method of peace had been exhausted that war was entered upon, and the special duty of all Liberals at a time of war was to see that no selfish aim was involved. The war was entered upon to fight the disease of Prussianism, but it was a catching disease, and many of those who set out to destroy it had caught the disease themselves. It was the duty of those who were of a Liberal mind and temper to try to put an end to many of the abuses that had entered into the public life to day."

Simla Government

"What is happening on the North-West Frontier of India?" asks the *Daily Mail*.

"Since 1849 we have fought exactly 50 campaigns in this wild and turbulent region. If there is one place in the world where we ought to know how to handle military expeditions it is on the barriers of Afghanistan. Yet, although the Government of India have mobilised a great force in addition to squadrons of aeroplanes, operations have been going badly ever since the spring

"It is no answer to say that the troops employed were unused to frontier warfare. We seem to be witnessing another breakdown of the Indian military system, and the true remedy appears to be to sweep the whole Army administration out of Simla and bring it down to the plains. Hilltop control has been the curse of the Army of India."

Japanese Overtures to China

The Japanese minister has notified the Chinese Government that consequent upon the enforcement of the Peace Treaty, Japan, in accordance therewith, has succeeded to the former German right in Kiaochow.

General



THE ANGEL OF PEACE—HIS MAJESTY'S NEW GARB. ["The Bengalee" writes:—The Royal Proclamation announces boons which must have a profoundly tranquillizing influence upon the public mind. It breathes good will and sympathy throughout and an earnest solicitude, to inaugurate a new era of peace and contentment, and of co-operation between the Govt. and the people and between all sections of our great community.] *By courtesy of the Hindi Punch.*

Hon. Mr. Thonger on the Panchamas

Commenting on the proceedings of the recent session of the Madras Legislative Council, Mr. P. Jayaram Pillai, B. A., writes:—My breath was fairly taken away, as I read the Hon'ble Mr. Thonger's speech in the Legislative Council. Educated Indians never thought for one moment that a European would come forward to exhort the high caste Hindus in the following words: "If they should enforce free education on a country like this, they would be ruled by the present Panchamas or Depressed Classes. I am afraid that persons belonging to high Hindu societies are expressing too great sympathy with these Depressed Classes and try to educate Panchamas before they can assimilate the material placed before them, I

would foretell that if that policy should be pursued, gentlemen, the council would ere long weep tears of blood when the Panchamas would dominate over them." I never believed that there are Europeans who observe Varnashrama Dharma. If this "European gentleman" had taken pains to learn the antiquity of the Panchamas, and if he had taken the trouble to study to what extent he himself had deviated from the callings of his ancestors, he would never have cut such a sorry figure in the Council as to evoke an incisive reply from a Brahman member who said "we would all shed not tears of blood but tears of joy when the Panchama would dominate over us." From start to finish Mr. Thonger was labouring under a great misconception that the son should follow the profession of his father: the son of a doctor should become a doctor, the son of a lawyer should become a lawyer, so on and so forth. By a concatenation of reasoning it follows that all of us should follow Adam's profession if he had any. No one, according to Mr. Thonger's creed should take any trouble about the choice of a profession as one has but blindly to follow the callings of one's father. It is surprising that a European, born and bred in the free atmosphere of England, should be the exponent of a theory of professional serfdom. I quite agree with Mr. Thonger that our position would become deplorable if the Depressed Classes are emancipated. For instance, an "educated butler may demand reasonably high wages for his service. But how long are we to cheat the Depressed Classes taking advantage of their ignorance?"

The proceedings of the Council are remarkable in one respect namely, they reveal how the much abused Brahmans who are charged as the sole oppressors of the Depressed Classes are anxious to come forward to raise the Depressed Classes to that equality which is by nature their right.

It strikes me that Lord Sinha—if he should care to read the proceedings—will peruse the speech of the Hon'ble member with much delectation for the noble Lord not long ago remarked: "let me implore my friends of the Indian Civil Service not to commit the mistake of looking upon the educated Indians as out of touch with his less favoured countrymen or trying to keep the latter down for his own personal profit and advancement." As lip sympathy is not always proof of practical sympathy, it is quite conceivable that underlying the speech of Mr. Thonger which is manifestly absurd, there may exist some just and considerate thoughts.

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THE KHILAFAT QUESTION



THE FRIEND OF THE KHALIFA.

MIAN PUNCH.—A thousand thanks, Sir, for your heroic espousal of the cause which is so dear to every Moslem heart! Whatever may be the issue, I, as the representative of Moslem India, and the Khalifa will always cherish with gratitude your championship of the cause.

LONDON, February 25.—In the course of an interview by a representative of the *Evening Standard*, Mr. Montagu, replying to an article by Lord Robert Cecil advocating the turning out of the Turkish Government from Constantinople, declared that in view of India's war services no country in the world was so entitled to have its wishes considered in this connection as India, and throughout India all, who expressed opinion on the subject, whatever their race or creed, believed that non-interference with the seat of the Khalifat was indispensable to the external and internal peace in India.

A meeting of the Bombay Mahomedans has passed the following resolution unanimously:—That the meeting desires to record its grateful thanks to the Right Hon. Mr. E. S. Montagu for his heroic espousal of the just cause of India]—*Hindi Punch*.

THE Khilafat question has now reached yet another stage, and a most disquieting situation has been created all over India by the announcement that the Allied troops have occupied the Turkish capital. The Prime Minister's great speech in Parliament the other day gave hopes of a happy termination to a most vexed question.

"One-fourth of the population of the British Empire," said he, "is Mahomedan. There have been no more loyal adherents to the Throne, there has been no more effective loyal support to the Empire in its hour of trial, than came from the Mahomedans of India. We gave a solemn pledge, and they accepted it, and they are disturbed at the prospect of our not abiding by it."

Mr. Lloyd George also owned that the main influences in favour of the settlement came from India, and he paid a tribute to the warmth and sagacity with which Lord Sinha and H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir put the case in favour of Turkey. And he went on to say:

Just think what the conquest of Turkey meant. India voluntarily sent to her aid 1,160,000 men who enlisted during the war. Taking those who enlisted during the war and before it, very nearly at a million and-a-half, we could not have conquered Turkey without their help. We had not the necessary troops. There were Mahomedan divisions that fought brilliantly throughout the whole of that Turkish campaign. Without their aid we should not have conquered Turkey at all; were we to have broken faith with them in the hour of victory?

Indian representation coupled with Mr. Lloyd George's brave stand in the Supreme Council did prove effective for a time. For in the last week of February it was announced that the Peace Conference had decided to leave Constantinople to Turkey. It was well known that there was opposition in the British Cabinet itself. Gladstonian Liberalism had committed itself to the expulsion of the Turk from Europe; and the Church dignitaries of England who wield great influence in political circles have a traditional antipathy to the Crescent,

A section of the British press led by the *Times* took up the popular cry. Lord Robert Cecil and Lord Bryce led the agitation and it is extremely satisfactory to read Mr Montagu's reply to this formidable opposition. In an interview with the *Evening Standard* Mr. Montagu (while he was yet a convalescent in a nursing home) went so far as to argue, that "if the taking away of Constantinople from the Turk was to be a necessary result of the war, India ought not to have been asked to take part in the war with Turkey." The Premier supported Mr. Montagu and stood firm and it was with great difficulty that he overcame the opposition of so influential a member of the Cabinet as Lord Curzon.

In the meanwhile came the report of Armenian massacres by the Turks and it was again decided to postpone the final settlement of the Turkish question till after the investigating Commission had submitted their views and on the 16th March Constantinople was occupied by the allied Military and naval forces. The situation is thus very critical and has caused not a little consternation in India. Mr. Lloyd George's reply to the Indian Khilafat deputation has not been

quite as reassuring as his previous utterances and his well-known championship of Turkey's claims for self-determination would warrant us to believe. It is possible that his views have been coloured by the alleged massacres in Armenia. But, as Lord Curzon pointed out the other day in the House of Lords, the Armenians are not "quite so many lambs" and there are alleged reports of Armenian intrigues in the heart of the Turkish Empire. Nor is a political question to be decided at all by an appeal to religious fanaticism. The British Government is the greatest Mahomedan power in the world and the happiness and contentment of many millions are involved in the just solution of this great question. It would be disastrous to convert a political question into a religious controversy.

We therefore trust that British statesmen will rise to the occasion, set aside their racial predilections and the prejudices of the Christian Churches and decide in the only way in which future peace can be secured. In the meanwhile it behoves all sober minded men to discountenance violence in any form and insist on conducting a perfectly constitutional agitation.

THE REVERSE COUNCILS

BY

MR. S. A. PANDE, M.A., LL.B.

REVERSE Councils are bills drawn by the Government of India on the Secretary of State in London, who is asked to pay, out of his cash balances there, all the holders of these bills which are purchased in India by people who want money in London; that is the contrivance of turning your rupee reserves in India into sterling reserves in England. They are called 'Reverse Councils' because their operation is the reverse of that of the Council Bills.

According to the strict theory of exchange these bills should not be issued at this time because our balance of trade is favourable; why then the voluntary sale of these bills? Unfortunately the discussion that has centred round this subject never attempted to see the real causes of this policy; it is only decrying the pernicious effects of the same on Indian welfare. The phenomenon seems to have originated in the way

depicted below. There is an increased demand for the sale of councils whereby British merchants pay for our export goods in India; the sale of councils has naturally accumulated a large amount of sterling reserve in London with the Secretary of State. Under the recommendations of the Currency Committee, much of this Gold Standard Reserve is to be transferred to India; the gold in the Paper Currency Reserve also is to be transferred to India; and the Government of India mean to inaugurate the policy of the Committee as early as possible.

Thus, a considerable portion of the Secretary of State's sterling reserve consisting of Gold Standard Reserve and the gold in the Paper Currency Reserve is to be transferred to India; these balances in London again continue to be augmented by the proceeds of the weekly sales of councils.

The Council Bill holders have to be paid in rupees in India. Because of the dearth of silver,

rupee coinage in adequate proportion is not available, therefore gold must be shipped from London by the Secretary of State to pay for the councils here in India; thus gold is required here in India both because the reserves of London now with the Secretary of State have to be transferred to India, and also to pay for councils which the Secretary still sells to accommodate the specially increased trade after the war; but where is the gold in such enormous quantities available? The Secretary of State's Gold Standard Reserve and perhaps even the Paper Currency Reserve are full of securities of short or long maturity; e.g., the balance of Gold Standard Reserve on January 31, 1920 amounted to £ 36,826,916 and was held in the following form;—

	£
1. Gold in India	Nil.
2. Cash at the Bank of England . . .	196
3. British Govt Securities . .	29,905,932
4. British Govt. Securities . .	6,920,788
since purchased	
	<hr/> 36,826,916

(*Vice "Times of India" 17 Feb. 1920.*)

Thus there is no gold in the metallic form coined or uncoined with the Secretary of State to be sent to India.

Even council bills are sold, very likely, for paper gold, that is, the currency notes of England; thus there is all paper; whatever gold is acquired by the Government of India is sold weekly in various places in India; whatever gold may be acquired by the Secretary of State is also sold in India. But the large deficit is there; and this is tried to be made good by the sale of Reverse Councils. The Government of India want rupees here in India to pay off the councils; again the balances in London have to be transferred here; both these purposes are achieved by the reverse councils by which Government of India receive money here in India, and give in exchange the sterling reserve held, in paper, in England. This contrivance thus helps the Government in the management of the exchange situation; but for this, those persons who wanted to remit their money to London would have done so by the purchase of export bills from private persons; but because of the above two difficulties of the Government they (the Government) purposely stepped into the market and offered reverse councils at better rates than private purchase could have offered to these remitters.

The result is Government are helping, as if, to reduce the indebtedness of England towards

India at half the original rate; they are showing the most anxious concern to make the best use of all rupee-money in India private and otherwise, to reduce Britain's indebtedness towards India, by accepting as few rupees in India and paying as many sovereigns in exchange, in England as possible, in this process of the reverse councils. If these remitters had been left to the private market, they would have been required to pay more rupees for every sovereign to be received in England, than they have to do now in the purchase of reverse councils; thus rupee is being purposely appreciated and gold or sterling is being purposely depreciated, to prevent rupee from leaving India, and gold from leaving London. Of course, as I have already said, there is no gold to be paid in London. These holders of reverse councils are being paid very likely, out of the proceeds of the sale of securities, as they became mature and that also in bank notes; hence the limited weekly supply of the sales of the reverse drafts.

The British people cannot part with their gold if they are not to be financially ruined; and this one contrivance of the reverse councils helps them in the matter, as if the Secretary of State is being guided by the financial concerns of Great Britain.

This is one explanation of the matter; if it is wrong, the Government should correct it; that wide ignorance prevails on the matter in the non-official circles is clear from the general discussion of the subject in the press and on the platform; for example, while Mr. De P. Webb thinks reverse councils are being sold because the balance of trade is temporarily against India, Mr. S. R. Bomanji proves by facts and figures that it is not so and the Government of India also do not lend support to Mr. Webb. Thus even experts so largely differ on the points; Mr. Sarma moved a resolution on this subject in the Imperial Legislative Council while Mr. Madon showed that the resolution was injurious to India; thus differ the experts. All are disagreed on the causes of this phenomenon and hence this attempt.

About the effects, all are agreed and I need not waste my time over them; I think Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy's treatment of the effects of this process on India's welfare is perfection itself.

Let us hope much would be written on the causes of this policy in future by experts to clear the air; let us also hope that the Government of India will not hesitate to make the whole situation clear.

LORD MESTON'S AWARD

By "POLITICUS."

DURING the controversies that raged around Cardinal Newman's opinions and those of Mr. Kingsley, the former in his "Apologia" gave a timely warning which is valid for all time. "The habitual prejudice, the humour of the moment, is a turning point which leads us to read a defence in a good sense or a bad. We interpret it by our antecedent impressions. The very same sentiments, according as our jealousy is or is not awake or our aversion stimulated, are all tokens of truth and of dissimulation and pretence." "Controversies," the Cardinal exclaims, "should therefore be decided by the reason," and he asks "is it legitimate war-fare to appeal to the misgivings of the public mind and to its dislikings?"

Such reflections are inevitable when one opens a daily paper and perceives in the columns of the "Justice," above the leading article, what is called the clarion call of the Non-Brahmana leader. He, (the Honourable Dewan Bahadur P. Theagaraja Chettiar), would ask his followers to swear "that not one of them would vote for a Brahmana, not one of them would help a Brahmana in his elections, not one of them would assist in the returning of a Brahmana". His first advice to every Non-Brahmana would be never to trust a political Brahmana. Misgivings would yield place to pessimism as to the future of this distracted land if we were to believe that this is more than a passing phase, and if one were not confronted by another side of the picture presented by the indignant repudiation of such doctrines by men of position like Mr. Evalappa Mudaliar and by the balanced and sane criticisms of Rao Bahadur C. Cunnah Chettiar.

Let us for a moment review the Non-Brahmana Movement and endeavour to ascertain its bearings. For over 30 or 35 years, in generous emulation and rivalry, the leading spirits among the Non-Brahmanas endeavoured to stimulate progress among their communities which had theretofore devoted themselves to their hereditary and profitable occupations, and turned aside from the paths trodden by the protagonists of the modern educational and political movements. It would be an entirely inaccurate statement, however, to assert that, leaving out of account the Panchamas or the Adi Dravidas who present separate problems, the communities as a whole were inarticulate or were helpless or down-trodden. Leading industrialists, prominent merchants, conspicuous successes at the Bar and other learned professions would belie

any such argument. Nevertheless, partly moved by legitimate impulses and partly too facily attracted by prospects of Government offices and the prizes of the professions, there arose and developed within the last quarter of a century a new and fiercer competition. Men, however, like Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar, Sir Sankaran Nair, Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliar or Mr. Rangiah Naidu used the educational advancement of the Brahmanas and their position in places of profit and honour as an incentive to progress on the part of their respective groups and not as arguments for annihilation. Candour compels us to state that checks in the personal careers of one or two prominent leaders were, perhaps, originally responsible for the newer phases of what is called the Non-Brahmana Movement. Nevertheless, will it and can it be denied that if half the money and one-tenth of the energy, devoted by the communities towards the agitation and propaganda conducted during the last few years and crystallised in newspapers and separate clubs and associations, had been utilised for the purpose of adequately equipping the young men of the respective communities in the various learned and technical professions, the problem of the so-called inequality would have been automatically solved? Is it open to question that the strength of the Movement lies, unfortunately, in the comparative ease with which destructiveness and distrust can be preached to careless and otherwise busy crowds? However much one may deplore the result, the agitation for communal electorates was started with great show of plausibility and tremendous vigour by that redoubtable debater and formidable politician, Dr. Nair, and he brought into operation all his faculties of organisation and propaganda. He knew (none better than he) that communal electorates involving the segregation of community from community would result in a permanent cleavage, and that the best and most reputed Muhammadans were getting tired of their communal experiment. He recognised, as one so shrewd could not but recognise, that the so-called Non-Brahmana community was itself a congeries of many heterogeneous and socially exclusive sub-divisions; but we venture to believe that the Movement proceeded on the basis of an imaginary Non-Brahmana community and was fostered deliberately with a view to produce that feeling of political unity, which it was felt was essential for their self-assertion as against the Brahmanas.

Well, the case for communal electorates failed before the Viceroy and the Secretary of State and the boycott of the Southborough Committee did not result in the resuscitation of a Movement which could not survive the various communal and separatist memoranda submitted in the autumn of 1917. Before the Joint Committee in England, taking a deft and legitimate advantage of the results of some elections, the case was argued with some violence but on the whole with great ability that the Non-Brahmanas had no chance of adequate representation in the Councils of the future as against the well-organised and politically-minded priestly class which, it was asserted, exploited the other inhabitants of this Presidency by taking advantage of its peculiar position. The vehemence of this argument induced the Committee to make the now famous recommendation as to the reservation of seats. It was not, however, the machinations of the Brahmana but the political sagacity of Parliamentarians which dictated the primary resort to mutual adjustment on the spot. Moreover, in the confused condition of political issues and parties, it was a matter of dubiety whether any agreement reached in London would be ratified in Madras. No doubt, a few witnesses before the Joint Committee, in portions of their evidence, asserted that the Non-Brahmanas ought to have representation adequate to their size and importance; but the present contention that practically the great majority of the seats ought to be placed beyond the reach of competition was not then specifically formulated.

The attempts that were made by His Excellency Lord Willingdon were obviously actuated by a sincere desire for concord and unification; and it is somewhat hard that an English statesman should be taxed with partiality and bias when he ventured to doubt whether reservation of seats could connote a practical monopoly of representation. Offers and counter-offers were made and rejected; but in estimating the *bona fides* of the offers and in allocating the blame among the participants, it is impossible to ignore the circumstance that, as the result of a friendly compromise, some personages would infallibly have lost their importance and the old war-cries would inevitably be robbed of their intensity.

In the end, Lord Meston had to arbitrate and pace the "Hindu's" half retracted complaints. His sole function was to write judicially as if on a clean slate and before him the Brahmanas took

up the position that their previous offers were intended by way of mutual give-and-take and compromise, but that if the matter came to be logically argued and if the principle of communal representation was to be tolerated, the following ideals should be remembered *viz* :

1. that such representation must be tentative and temporary in its character;

2. that it ought to act merely as a handicap against a relatively more organised set of opponents; and,

3. that the principle of general territorial elections, participated in by all the communities, should be steadily kept in mind in order to secure the needed evolution of true democracy.

The Non-Brahmanas put forward many alternative cases. In the first instance, they insisted on their old theory of communal electorates. Then they sought a representation which automatically ensured them nearly 75 per cent. of the total number of seats and lastly they proceeded to define directly or indirectly the maximum number of Brahmanas that could possibly come in. In addition to these various suggestions individual witnesses before Lord Meston set up the claims of specific communities. What wonder, then, that the Arbitrator arrived at a result which is now exercising many minds in this Presidency but which was the only judicial conclusion possible.

The sole expedient and wise course would now be for the Non-Brahmana communities to realise that they are practically assured of a majority in the house and that in the working of the Reforms, if their community is as organised as at present, there would be very little distinction between a majority of 60 per cent. or one of 70 or 80 per cent. Lord Meston's award, moreover, does not preclude any working arrangements that the parties concerned might still arrive at for allaying irritation or legitimate discontent and for starting the political experiment with good will on all sides. In any case, is it too late for men of all communities to perceive that, after all, these arrangements are transitory and provisional and that what matters is not the allocation of seats but the harmonious evolution of practical programmes. By all means, let no community be unfairly over-weighted in the race; but to say this is not to postulate the need or wisdom of a gospel of hate. To deny political comradeship to a community which is admittedly politically advanced is to destroy every stimulus to progress by evading just competition.

MERUM SAL

By

J. C. MOLONY, I.C.S.



ERUM SAL, "pure salt," or, in other words, "pure wit and pure delight" was the description applied by Addison to Pope's first draft of *The Rape of the Lock*.

Probably most persons with a taint of the book-worm in their composition would agree that the description fits Sir E. Cook's* narrative of his pleasant wanderings in his library. The public's pleased acceptance of an earlier volume, says the author, "has emboldened me to put out this further collection of jottings"; fortune having put the sequel in my way, I am filled with a desire to become possessed of the fore-runner. The writer's modest hope is that his Essays "may perhaps serve to illustrate the interest which is to be found in the ancient classics, even at second hand, and the relation which should exist between the study of English and of classical literature." One might go further and say that they provide an eloquent defence and justification of "Humane Studies" in these days of, scientific obsession. Sir Edward arouses his readers interest even with his preface; for, after his formal bow to the public, and due acknowledgment paid to those for whose aid he is indebted, he passes to a discussion of such quaint topics as the worst lines of an acknowledged poet, and the coinage and circulation of new words attributable to the war. Of "divine bathos" certainly some pretty examples are brought forward: Wordsworth is an unfailing mine for the kind of digging, and such nuggets as

For still the more he works, the more
Do his weak ankles swell
and

Spade! with which Wilkinson hath tilled his land.

have a value all their own. But for this "bad eminence" there is a competitor whose undeniable claims Sir Edward has overlooked. Somewhere in the works of Thomas Campbell is found this soul-moving quatrain

One moment may with bliss repay
Unnumbered hours of pain
Such were the throb and mutual sob
Of the knight embracing Jane.

"Where's your Wullie Shakespeare the noo?" cried some patriotic Caledonian on witnessing a

*More Literary Recreations. Sir Edward Cook. (Macmillan and Co.)

performance of Hope's *Douglas*; where is Wordsworth at his worst after this horror of Campbell?

There are eight E-says in the book; their titles are so varied as "Travelling Companions," "Poets as critics," "a Short Study in words," but all can find shelter under the title of the second essay "the Classics in daily life." However far Sir Edward Cook strays down the advance of the centuries he is pretty sure to retrace his steps sooner or later to the old writers of Greece and Rome; he appreciates to the full the truth of Newman's beautiful words "passages, which to a boy are but rhetorical common places, at length come home to him, when long years have passed, and he has had experience of life, and pierce him as if he had never before known them, with their sad earnestness and vivid exactness. Then he comes to understand how it is that lines, the birth of some chance morning or evening at an Ionian festival, or among the Sabine hills, have lasted generation after generation for thousands of years, with a power over the mind, and a charm, which the current literature of his own day, with all its obvious advantages, is utterly unable to rival."

Yet Sir Edward is no pedant: he can disapprove of unseasonable quotations even in the mouths of the mightiest. During the debates on the Reform Bill of 1866, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Robert Lowe bombarded each other with Virgilian extracts, and amazed their hearers with their ready learning. Justly does Sir Edward Cook remark "if one looks at the performance closely, how forced and futile it appears." Mr. Gladstone dragged the Trojan horse in, willy-nilly, by way of explaining what his Bill was *not*; the debate is adjourned till next day, Mr. Lowe goes home and takes down his *Aeneid*, and arrives for the new discussion, a human blunderbuss loaded to the mouth with Mantuan fragments. The House may well have sighed with relief when, abandoning Troy, Mr. Lowe promised to "turn the noble beast out to grass for the remainder of the session."

"Poets as Critics" is an amusing reminder that men of genius are not always exempt from the failings of the ordinary mortals, nor always the fairest judges of one another's accomplished work. "No one has in like measure the tender

and final quality of touch" was once Swinburne's considered opinion on Matthew Arnold. A few years pass, and lo! what a change is this: "a man whose main achievement in creative literature was to make himself by painful painstaking into a sort of pseudo Wordsworth." Alas! the reason for the changed appreciation is plain and pitiful. After Arnold's death his letters, indiscreetly edited, were published; describing a dinner party of 1863 the author of *Thyrsis* mentions as his fellow guests "G. Lewes, Herbert Spencer, a sort of pseudo Shelley called Swinburne, and so on." "Pseudo yourself" retorts Algernon aggrieved: a quaint little bit of comedy!

"The Art of Editing" is worthy of Ruskin's editor; "to be interesting and to be helpful: these are the two essential objects of the good editor," "editors should confess when they cannot explain a difficulty," "I like the editor of a classic to have some view or other of his own," these the maxims which would-be editors may engrave on their hearts and bind on with their phylacteries. This essay is particularly interesting in its distinction of the appropriate quoting of parallel passages as contrasted with the lunatical

ingenuity that can trace out a parallel to every sentence. Tennyson wrote in *Aenone*

The lizard with its shadow on the stone
Rests like a shadow

and an unnamed editor had "no doubt that this picture was suggested by a line in *Theocritus*:"

For now the lizard sleeps upon the wall.

"Tennyson surely may be credited" says Sir Edward, "with having seen a sleeping lizard with his own eyes."

Space does not permit of an attempt to follow the author in his wanderings through the Greek anthology. The worth of this collection has been debated by scholars: Sir Edward evidently ranges himself on the side of Mr. Symonds, Mr. Frederic Harrison, and Lord Morley, of whom the last named wrote on December 29, 1891; "Mr. Gladstone 82 to-day; I give him Mackail's Greek Epigrams, and if it affords him half as much pleasure as it has given me, he will be very grateful." If Sir Edward's first volume affords me half as much pleasure as his second has done I shall not fail to send after his shade one little prayer of gratitude.

THE IMPERIAL BUDGET

THE last budget framed on the existing division of revenue and expenditure between the Central and the Provincial Governments was presented by Mr. Hailey on the first of March. For a proper appreciation of this budget, it is necessary to bear in mind the circumstances that have largely influenced the present financial situation. While the fluctuations in exchange and currency during the current year introduced an element of instability into our finances, the heavy military expenditure, due to the unexpected Afghan and frontier wars together with the cost of maintaining our armies on an efficient basis, have burdened the Indian finances with large expenditure without affording them the relief that they badly needed after the severe war-strain. Not merely has the idea of beginning the reduction of temporary floating debt to be put off, but considerable debt has been incurred to meet this unforeseen contingency. In the coming year, it is somewhat encouraging to find that the proposed change in the

gold value of the rupee is likely to bring in a great surplus. But a great deal of this will go to compensate the loss due to depreciation in our sterling holdings in London and the gold in the Currency Reserve in this country.

The need to maintain well equipped and adequate forces to defend our frontiers entails heavy military charges this year also. The provinces have to be given real autonomy and should be released from the obligation to comply with the demands for contributions. A step in this direction has been taken already by diminishing the levies to one-half of the Imperial deficit worked out in the Joint Report. The Provinces will have to be permitted to draw freely on their accumulated balances, which they may greatly need to discharge their new responsibilities efficiently under the Reform Act. All these and the amount of floating debt that has to be repaid within the next five years should not be lost sight of in considering Indian finances,

A cursory inspection of the financial statement makes everyone recognise the strong financial position of the Government of India. The total Imperial Revenue is taken at 138.75 crores (£92½ million) as against 135.50 crores for the current year. The customs revenue is budgetted for 25½ crores, representing an increase of 3 crores on the expected amount for the current year. Steady growth in traffic receipts has enabled the Finance Member to put down 4 crores over 80 crores budgetted for the current year. The favourable exchange is expected to bring in a gain of 30½ crores. One great consoling feature is that there is no substantial change in Imperial taxation except the conversion of of the Excess Profits Tax into a higher income-tax on public companies getting income in excess of Rs. 50,000. This is estimated to bring 220 lakhs, about 44 lakhs more than the amount lost.

Coming now to the expenditure side, we find that the heavy military expenditure is the chief



IN THE IMPERIAL CIRCUS, DELHI. WHAT ARE THE POOR ANIMAL'S FEELINGS?

The Indian Budget for 1920-21 was presented to the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi by Mr. F. H. Hailey, the Finance Member, on Monday, 1st March. The Revenue is estimated at Rs. 2,01,37,89,600 and Expenditure at Rs. 1,88,37,20,000. The Military Expenditure during the year will amount to the colossal figure of Rs. 60,00,00,000. Hindi Punch,

feature. Provision has been made for £40 million as against £41½ million in this year which has actually gone up to £57 million. We wish it were possible for the Finance Member to effect reduction in the army estimates. No one will deny the necessity for an efficient army to guard our frontiers. Nor will anyone grudge to spend money to equip these forces with all modern implements of war. While doing all this, we think it would be possible to bring down the figure if care only is taken to avoid so much waste that we hear of. The Afghan war is an instance in point. The Afghan operations have cost £15 million within six months which is far more than what the Second Afghan War cost in three years. Expenditure of the army should bear a reasonable proportion to the national income. How this can be achieved consistent with efficiency is a problem well worth consideration. One direction in which this can be achieved is by complying with the wishes of the Indians in providing a territorial army and establishing Military Colleges in which the sons of the soil can secure free entry.

A part of the expenditure is also due to increase in pay, pensions and allowances of various services. Irrigation and railways receive substantial sums. On the latter alone £18 millions are to be spent in England and Rs. 4½ crores in India. There is some difference of opinion regarding such enormous outlay on railways. It is earnestly hoped that a greater portion of this amount will be devoted to the improvement of existing railways. It is somewhat surprising that a large amount of £800,000 should have been allotted to new Delhi while there are subjects like industries, education etc. requiring immediate attention.

The adoption of Sir Dinsha Wacha's amendment, proposing that the amount still payable (to His Majesty's Government) should be paid, less the cost of the Afghan and frontier wars, effects substantial reduction in the amount of contribution, due towards the cost of the war, promised in 1918. In addition to £13.6 millions already paid, India will have to pay only £750,000 more. It is hardly necessary to say that this is quite in accordance with the conditions on which the £45 million contribution was voted. This increases the surplus which was originally £2 million. This surplus is expected to be of service in times of extreme necessity. It is not too much to expect that this amount will in no case be utilised for military purposes.

PROBLEMS OF OUR AFTER WAR FINANCE

BY

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR.

PERHAPS the most difficult of the economic questions which India will have to solve, now that peace has come, will be that of finding ways and means in her fiscal system, which would prove generally acceptable for the needs of her inevitable and growing expenditure. Before the war, India had comparative freedom in the choice of sources of revenue, and despite occasional adverse criticism directed against the incidence or the policy of particular taxes, her general scheme of revenue has been usually regarded as simple, unonerous, unwasteful and conservative. The war took India by surprise, and it was only after a year of experience that the pressure of the altered conditions came to be felt in her financial system. Even in the official year following the outbreak, the total expenditure of India (£85.6 millions) barely exceeded that in 1913-14. In 1916-17 and 1917-18, however, the expenditure rose steeply to 98 and 112.6 million sterling, and the revised estimates for 1918-19 had to make provision for an anticipated expense of 125.8 millions. It is significant that the expenditure in 1917-18 was just twice that incurred twenty years previously. The budget of 1919-20 estimates the probable expenditure of the year at about 123 millions, and it is probable that the figures of the actual expenditure will, when available, show that the first year after the peace has not been much behind the previous year of war. All this increase, implying a corresponding stretching of the revenue, has been rendered possible by the new taxation proposals introduced by Sir William Meyer in March, 1917, involving the straining of some of the existing sources of revenue such as the Excise and Customs and the Income-tax, unrelenting stringency in the collection of all items of income, and resource to new sources of revenue, such as the export duty on jute, the surcharge on railway traffic and the super-tax introduced in 1917, and the excess profits duty introduced with the last budget. The pressure of taxation would have been more intense but for stinting expenditure in many directions, and the increased income accruing from the prosperity of industries which catered to the needs of the war, and the increased traffic on railways due to the movement of troops and military stores. Above all, the biggest direct contribution made by India to the war, the hundred millions sterling gift, was raised by

internal borrowing. A loan of such unprecedented magnitude was rendered possible by the prosperous years preceding the war, and the era of surpluses during which, contrary to academic economic tradition and the popular demands, even railway development had been financed out of the revenue. During the epoch, the redemption of the ordinary or unproductive portion of the Indian Debt had gone on continuously till it had almost entirely been wiped out. (It stood only at £2 millions in 1916). The contribution raised the total debt of India by about thirty per cent. and added about £6 millions to her annual recurring expenditure. This addition to the fiscal burden might appear trifling, if only the area and the population of India were considered, or her annual revenue, and if one did not remember that even in recent years, when the Government has been fully alive to its responsibility for Social Reform, in its widest sense, it was not exceeded by the aggregate expenditure on such vital objects as Agriculture, Education, Medical Relief, Sanitation and the Scientific departments. The vast internal borrowing was inevitable, since the Indian exchequer could not have provided even a tenth part of the contribution from its existing revenue. It should not, however, be overlooked that this large sum implied, as Dr. Marshall recently pointed out in a similar connection,* not a mere transfer of capital from hand to hand or the utilization of wealth that would else have been merely hoarded, but the destruction of an amount of wealth—(albeit it had been converted into war appliances for destroying the enemy and for helping to save India along with the World)—which would otherwise have been available for production and for economic development. The cry that India suffers from a scarcity of capital is familiar to the Indian Economist. And he at least should not be indisposed to recognize that the sacrifice involved in this contribution was much greater than would appear from the mere amount of the gift.

The conclusion of the war must result in the drying up of the sources of income, directly or indirectly due to the war, such as the income from the excess profits duty, which has been estimated to bring in a net revenue of over 26 millions during current official year, the increased

* W. H. Dawson's 'After War Problems', p. 314.

revenue from the railways due to the war traffic and the income-tax and super-tax derived from the prosperity of certain trades, which benefited from the war conditions. It would naturally also lead to an expectation of a reduction of the military expenses. Of this, however, we cannot be so sure. Not only in India, but all over the world, strong armaments will have to be maintained, for some years to come, as a guarantee of peace. The cost of demobilization and of the pension charges added by the war will also have to be reckoned in post-war finance. Improved forces for fighting on the land and the air and on and under the sea and the creation of a special Indian Navy are sure to swell the expenditure still further. The changes which the war has brought about in the balance of power in Asia and recent events both in and out of India, make it also doubtful if we can for many years to come reckon upon the reduction of even that part of the total army of India (usually estimated at 30,000 troops) which Mr. Gokhale used to urge the elimination of, on the ground that it was in excess of India's needs and was kept up only for safeguarding British supremacy in Asia.* And, it is not outside the bounds of possibility that even the left wing of the Indian public opinion may be prepared to accept India's liability to provide for this object out of her revenue, if fuller autonomy than is at present in contemplation is granted to her.

Any discussion of the incidence of after-war Indian taxation will be incomplete if it did not include a consideration of the probable course of prices, and the value of money in the loan markets to which India will hereafter have recourse. The great rise of prices during the past five years has been due to a variety of complex causes, some of which, like the destruction of appliances of production and of shipping on an unprecedented scale, have had lasting effects. Even the purely monetary causes of the rise cannot be easily or speedily corrected. Any slump in the wages which had risen during the war, and contributed partially to the rise of prices, is not to be expected. Thus, it is safe to assume that though prices will come down somewhat, it is improbable that they will reach the pre-war levels. India will have to pay more for her purchases of commodities and services than before the war. But her losses in this direction will be balanced by the

rise in her Customs duties, which are raised *ad-valorem*, and in the additional revenue accruing under the head of 'Assessed Taxes,' on account of the increase in money incomes.

As regards loan-capital, the colossal wastage in the war, and the demands for capital all the world over for recuperation and reconstruction will tend to keep up the rate of interest. Not only will India not have any near chance of any reduction of her annual interest charge, but any capital she may require, hereafter, for her schemes of economic development, will have to be raised in more stringent loan markets than she has hitherto had recourse to.

Two indirect consequences of the war epoch have also to be borne in mind in any forecasting of our after-war finance. These are, first, the increased sense of 'social responsibility' both in the people and in the Government, and secondly, the expansion of the area of responsible government within the country. The spread of political consciousness among the people and constitutional reform generally will tend to make the tax-payer more inquisitive as to why and how he is being taxed and what he gets in return for the sacrifices he undergoes, and to increase the legislative scrutiny of schemes of taxation and of governmental expenditure. The fiscal plans of the future will have to be so devised as to be acceptable to a population whose political consciousness is increasing. In the West, aspirations for social betterment, which had been vivid enough, even before the war, have been quickened and strengthened by the war itself and the community of life it has bred in war work and in the trenches. India, as a whole, has not had this experience directly. But the great moral issues raised by the war are easily translated into terms of social justice, and India must be powerfully influenced thereby in the years to come. The future administrations of India will, therefore, not rest content with mere academic admissions of the State's duty to forward social and economic development by *direct* effort. They will be impelled to include the reclamation of the vast unconquered territory of Social and Economic Reform in the list of their main activities. But 'Social' Reform, whether we count it as a necessity or as a luxury, is at any rate expensive. And the synchronism of such plans of development with the imperative call to raise money therefor by taxation, over and above the pre-war level, will strain largely the patience of the tax-payer and the financial skill and powers of persuasion of our

* Vide Mr. Gokhale's 'Speeches' pp. 105-107, and his criticism of the views of Sir Edmond Elles and Earl Curzon.

future legislators and ministers. An opportunity also lies temptingly before our academic economists, to wipe out the reproach of sterility often levelled against their class. They might anticipate the dawn of this critical epoch, and might do what they can from now on to obtain popular comprehension of financial plans and financial difficulties, to suggest schemes for raising the needed revenue with the least hurt and wastefulness, and to create an atmosphere of receptiveness for well-thought out programmes of taxation and State expenditure.

It is difficult to make even an approximately correct forecast of the national revenue that must be raised in the next few years following the peace. Lord Meston stressed the difficulty in introducing the latest Budget, in which he provided for an anticipated expenditure of 123 millions sterling in 1919-20. The revised estimates of 1918-19 came up to more than 125 millions. A scrutiny of the main elements of these estimates might indicate how far and to what extent the expenditure provided for therein is reducible in future years, and it should afford a basis for reckoning up the *absolute minimum* of our post-war financial requirements. A reference to the statement (B) (omitted) will show how in most directions the expenditure of these years is not abnormal. The increase in Interest charges on the ordinary debt follows naturally on the Hundred million gift of 1917. When considered in connection with the increased profits derived therefrom, the increase in Railway expenditure is, if anything, less than one should expect. The figures for Public Works and Irrigation are less than in the first war year, and the year preceding it. The only large increases are under salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments and Military Charges. The former includes the sums disbursed for development purposes, e.g. the grants to Education, Sanitation, Agriculture and the Scientific departments, and the increase in the general head over and above the 1916-17 figures may to some extent be accounted for by the additions made under some of the sub-heads. It is inevitable that the claims of the public services for improved emoluments and pension terms, owing to the rise in the cost of living, will require due attention. The Reform of the services, in view of the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, when fully carried out, as well as the pressure of public opinion on the Government to expend more freely on Education, Sanitation, Industrial development and Agriculture must

lead to further and fairly big increases in the allotments made under this head. It has often been urged that the public services in India are on far too costly a scale for the needs of a poor country,* and that the substitution of indigenous for the foreign agency now employed in the higher ranks of the Services must conduce to equity, contentment and economy. Apart from the argument that the evil of employing a foreign agency is moral and not merely economic, it is maintainable that the proper criteria of the salaries to be paid are the difficulty of the work to be done, the qualifications of the persons employed, the cost of bringing up fresh supplies of such labour for the normal demands of the services, and the rates of remuneration which alone will ensure a steady supply of qualified recruits. It is therefore manifestly open to objection that any reduction in the remunerations of indigenous employees should be made on racial, sentimental or patriotic grounds, and it is impracticable to count on the possibility of such a discrimination resulting in general satisfaction, administrative harmony and efficiency, or national economy.

Military expenditure, has usually accounted for about 30 per cent. of the total disbursements, and it has kept pace in a remarkable way with the increase in the aggregate expenditure. In 1898-99 it stood at 17.1 millions, in a total expenditure of 56.2 millions. In 1917-18, the last year for which accounts are now available, it went up to 30.7 millions. (Gross expenditure of the year = 104.5 millions). The estimates for 1918-19 and 1919-20 indicate a further steep rise both in the proportion of the total revenue allotted to this head, and in the actual amounts provided, being 45.6 and 42.7 millions, forming 36.2 and 34.9 per cent. respectively of the estimated expenses of the years. The military surprises of the war have been many and serious. We have yet little experience of the standards of military efficiency of the future to help us to forecast accurately the military expenditure of the period. One thing, however, is certain. Modern war is very expensive, and the 'toning' up of the Indian Army and the provision of suitable Air forces and a Naval service must increase, rather than reduce the military charges hereafter. The creation of a great Indian militia, by imparting military training to larger numbers of the Indian population,

* Lala Lajpat Rai in the *Modern Review*, January, 1916.

the recruitment of the rank and file in India, and the diminution of the non-Indian proportion of the forces, might, if ever affected, lead to a perceptible reduction in our future military expenses.* But even in that contingency, the charges for training this great militia must be added to the existing military charges for some years during which the military expenditure will therefore be swollen, not reduced.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

In 1898-99 the aggregate expenditure stood at the very low figure of 1.89 millions. By 1907-08, it rose to 3.2 millions, and in 1914-15 to 5.8 millions. It was somewhat less in the next two years. In 1917-18 it again rose to about 6 millions, and the budget provision for it in 1918-19 and 1919-20 mounted up to 7.2 and 8.8 millions. Even the latest grant, which is almost five times that of twenty-two years ago, works out only at about 8 annas per head of the population. It is only after the famous British budget of 1909,† which proceeded on the open and unqualified acceptance of the position that taxation might and should be used for Social regeneration that a change is discernible in the conservative attitude of Indian financiers. In 1911 Sir Edward Law declared that the question of social development was one in which those responsible for the financial situation were bound to take the keenest interest‡. Notwithstanding this admission, the Government continued the old policy of doles to Education, Sanitation, Agriculture, etc. The war-epoch changed all this. The enquiries of the Calcutta University Commission and of the Industrial Commission, which were conducted during the course of the war, and the dawn of a feeling of intense social responsibility among the people themselves must lead, to larger and larger expenditure under these heads in the future. The persistent pressure of public opinion will ensure the continuance of this liberal policy.

Two conclusions are, it is submitted, to be drawn from the above examination. First, it would be unwise to assume any amount below £125 millions as the annual expenditure that normally the Indian Finance Minister should budget for hereafter. The amount may be, and very probably, will be largely exceeded, particularly if those who control the destinies of India recog-

nise the wisdom of launching on a course of liberal subvention to industrial and educational development all round. Secondly, there is great and urgent need to review financial resources, to examine the soundness and the strength of those great props on which they depend, and to discover means of strengthening these supports, in order to enable them to withstand the forces of growing expenditure. It has been noticed that every head of expenditure has shown great elasticity and power to expand, year after year the bigger heads, like Civil and Military expenditure, showing this trend even more markedly than the minor. And it follows that financial disaster must be faced soon, unless the sources of the Indian revenue are so selected, assembled and 'toned up' as easily to keep up with this continuous expansion of our annual liabilities.

The Indian revenue is derived partly from State properties and commercial undertakings, partly from monopolies, partly from taxation, both direct and indirect, and partly from contributions of a political character. One of the weakest among these is represented by the *Tribute* from Native States, which being fixed by treaty, has shown practically no elasticity. It has been trifling in amount, having never risen, in the last quarter of a century, to much over one per cent. of the total revenue, and having dwindled in the last three years, (through the growth of other items of revenue) to 4 per cent. of it. An increase from this source is not to be thought of, as to suggest it might imply the ignoring of solemn engagements, and imperfect appreciation of the magnificent response made by the Native States voluntarily to the appeal of the Empire for help, during the war. Any enhancement of the tribute must also cause hurt to the populations of the Native States, as any additional tribute can only be paid either by an increase in taxation in the Native States or the curtailment of some of the expenses hitherto incurred by them for the benefit of their subjects. The income from the Forests has grown 175 per cent. in twenty-two years, and now stands at 3.3 millions. This looks trifling when the extent of the valuable properties is considered. But the conservation of the Forest is undertaken with other aims than the raising of a mere revenue. It has been the tradition of the great service responsible for the working of these valuable estates to develop them to their utmost capacity, and to extract the maximum revenue out of them consistent with their preservation, in unimpaired and progressive efficiency. The total

* See Mr. Gokhale's 'Speeches,' pp. 132-137.

† See Bernard Mallet, 'British Budgets,' p. 299.

‡ Financial Statement, 1911-12.

income from this source comes up after all only to about 2½ per cent. of the total income, and its elasticity is very small. The income from Registration, the Civil Departments, the Mint, etc., partakes of the same character, only growing slowly with the growth of population. The increasing prosperity of the country is evidenced by the rapid growth of the revenue under Stamps, the Post and the Telegraph, which without any variation from their proportion to the total revenue, have still kept pace with it. The funeral oration of the 'unholy gain' from Opium was pronounced by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson in 1913,* and since then the income from it, and its relative importance as a source of revenue, have both dwindled. The increase in the revenue from *Public Works and Interest*, is the normal effect of the additional capital outlay incurred on the former, and, it is out of the question to expect it to be permanent and progressive.

Among the revenue heads that remain, *Railway* receipts have undoubtedly shown great powers of expansion, and that only in recent years. This is natural. We are reaping, as Mr. Gokhale pointed out, the harvest of the epoch in which money was lavished on the Railways, even when they were a losing concern. Part of the recent gains in Railway receipts is also due to the postponement of the yearly renewals and repairs of rolling stock, and part is due to (as already stated) to the carriage of troops and military stores. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that we have in our Railways assets that may be relied on in future years to keep up with the expanding national expenditure. Their nationalization, however, will have to be put off indefinitely. The more or less permanent rise in the rate of interest must render it difficult to carry out, for many years to come, any such plan. The advantages which its advocates have claimed for railway nationalization in India may all be conceded, the saving to the State of the share of the profits now paid to private companies, the location of central administration and control in a State department amenable to the influence of Indian opinion, the development of trade on natural lines, the promotion of inter-provincial commerce, and the utilization of the railways in a policy of industrial development. But to realize them, considerable loans will have to be raised. Further expenditure may have also to be incurred in increased annuity payments to railway shareholders.

Any money needed for railway purchase will have to be raised at rates of interest the payment of which will effectually wipe out any financial gain that may accrue from the nationalization. In the depleted condition of India's stock of loan capital, it is out of the question to think of raising the amount needed by a loan within the country itself. The competition of Government as a borrower, for this purpose, will prejudice its own chances in the loan market for other purposes, as well as the opportunities of borrowing of our Port Trusts, Municipalities and Local Boards. Lastly, any money raised by public borrowing is more advantageously utilised in furthering either railway expansion in India, where several thousands of miles of railway are still needed, or projects of industrial development, than in schemes for accelerating the natural process by which the existing company-owned lines will also become the property of the Government.

Of the heads that remain, Land revenue is the most conspicuous. By itself, as a single item of revenue, it surpasses all others. And, historically, it has dominated Indian finance, and consequently, the Indian administrative system. In effect, it is a high tax on agricultural incomes, the permanently settled estates, which come up to a fifth of the total area of cultivated land in the Indian empire, being in the position of tax-payers who have been guaranteed a permanent and unalterable composition-rate in regard to the tax. The income from Agriculture is exempted from the income-tax though not from the super-tax. As Sir Thomas Holderness observes, in no country in the world is land expected to do so much as in India.* The land has furnished in the last quarter of a century between 18 and 22 millions annually to the exchequer. It maintains over 80 per cent. of the population, and it absorbs more of the time and the attention of the administrative services of India than any other single object. The land tax, however, has shown the least elasticity of any of the sources of Indian revenue, having increased by only 25 per cent. in a period of as many years. Relatively to other resources, it has diminished in importance. It was 31 per cent. of the total income of India in 1898-99, and is now barely 18 per cent. of it. The raising of income from the land has always been beset with difficulties. Dependence on it has made Indian finance 'a gamble in rain.' It has led to the enunciation of theories in regard to the nature of the landed property that are galling to the people,

* Financial Statement and Budget, 1913-14.

* 'Peoples and Problems of India,' p. 140.

and do not carry conviction to historians as well as economists. Its rates have varied from place to place, sometimes irrespective of taxable capacity. Dependence on it, has led to the maintenance of a discrimination which is felt as eminently unfair, in the existence of permanently settled estates, which contribute nothing directly to the *growing* needs of the Government, side by side with the raiyatwari areas (and their analogues) which have, *in effect*, to pay their own share as well as the shares which the permanently settled areas should have paid to increased revenue that is wanted. And, the intimate connection which it establishes between the administrations and the common people, gives a stronger tinge than is necessary to the natural reluctance of people to bear additional assessments, with every revision of the land-settlement. The area under cultivation—i. e. the area capable of contributing the land-tax, has not shown, as Mr. K. L. Datta urged,* a capacity to increase *pari passu* with the growth of the population. As a source of income, in the after-war epoch, the land tax has to be recognised as singularly inelastic and unsatisfactory. Its retention in its present form, in an epoch of progressive expenditure, will be possible enough but its importance in relation to other fiscal resources will continue to wane, and it will contribute an ever diminishing percentage of the national revenue.

Of the other items the Salt tax has had a chequered history, and though the Government has not at any time admitted that it is an unsuitable form of revenue, it has practically conceded the point by agreeing to successive reductions of the rate Salt duty, culminating in the reduction to a rupee per maund in 1906. The Government has also shown unwillingness (*vide* Sir William Meyer's Introduction to the Financial of 1917-18, page 19) to have recourse to its enhancement, when other sources were accessible. While, its *prima facie* advantages as a tax easily collected, widely distributed, and of great elasticity will always render it one of the financial reserves of the future, recourse will not be had in the first instance to its further increase, owing to the conclusive manner in which it was shown by Sir Edward Baker that its consumption (as a vital necessary of life) showed an increase, *per capita*, when the duty was reduced in 1906. (*Vide* Mr. Gokhale's 'Speeches,' p. 122).

The Excise and Customs duties have brought in an ever increasing contribution due partly to the economic development of the country, and partly to the revision of the tariff. The experience of the export duty on jute, in which India has a monopoly, might well justify recourse to enhancement of it in the future, should additional revenues be required. On almost the same ground, there would be justification for an enhancement of the tea-duty. The income from these heads may be strengthened by making some of the changes suggested in the course of the criticisms of the new taxation introduced in 1916, and continued since then. The duty on petroleum may be reduced, as it presses on a common necessary of the poor man's life, while that on tobacco may be enhanced. There is no reason why the duty on ale, beer, porter and cider should remain at only 4½ annas per gallon, and not be brought up to the level of 8 annas in England, when the policy has throughout been to equalize the rates in both countries in regard to such articles. And, some accession of revenue may be expected also from imposing export duties on other articles, in which India has a controlling influence, if not actually a producer's monopoly.

The Assessed Taxes (Income tax, Super-tax and the Excess Profits Duty) accounted for the one source of income which showed the greatest expansibility during the last three years. The tax on non-agricultural incomes which in 1886 took the place of the old licence-taxes and the still older income-tax, exempted only incomes below Rs. 500 per annum. The minimum was raised to Rs. 1,000 by Lord Curzon. During the current year, the taxable minimum has again been raised to Rs. 2,000 on the ground that the people of smaller incomes had been hit hard by the rise of prices due to the war. A loss of half a million sterling was anticipated by Lord Meston as a consequence of this concession, but he showed that the authorities were at the same time relieved from the task of collecting from over 237,000 assesses out of a total of 381,000. The enhanced rates imposed on the larger incomes as well as the super-tax (1916) have more than made up for this loss. The increases were introduced only as war measures. Apart from the justification to retain them on the ground of social justice, it is certain they *will* be retained permanently in our future budgets, for their own sake and on account of the barrenness of other traditional resources. The Excess Profits duty

* See chapter VI of his 'Enquiring into the Rise of Prices in India,' Vol. I.

(which has been estimated to yield $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions) must go, after a year or two. The rate at which the duty was reckoned (50 per cent. of the excess profits to go to the State) raised loud complaints of severity in our country, while in America and elsewhere, economists (*vide* the article by Prof. O. M. W. Sprague in the *Economic Journal* for March 1917) have argued in favour of tax of 90 per cent. of the excess income.

The review of our financial resources and obligations has exhibited the inelasticity and narrowness of range of the former, and the expansive and progressive character of the latter. Almost the earliest need in our future budgets will be to make good the loss of the income from the disappearance of the excess profits duty. The inability of our traditional resources to move with equal pace with our expenses has already been noticed. It is inevitable that we should consider both readjustments and improvements in the existing scheme of taxation, and new forms of either obtaining an income or reducing our annual expenditure.

To take the latter first, one way of possibly reducing some part of the civil expenditure is to transform into new Native States (as in the case of the Benares State), the larger Zamindari, or permanently settled estates, whose history shows the owners to have been Rajas. At the present time, the larger Zamindar is master of all his surplus rental, and has no charges to meet for the Government of his possessions. His promotion as a ruling chief will give him fuller responsibilities, and a larger interest in his lands and tenants, and necessitate his finding out of his resources the funds for the Government of his territory. To that extent the cost of administration to the Indian Government will tend to diminish, but the income from certain resources, such as excise, stamps, customs and assessed taxes, hitherto collected from the Zamindari, will go to the new Raj. It is submitted that the idea may also find justification on such social grounds as the fuller utilization of a landed aristocracy, conscious of the rights, and not always of the obligations of great possessions. The transformation of the great estates should also reduce the area which continues the unfair fiscal discrimination due to the existence of the Permanent Revenue Settlements.

Anticipation of the difficulties of after war finance has already resulted elsewhere in a crop of suggestions and measures of unconventional types of taxation. Holland has imposed a tax on

Christian names! Mr. McKenna's proposed customs duty on hats and Dr. Marshall's suggestion of a tax on additional servants have been held by a distinguished living authority to recall similar devices to which Pitt had recourse in the stress of the struggle against Napoleon.* Competent authority has not been wanting to back even the suggestion that the encouragement of the national economy and the curtailment of extravagance require the imposition of additional taxation.† A German economist (Prof. Mombert) has formulated a proposal to tax raw materials with a view to encouraging economy in their use.‡

The high authority of Dr. Marshall is behind the proposal to compel economy in the use of paper by a tax on advertisements, § which, it is argued, would also result in giving a better chance of attracting attention to the small advertiser than he now has. Dr. Marshall also proposes the taxation of patent medicines and of motor cars. These are in line with other suggestions to tax luxury, the taxation of which has already been commenced in France, Germany and Britain, where it has taken the form of a tax on purchases,|| Jewellery, motor cars and motor boats, antiques, billiard tables, perfumes, live game, liqueurs, works of art, furs, costly musical instruments, fire arms, and expensive furniture, are among the items which have been included in the list of articles so taxed. Such taxation has been justified partly as tending to discourage luxury and partly as deriving revenue from those persons whose expenditure shows that they have money to spare. The possibility of evading these taxes, especially on account of the difficulty of their collection from retail salesmen, the probability to their being shifted back to the producers and the hurt caused by the unforeseen discrimination which may result from their operation have been urged against such taxes. So far as India is concerned, the lesson to be learned from the short experience of such taxes in Europe is the feasibility of taxing on a repressive scale conspicuous articles of luxury such as race horses, motor cars of high horse-power and speed, costly imported articles of consumption, etc.

* Professor F. Y. Edgeworth's 'Currency and Finance in time of War,' p. 21.

† Professor W. R. Scott in the *Economic Journal*, September, 1918, p. 250.

‡ Professor F. Y. Edgeworth's article on 'Some German Economic Writings about the War' in the *Economic Journal*, June, 1917.

§ 'After War Problems,' p. 325.

|| See the account by R. Lennard in the *Economic Journal*, September, 1918.

Among taxes familiar to the economist, some are manifestly unsuitable to the conditions of India, while others may be adopted with great advantage in our fiscal system. In the absence of a large unproductive debt to be wiped out by so drastic a device, and particularly in view of the comparatively small amount of the accumulated capital of India, a Capital Levy is not required now, and will not be called for in the future also in India, unless another crushing war, involving India's direct participation in it, occurs hereafter. The general property tax has already been condemned in its American home.* The Increment Value Duty, (borrowed from Frankfort), introduced in Great Britain in 1909 as a tax of 20 per cent. on increases in the site value † of land may well be imitated in urban localities in India and made a municipal asset. Only, in fairness, 'decrement' will have to be counted and allowed for in rebates, just as increments are reckoned for taxation.

Persons whose property has clearly been increased in market value by an improvement effected by local authorities might be made liable for a portion of the increased value or to the cost of the improvement. This is the principle underlying the 'Betterment Tax.' Its application in India as a local cess might go far not only to increase the resources of local authorities but their power and willingness to undertake improvements.

A universal Inhabited House Duty, such as Dr. Marshall suggests, ‡ may be levied as an Imperial (and not as a local) tax.

If such duties are payable by occupiers and not the owners of houses, they will be collected cheaply and without evasion. If graduated steeply, as they should be, they will serve the same purpose as a graduated income tax; and the imposition of such a tax might also relieve the pressure of taxation on income.

The main reliance of Indian financiers in the future must however be on the introduction of a universal Inheritance Tax, applicable to personality as well as to real property, and graduated on an economic as well as on a consanguinity scale. Such a tax will have to be safeguarded by devices calculated to restrict transfers of real property during life, by gift or by collusive sales. And, in order to ensure economy in the expense of its

collection, a limit of value might be provided below which inheritances will be free from the tax. Such an impost may be defended on many grounds,* and the experience of western nations is strongly in favour of its introduction in preference to other new taxes, and even to the enhancement of old taxes such as the income tax, (in so far as it relates to moderate incomes), and the salt-tax. The principle objections that may be brought against the tax will be two. It may be argued that, if a Hindu, the inheritor is liable to perform the funeral ceremonies of the person from whom he inherits, and to maintain members of the joint family. These liabilities, however, he *always* has by law or custom. Secondly, it may be urged that when landed property is inherited and is made liable to the inheritance tax, there may be difficulty in raising the money necessary for the payment of the tax except at a disproportionately heavy sacrifice, such as is involved in selling the land or in mortgaging it in a dull market. As in the case of similar difficulties suggested by the critics of the Capital Levy, the remedy to this lies in permitting the payment of the tax in convenient instalments spread over a term of years. †

It is next worth seriously considering whether both in view of the defects of the land-tax, considered as a form of State income, to which attention has already been drawn, as well as the unequal distribution of the tax and the irritation caused thereby, it may not be possible to do away with it altogether and replace it by some form of revenue more suited to modern State requirements, more elastic in character, and more equitable in its general incidence. It has been often stated that the Bengal tenant pays only 1½ per cent. of his produce to the land lord, while the Gujarat raiyat, who is in the same position pays 20 per cent. to the State. ‡ Instance of such inequalities can be quoted in abundance. When the Permanent Settlement was made in Bengal in 1793, the State's share was assumed to be 91 per cent. of the total rental of the estates. As the Government's share has been 360 lakhs of rupees, the rental on which the assessment was made was about 400 lakhs. Now the actual rental in Bengal is about 1,600 lakhs. § It is, therefore,

* See Seligman's 'Essays in Taxation', p. 61.

† Mallet's 'British Budgets' pp. 306-7. In England the duty was payable only on each occasion on which the property changed hands, whether by sale or death.

‡ 'After War Problems,' p. 324.

* See the discussion for instance in Seligman's 'Essays in Taxation,' p. 121 *et. seq.*, and G. Cohn's 'Science of Finance,' p. 357 and pp. 560-1.

† cf. Edgeworth, 'A Levy on Capital,' p. 15.

‡ R. C. Dutt, 'India in the Victorian Age,' p. 515.

§ S. C. Ray, 'The Permanent Settlement in Bengal,' pp. 20-21; and Sir John Strachey's 'India,' pp. 416-422

clear that, thanks to the continuance of this fiscal measure, an unearned increment of 1,200 lakhs is shared by the Zamindars, tenure holders and tenants in Bengal, while the margin of profit available to the ordinary raiyat in other parts of India is being further and further encroached on by re-settlements. Practically the entire increase in Bengal is due to the rise of prices, and the development of the province generally. What has been said of Bengal may be said, with nearly the same force, of the area under Permanent Settlement in other parts of India. About a fifth of the taxed land area of India is now permanently exempted from any increase in the land-tax, under all circumstances. This injustice has been recognized but not the means of correcting it. The revocation of the engagements made in 1793 and the years following has indeed been suggested. It cannot commend itself to the conscience of a nation, which embarked on the most ruinous war in history, to maintain the inviolability of 'a scrap of paper.' Nor will the extension of the principle of Permanent Settlement of the land-revenue to all India rectify the inequalities in distribution due to discrimination of a hundred and twenty years. Such a measure, if carried out, might only accentuate the defects of the land-tax—its inelasticity and its inadequacy—which have made it an unideal source of public income, for a country with a progressive expenditure. Logically, the only satisfactory course appears to be the abolition of the land-tax altogether, and the substitution of a *universal* income tax levied on *all* incomes, and graduated in amount according to the source, the character and the amount of the income. Such a measure may be less objected to than either of the methods for dealing with the Permanent Settlement that have been proposed. It would appeal to the popular mind as an 'emancipation of the land,' and the freedom from frequent and vexatious interference of land-revenue officials, and the disappearance of all fear of having improvements taxed, must sensibly affect the improvement of the land—for the better.

On the other hand, the trend of modern economic opinion is strongly in favour of a graduated tax on personal expenditure, as an ideal. And, 'an income tax graduated in amount and on the number of people to be supported by it would achieve,' it has been contended by high authority,* 'the apparently impossible task.' The income-tax is unquestionably the most

elastic form of revenue available to the modern financier, by the aid of which it is always possible to balance a budget. It is this merit that has made what was intended at first to be only a temporary measure (even on its revival by Sir Robert Peel in England, in 1842) a permanent and conspicuous item of national finance.* Its technical superiority to the land-tax is unquestionable. Discrimination in its rates between temporary and permanent incomes, and between earned and unearned incomes will enable it to be easily substituted for the land-tax. The great experience which has already been acquired by our revenue officials in its assessment and collection can be successfully utilised when its scope is extended. And the release from the work of the assessment and collection of the land-tax will enable the revenue department to devote increased attention to the income-tax than it is now able to bestow, and it will be possible to consider even the large number of minor assesses, whose exemption from the income-tax has hitherto been due partially at least to the reluctance of the department to undergo the trouble for the small return expected.

The opportunity of the substitution may be utilized to introduce in the income-tax, which along with the inheritance tax, and the indirect taxes will become the chief prop of our future fisc, the various improvements suggested by economic theory and administrative experience. Collection at the source and the grant of abatements to the poorer assesses will reduce chances of evasion. The angularities of mere graduation, against which J. S. Mill, protested so long ago as in 1861,† may be avoided in framing its scales. The suggestion of Professor Cassell of Stockholm ‡ which, with reserve in minor respects, has been obtaining increasing academic economic support, that the tax-basis should be not the income, but the income less an abatement (the maximum limit of which will be fixed) for conventional necessities, should be carried out in the revision, and should replace the present system of arbitrary exemption of *all* incomes below a limit, and of the taxation of all incomes above it, irrespective of real taxable capacity. In the formulation of the scales of

* Sir Stafford Northcote's 'Twenty years of Financial Policy,' pp. 33-37 *et seq*; Sidney Buxton, 'Finance and Politics,' I 55, II, 165-170, and Mallet's 'British Budgets,' *passim*.

† 'Political Economy' B.K.V., Ch. ii, § 3, and his evidence before the Select Committee on the Income Tax, 1861, On 3540.

‡ Edgeworth's 'Levy on Capital,' pp. 25-26.

* Dr. Marshall.

graduation, the principle of equi-proportional sacrifice,* suggested by such experts as the late Dr. N. G. Pierson and Professor Seligman and generally accepted by modern economists, should be enforced. The reform of the tax will increase its productivity and reduce its defects—two merits of value, when the natural unpopularity that would attach to the extension of the tax to incomes, which it did not touch till then, is considered.

The supreme fitness to Indian conditions of a universal income tax, that would embrace every income and vary with the size of the family, has been already recognized by acute administrators. It is the cardinal suggestion of Major J. C. Jack's brilliant study of the economic life of Bengal. As he contends,† such a tax will have two supreme fiscal merits—certainty and elasticity. It will in addition have political merit of showing the taxable capacity of the country accurately and clearly. It will enable the Indian administrator to compile the data he most needs now, namely, accurate information concerning the economic condition of the people. The experience required to administer the tax is already in existence in the country, and it is unlikely that the proposed substitution will either increase the pressure on our present revenue officials, or necessitate any recourse to additional expenditure.

Conservatism is the tradition of not merely of Indian life but of Indian finance. It cannot be expected that the suggestions now considered will ever be carried, till resistance has been offered to their effectuation, on every possible ground. It will be urged that the land-tax is an old tax, and that 'an old tax is no tax'; that the imposition of an 'odious' direct tax like the income-tax will cause grave popular discontent; that the extension of the income tax, even to the incomes now free of it, will be felt as burdensome; that the vast experience of the body of existing land-revenue officials will be 'scrapped' and that the fear of the application of the reforming shears to the land revenue establishment will provoke keen official discontent; and that, in a country of hide bound traditions like India, it is unwise to give up a course of state income halloed by centuries of acceptance, in favour of an imported financial novelty from the West. It is obviously not difficult to answer such objections. The 'old tax' adage refers to taxes on commodities, and not to new as compared with older *direct* taxes. The land-tax is not less a direct tax than

the income-tax, and the collection of the former has been attended with more friction than the latter. No tax is popular, and even the liberal party in England, which once made it a special war-cry to denounce the income-tax, has now adopted it as a permanent and distinctive feature of its budget programmes. Purely indigenous finance (Hindu or Musalman) has regarded it as just to impose State burdens on the poor as much as on the rich. The application of Professor Cassell's principle must cut the ground from under those who might argue that the extension of the income-tax to all incomes, must trench on the means of subsistence. Far from there being any need to relegate to the rubbish-heap the acquired experience of our great revenue service, such experience will prove invaluable in the assessment and collection of the new tax; and, contrary to natural expectation, it is practically certain that the full existing complement of the service will be required to assess and collect the new revenue. Arguments based on assumed Indian conservatism and the appeal to hallowed traditions may be pressed too far, but they can hardly be brought forward by those conversant with the history of Indian finance, and the innumerable fiscal measures and expedients of Hindu and Musalman times, which it has been the merit of modern administrations to sweep away.

The success of administrative policies, however, is not always in proportion to their soundness. Financial reform is never easy, and the difficulties in the way of its acceptance are only likely to be increased, when it is coupled with the aim of raising an enhanced revenue. The elimination of the land-tax from our fiscal system, and the establishment of a universal income-tax, constructed on the most approved lines, are individually tasks from which the strongest Governments might quail. But the problem has to be faced. For if the India of the future is to be a more prosperous India than that of to-day and of yesterday, it is vital that it should possess a sound and progressive financial system, which will not stint the necessary expenditure required for schemes of development and social regeneration, on the ground that it would necessitate recourse to additional taxation or even drastic fiscal rearrangements. The suggestions now put forward are made not only in the belief that they are essential to the attainment of this ideal, but with the confidence that their acceptance by a body of Indian economists will ensure such attainment.

[From a paper prepared for *The Indian Economic Conference*]

* Edgeworth's *Currency and Finance* p. 22 and pp. 46-47.

† *Economic Life of a Bengal District*. pp. 136-137.

Patriotism and the Brotherhood of Nations 171

By

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THE author of these two books * is an American by birth and education but has long been known as a teacher of Art and Archaeology at the University of Cambridge. Besides a number of books on his special subject, he has also written some half-dozen works on the problems that the War has forced upon all our attentions.

In 'Patriotism National and International' he distinguishes from patriotism—the love of one's own country and people—the spurious exaggeration of that virtue known as Chauvinism—the hatred of other countries and peoples. Very suggestively he identifies the true patriot with the true 'gentleman' who is the same all over the world, and most of the book is devoted to a sketch of the character of the gentleman of various European countries contrasted for each country with that of the aggressive, narrow-minded and unimaginative chauvinist who has been largely responsible for creating the war atmosphere. The author ends by an appeal for an international patriotism. Tennyson wrote:

"He is the best cosmopolite
Who loves his native country best"
Sir Charles Walston caps this by
"He loves his native country best
Who loves mankind the more"

The other book is larger and covers a greater variety of questions in its five essays, all of which appear to be reprints. Two of these belong to the years 1898 and 1899 and advocate a closer understanding between England and the United States and urge upon the latter the policy of imperial expansion as to which so many good Americans were hesitating at the time in spite of the logic of events that followed the Spanish-American War and placed Cuba and the Philippines in American hands. The reader will turn more eagerly to the three recent essays of 1918 and 1919. In one of these is discussed the vexed

question of nationality. All would agree with Bagehot that a nation means a *like* body of men, but when we come to define in what respect men must be like to form a true nation, writers differ among themselves in accordance with the importance they ascribe to the various attributes of race, language, religion, social custom, legal attitude, etc. Sir Charles Walston appears to find the test of true nationality in political unity. One hesitates to accept this diagnosis for a reason which our author himself partially recognises, namely that you may obtain political unity by a despotic government enforcing it—but still more for a second reason, namely that political unity even in a free democratic country must itself be resolved into and depends upon the other elements of unity or likeness indicated above.

The League of Nations with all its problems and difficulties forms the main theme of the last two essays. The objectors to the idea of a League of Nations are grouped under three heads—the patriot, who wishes his own country to rule the world, the jurist, who realizes that the idea of national sovereignty as held in the past must be profoundly modified if not entirely surrendered if the League is to have any reality, and the statesman, who is appalled by the practical difficulties of the task of reconciling the divergent interests of the nations. Sir Charles Walston attempts to answer these objections: with what success one may leave the reader himself to determine. It is interesting to note however that since the date of these essays the United States which through its President was the most urgent advocate of the League has now almost shattered the hope of its achievement on the very ground that the second class of objectors take. It refuses in fact to surrender any part of its sovereignty.

According to our author the League implies a Supernational Tribunal which is to have a supernational police under its direct command—independent of and larger than any national army: and this tribunal is to have judicative powers for the settlement of purely international differences. It is very difficult to see how it can have these powers without executive and legislative powers as well, though these are expressly repudiated for it by Sir Charles Walston.

Patriotism National and International. By Sir Charles Walston. Longmans Green and Co., 1917. 2s. 6d. net.

The English-Speaking Brotherhood and the League of Nations. By Sir Charles Walston, Cambridge University Press, 1919. 6s. net.

172 INDIANS IN THE MEDICAL SERVICE

DR. M. N. OHDEDAR.

ALL of you, I have no doubt, are aware that a Medical Services Reorganisation Committee travelled through the country not very long ago. This Committee was born very quietly and the public generally and the Indian members of the profession particularly hardly knew much about it. Its terms of reference were unknown to the public and the profession; no Indian medical man of any rank or position was its member until the Committee had gone through nearly half its work. The proceedings were held in *camera* and the evidence given before the Committee by the Indian Members of the profession or for the matter of that by the I.M.S. Officers themselves has not yet seen the light of day, though it is rumoured that the recommendations of the Committee have been with the Government of India for some months past. From the expression "Medical Service Reorganisation Committee" one is justified in thinking that the Committee would make recommendations regarding the reorganisation of the Provincial Medical Services also. If this interpretation be correct, it follows that one or two members of the Provincial Services should have been on the Committee to watch over the interests of those branches of the Service. But, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Committee consisted of Generals and Colonels; and I am informed that not until the Committee had arrived at Bombay two Indians were nominated as co-opted members. I do not for a moment wish you to infer that these veterans of the R. A. M. C. and I.M.S. would not do justice to the men in the provincial services; but at the same time I do not expect you to forget the good old adage: "Blood is thicker than water." It being a packed Committee, with no one there to represent the views of the Provincial Services or of the private practitioners, it would be no wonder if the Committee came to decisions unacceptable to the members of the profession in India. It has been said by various people, on what information I do not know, that the real object of this Committee was not only to increase the cadre of the I. M. S. but to draft into the civil side a number of the R. A. M. C. Officers. Be that as it may, it is highly unsatisfactory and disappointing that while we have been crying ourselves hoarse to have a Civil Medical Department entirely separate from the military, this Committee is, ten to one,

not only going to perpetuate the preponderance of I. M. S. Officers but is also going to draft in more Military Medical Officers on the Civil side, possibly on the plea of a stronger War Reserve.

GALAXY OF SPECIALISTS.

The Officers of the Indian Medical Service, who are Military Officers, had to be drafted into the Civil Department at a time when qualified Indians were not available for higher appointments. There is no doubt that the members of this Service, as a whole, have done their work exceedingly well. Special credit is due to them for the ability with which they have conducted the Medical Colleges in the country where all professorial chairs have till recently been always held by them. Conditions are, however, changing and the sooner Government takes notice of it, the better for every body concerned. There are at present a large number of Indians who have so well profited by the training imparted by these professors and by their natural aptitude and desire to rise high in the profession that they are in no way inferior to the average general practitioners in any country, while some will compare favourably with the best general practitioner anywhere. Instances are not wanting where Indians have qualified themselves as specialists in certain departments; and there are now many Indian practitioners who hold very high British qualifications in no way inferior to those held by the I. M. S. Officers. While we, the alumni of the Indian Medical Colleges, are prepared and anxious to admit the excellent quality of the training we have received from the I. M. S. professors, it is a strange irony of fate that our professors and a great many of the Service they belong to are never tired of proclaiming that the "Medical degrees and qualifications in India do not, in all cases, represent the result of a complete medical education." If we admit, for the sake of argument, this strange statement to be correct, it forms a strange commentary on the capabilities of the I. M. S. professors by whom the Colleges in India have been wholly manned in the past and are, to a very large extent, in the present. It is claimed that every I. M. S. professor is a specialist in his own department. Surely there must be something "rotten in the State of Denmark" if this galaxy of "specialists" cannot impart a complete medical education. I venture to think

that the fault cannot lie with the brain, intelligence and capability of the Indian students. I am afraid it is the defective training in practical Midwifery and Gynaecology which makes many I. M. S. Officers condemn the medical training in India; but might I ask if practical instruction in these subjects is any better in the United Kingdom? If only one reads the article on "The Teaching of Obstetrics and Gynaecology" in the *British Medical Journal* of August 30th, 1919, one will find that a strong Committee consisting of eminent British Medical men have said that "the practical instruction (in the United Kingdom) leaves very much to be desired and in some respects merits emphatic condemnation." It is, therefore, unfair to condemn the training in India when it is no better in the United Kingdom.

NEED FOR STRONG WAR RESERVE.

I recognise that there is need for a strong War Reserve to cope with the demands of a big War. The late titanic war proved that; but for the help given by the private practitioners both in India and the United Kingdom, the officers of the R. A. M. C. and the I. M. S. could not have succeeded in meeting the demands of medical work, connected with the war. Over nine hundred Indian medical men had to be engaged for work in the Medical Department as temporary Commissioned Officers; but it is a matter for regret that although those young men did so well as to have earned high encomiums for their work, now that the time has come for rewarding them in some way it is rumoured that their work is being run down and that only a very small percentage is likely to be made permanent in the Department. Surely if there be necessity for strengthening the war Reserve in India, why draft R. A. M. C. officers into the Civil Department and not engage men of the country who professionally are as well qualified as most of the R. A. M. C. officers?

PIOUS HOPES.

The wishes expressed by the then Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley, in his despatch No. 137 (Military), dated 9th August 1907, as also the suggestion of Lord George Hamilton for appointment of independent practitioners either to new appointments or to some of the posts which are regarded as reserved for the members of the I. M. S., remained as pious hopes and resulted in nothing advantageous to the private practitioners. A very few men were nominally appointed Honorary Physicians and Surgeons in a

few of the District Hospitals, but they were neither given any responsibility nor facility and assistants of any kind. I have been told by some who were appointed to these posts and left them in disgust, that they were treated no better than dignified Dressers and Clinical clerks. It cannot be denied that the Medical Department in India is the only Department in which the interests of the officers clash with those of their assistants and of the alumni of the Medical Colleges generally in this country; and it is owing to this stumbling block that the claims of the Indian Medical men for responsible posts have not yet been freely recognised. A time there was when all the important medical appointments could not but go to the members of the I. M. S.; but now with the large number of qualified graduates turned out by the Medical Colleges in this country and the number of men with British qualifications, there is no reason why a good number of the higher appointments should not be held by the people of the country. I recognise that the very high appointments in the Medical Department should for some years to come be reserved for the officers of the I. M. S.—be they European or Indian; but a great number of the Civil Surgeoncies and a good number of appointments in the Sanitary and Chemical Departments might now be well given to qualified natural born Indian subjects of His Majesty with advantage both to the country and the finances of the Government of India.

• NOTHING BETTER THAN CAMOUFLAGE.

In anticipation of the Medical Services Reorganisation Committee's report seeing the light of day, the members of the I. M. S., who were already well paid, received lately an increase of 33½ per cent. to their pay; whereas one should have thought that fairness and justice demanded that the Provincial Service men, poorly paid as they are, should have received consideration first. But, Ladies and Gentlemen, even in the twentieth century with the advance of education, and let us hope righteousness, the same story of days gone by still holds good. By this I mean that if there is to be a retrenchment in any Department of the Public Services, it is the poorly paid men who are either discharged or have their pay reduced; and if there is to be any increase to the pay it is the topmost men who get the lion's share and the already niggardly paid men receive a nominal concession. You must have heard that a new scheme of pay for the I. M. S. officers is under contemplation. As far as I have been able

to understand, the idea is that the European I. M. S. officers will get better pay under the name of "overseas" allowance. This has reference to those men who have joined the Department after 1918. To justify this preferential treatment it is said that those Indians who are employed in the United Kingdom will be given a similar allowance. But when we remember only three or four Indians are employed in the United Kingdom against hundreds of Britishers in India, the arrangement seems to be nothing better than a camouflage.

It is generally asserted that unless the Britishers are given higher pay as compared to the Indians, the best products of the British Universities would not be attracted to this country. This appears to me to be an assertion not worth much consideration. The best productions of the British Universities hardly ever come out to this country, and there is no reason why they should. A man who is able to make enough for his bread and butter in his own country does not care to go abroad; and it would be absurd to say that the vast majority of I.M.S. officers come out to India with an altruistic motive. If they did, they would not hanker after increase of pay in the way they do. It is only when a man is not able to earn even as much as a panel doctor earns in his

own country that he, *volens volens* accepts service in a foreign country. I am sure I am not far from right when I say that there are few I.M.S. officers of outstanding ability. The vast majority of them are neither better nor worse than the products of the Indian Universities. * * *

In Law the highest appointments are open to the Indian graduates; but in the Medical Department the highest appointment that a man, after years of service, can aspire to is the Civil Surgeoncy of a third class district. We should fight against certain districts being reserved for Europeans and certain of them for Indians. All the districts should be in one list and all men fully qualified, who have done good service, should have the chance of getting medical charge of these districts irrespective of nationality. Merit should be the only test. It is often asserted that medical charge of large districts cannot be very well given to Indians because of the prejudices of the European population. This is a most lame excuse as we all know. Even granting for a moment the force of this argument is there any solid reason why an Indian should not be the Sanitary Commissioner or a Chemical Examiner of a Province?—[From *The Presidential Address to the All India Medical Conference.*]

SWAMI SHAHAJANAND

By MR. K. V. RAMASWAMI, B.A., B.L.

THE various Vaishnava and protestant cults that arose in Northern India in the 16th and 17th centuries were, as we have seen, characterised by a deep spirit of humanity and a desire to bring the different orders and castes of society into one common fellowship and faith. The tradition of the Hindi Vilvamangala, apostle to the Gonds, is as old as the beginnings of Modern North Indian Vaishnavism. But the most remarkable instance of this democratic and humanitarian Vaishnavism is the teaching and work of Swami Narayan, a Brahmin adherent of the Ramanandi sect, who in the beginnings of the last century formed a refined and gentle-mannered Vaishnava community out of the Bhils, the Kolis and the Kathis of Guzerat. The story of this saint is interesting alike for the details of his life and method we possess and for the remarkable appearance of such activity at so late a period as the beginning of the nineteenth century.

SWAMI'S BIRTH AND PARENTAGE.

Shahajanand Swami or Ganashyam was born in 1780 A. D. at the village of Ohāipaya, eight miles

north of Ajodhya in the North West Provinces. He was the second son of a Samavedi Saravariya Brahmin named Hariprasad. His parents died when he was eleven years old and this youth chose to become a recluse under the name of Nilakant-Brahmachari. At that early age he knew the *Bhagavad Gita* and the *Vishnu Sahasranam* by heart. He then went about wandering over the whole of India from Badrikedar in the North to Rameswaram in the South. His wanderings at last took him to Guzerat and Rajasthan where he visited Ahmedabad and Bhiminath and went at last to Mangrol near Junagadh. In A.D. 1799 he began to associate with sadhus of the old historic sect, the Ramanandis, and in the next year at the age of twenty was initiated into that popular cult, under whose auspices had flourished Kabir Das and Tulasi Das, with the name of Shahajanand.

A great democratic impulse, and apostolic fervour seems to have swept through his heart on being initiated into the teachings of the old Ramanandi cult; and he decided to preach a

pure and simple Vaishnava faith to the low castes and neglected tribes of Guzerat and elevate and knit them into one social and religious fellowship. His success was immediate and profound. Large numbers of such low castes as the Kolis, Bhils and the Kathis joined his banner and their morals and life gained in purity with the adoption of his cult and teachings. Of social reform and the equalisation of castes, towards which his heart seems to have yearned a great deal, he could not effect much but an increasing communion and fellowship soon developed among his followers and distinguishes his sect even to-day from some of the older religious communities of Northern India. His great yearning for social equality is however evident in the curious utterance of his recorded by Bishop Heber, that while he (Shahajanand) permitted members of different castes to eat separately *here below, in the future life there would be no distinction of castes.*

Unlike some of the older reformers of the land, Kabir o Dadu, Shahjanand spite of his puristic and reforming instincts, did not cut himself off from the scriptures and traditions of orthodox Vaishnavism. He retained as the authoritative scriptures of the sect the Vedas, the Vedanta Sūtras as interpreted by Ramanuja, the Bhagavata Purana and Mahabharata and Skanda Purana. He preached the Vishistadvaita as laid down by Ramanuja. For the moral and religious ordering of his followers, he composed two books, one *Sikshapatri* or Book of precepts, a treatise on practical Ethics and another *Vachanamrit*, or sweet sayings, an exhaustive treatise on all branches of religious philosophy. The characteristic strength and purity of Shahajanand's mission is to be traced to the former which laid down the rules of individual life and conduct among his followers. He prohibited the destruction of animal life, use of animal food and intoxicating drugs and drinks on any occasion, promiscuous intercourse with the other sex, suicide, theft and robbery, false accusation against a fellow-man, blasphemy, caste pollution, company of atheists and heretics. His rules for the conduct of the sexes towards each other were especially severe. No sadhu of the Swami Narayan sect might ever touch a woman; even the accidental touching of a woman other than a mother having to be expiated by a whole-day fast. Similarly, should a widow-disciple touch even a boy who was not her son, she had to undergo the same penalty. Separate passages were provided for women in their large temples

and separate reading and preaching halls for them, attended by the wives of the Acharyas or heads of the sect. Sadhu followers were forbidden to marry but the lay followers lived among their fellows pursuing their ordinary lives and avocations.

Some of the latter rules were laid down by the Brahmin Missionary to check abuses like those that were springing up in contemporary Vaishnava sects of the land, notably the Vallabhachari sects of Rajasthan and Western India. The Swami was often heard to declaim boldly and openly against the latter on the vices that had crept into the lives of their clergy and laity alike. This condemnation of powerful and well-patronised sects, combined with the prohibition of the worship of idols which he had introduced in his own sect, soon earned him the hostility of the Peshwa and the Maratha Brahmins of the day who were then in power. Shahajanand seems to have been subjected to considerable persecution but he bore it all in patience and in love and bade his followers do the same. The meekness thus enjoined upon a newly forming community, instead of reconciling, seems to have only further provoked the cruelty of hostile sects and we read that devotees of the latter often beat individual members of the former mercilessly and even put them to death.

These persecutions, coupled with the unsettled state of western India at this period, perhaps explain the body-guard which attended the Swami in his peregrinations and is referred to by Bishop Heber who once met the Swami. He writes :—

"About eleven o'clock, I had an unexpected visit from Swami Narayan. He came in a somewhat different guise from all which I expected, having with him near 200 horsemen, mostly well-armed with matchlocks and swords, and several of them with coats of mail and spears. Besides them he had a large rabble (?) on foot with bows and arrows, and when I considered that I had myself an escort of more than fifty horses and fifty muskets and bayonets, I could not help smiling, though my sensations were in some degree painful and humiliating, at the idea of two religious teachers meeting at the head of little armies, and filling the city which was the scene of their interview with the rattling of gunners, the clash of shields and the tramp of the war-horse. Had our troops been opposed to each other, mine, though less numerous, would have been doubtless far more effective from the superiority of arms and discipline. But in moral grandeur, what a difference was there between his troops and mine! Mine neither knew me nor cared for me; they escorted me faithfully and would have defended me bravely, because they were ordered by their superiors to do so. The guards of Swami Narayan, were his own disciples and enthusiastic admirers, men who had voluntarily repaired to hear his lessons, who now took a pride in doing him honour and would cheerfully fight to the last drop of blood rather than suffer a fringe of his garment to be handled roughly."

.....The holy man himself was a middle-aged, thin and plain-looking person, about my own age, with a mild expression of countenance, but nothing about him indicative of any extraordinary talent. I seated him on a chair at my right hand and offered two more to the Thakur and his son, of which however they did not avail themselves without first placing their hands under the feet of their spiritual guide and then pressing them reverently to their foreheads."

His high moral teaching and apostolic work wrought a moral transformation among the turbulent and uncivilized tribes—the Kolis and the Bhils prominently—of the western districts. The success of his work and following seems to have reached the attention even of the company government; and its officers, we find, treated the Swami and his sect with great regard and esteem. The following account of the Swami's meeting with the Governor of Bombay has been preserved and reflects most interesting light on the Swami and his ideals.

"On the receipt of the above two letters, Swami Narayan Maharaj proceeded to Rajkote to visit the Right Honourable the Governor, and on the 26th February, 1830, was escorted as a mark of honourable reception by a party of troops and military foot soldiers to the Political Agent's bungalow, when His Excellency the Governor, the Secretary Mr. Thomas Williamson, six other European gentlemen and the Political Agent, Mr. Baine, having come out of the bungalow to meet the Swami Narayan, *His Excellency conducted the Swami hand in hand to a hall in the bungalow and made him sit on a chair. His Excellency afterwards with pleasure enquired about the principles of his religion, which were communicated accordingly. His Excellency also made a present to Swami Narayan of a pair of shawls and other piece-goods. Swami Narayan was asked by the Governor whether he and his disciples have had any harm under British rule; and His Excellency was informed in reply that there was nothing of the sort, but that on the contrary every protection was given them by all the officers in authority. His Excellency then asked for a code of his religion of Swami Narayan and the book called *Siksha-patri* was presented to him accordingly. Thus after a visit extending to an hour, Swami Narayan asked permission to depart when he was sent back with the same honours with which he had been received, all the European officers accompanying him out of the door from the bungalow."*

The above account speaks eloquently alike of the high estimation in which the Swami was held and the simplicity and fervour with which he carried on his missionary and uplifting work. Bishop Heber testifies that, according to the Collector of the district, much good had been done by the Swami's preaching among the wild Kolis of Guzerat and that those villages and districts which had received him, from being among the worst, were now among the best and most orderly in the province of Bombay. After his death which took place in 1830, his disciples erected

Chatras or resthouses and monuments to his memory in all the villages and beneath all the trees where he had at any time made his army stay in Guzerat; and where he is still to-day worshipped by his sect.

The methods adopted by the Swami to spread and perpetuate his faith were quite simple and of the traditional kind. He established alms-houses, and prayer-houses wherever he went. More important was the institution of Celibates comprising Brahmacharis and Sadhus. The Brahmachari, who must be a Brahmin, dedicates his life to the service of the Faith. Any one not below the Kunbi in caste could become a Sadhu on passing through certain ceremonies. A Sanskrit school was attached to the two religious establishments of the sect, at Ahmedabad and Vadtal, to give free Sanskrit Education to the Sadhus. The establishments themselves are presided over by an Acharya, descended from the founder Swami himself. The chief duty of the Brahmacharis and the Sadhus was to spread the faith moving about the country always in pairs and preaching for the conversion of the masses. They get clothes and food from the income of the seat. They rise early, offer prayers, and except the infirm, the sick and those engaged in cooking, attend the morning meeting where the head Brahmachari or Sadhu delivers a sermon or reads from the Puranas or the Vachanamrit. They retire at 9 o'clock and read till dinner is served at eleven. They then meet at the temple, take recess and then hold religious discourses till six in the evening. At night supper is served to the weak, the infirm or the weary. The rest read holy texts and retire at eleven.

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Mr. Gandhi's views on public questions are always interesting whether one agrees with them or not. We have therefore much pleasure in drawing the attention of our readers to his observations on such important current problems as the Khilafat question, Hindu-Muslim Unity, the Reforms and the Amritsar appeals, which we take from his paper—"Young India."—[Editor, *Indian Review*.]

i THE KHILAFAT QUESTION.

THE Khilafat question has now become a question of questions. It has become an imperial question of the first magnitude.

The great prelates of England and the Mahomedan leaders combined have brought the question to the fore. The prelates threw down the challenge. The Muslim leaders have taken it up.

I trust the Hindus will realize that the Khilafat question overshadows the Reforms and everything else. If the Muslim claim was unjust apart from the Muslim scriptures, one might hesitate to support it merely on scriptural authority. But when a just claim is supported by the scriptures it becomes irresistible.

Briefly put, the claim is that the Turks should retain European Turkey subject to full guarantees for the protection of non-Muslim races under the Turkish Empire and that the Sultan should control the Holy Places of Islam and should have suzerainty over Jazirat-ul-Arab, i.e., Arabia, as defined by the Muslim Savants, subject to self-governing rights being given to the Arabs if they so desire. This was what was promised by Mr. Lloyd George, and this was what Lord Hardinge had contemplated. The Mahomedan soldiers would not have fought to deprive Turkey of her possessions. To deprive the Khilafat of this suzerainty of Arabia is to reduce the Khilafat to a nullity.

To restore to Turkey, subject to necessary guarantees, what was hers before the war is a Christian solution. To wrest any of her possessions from her for the sake of punishing her is a gun powder solution. The Allies or England in the hour of their triumph must be scrupulously just. To reduce the Turks to impotence would be not only unjust, it would be a breach of solemn declarations and promises. It is to be wished that the Viceroy will take his courage in both his hands and place himself at the head of the Khilafat agitation, as Lord Hardinge did at the time of the South African passive resistance struggle and thus like his predecessor give a clear and emphatic direction to an agitation which, under impulsive or faulty leadership, may lead to disastrous consequences.

But the situation rests more with us, Hindus and Mahomedans, than with the Viceroy and still more with the Muslim leaders than with the

Hindus or the Viceroy. There are signs already of impatience on the part of Muslim friends and impatience may any day be reduced to madness and the latter must inevitably lead to violence. And I wish I could persuade everyone to see that violence is suicide.

Supposing the Muslim demands are not granted by the Allies or say England, I see nothing but hope in Mr. Montagu's brave defence of the Muslim position and Mr. Lloyd George's interpretation of his own declaration. True, the latter is halting but he can secure full justice under it.

What we may not do is clear enough.

(1) There should be no violence in thought, speech or deed.

(2) Therefore there should be no boycott of British goods by way of revenge or punishment. Boycott, in my opinion, is a form of violence. Moreover, even if it were desirable, it is totally impracticable.

(3) There should be no rest till the minimum is achieved.

(4) There should be no mixing up of other questions with the Khilafat, e.g., the Egyptian question.

Let us see what must be done.

(1) The cessation of business on the 19th instant and expression of the minimum demand by means of one single resolution is a necessary first step, provided that the *hartal* is absolutely voluntary and the employees are not asked to leave their work unless they receive permission from their employers. I would strongly urge that the mill hands should be left untouched. The further proviso is that there should be no violence accompanying the *hartal*. I have been often told that the C.I.D. sometimes provoke violence. I do not believe in it as a general charge. But, even if it be true, our discipline should make it impossible.


Now as to what may be done if the demands are not granted. The barbarous method is warfare open or secret. This must be ruled out if only because it is impracticable. If I could but persuade everyone that it is always bad, we should gain all lawful ends, much quicker. The power that an individual or a nation forbearing violence generates is a power that is irresistible. But my argument to-day against violence is based upon pure expediency, i.e., its utter futility.

Non-co-operation is therefore the only remedy left open to us. It is the clearest remedy, as it is the most effective, when it is absolutely free from all violence. It becomes a duty when co-operation means degradation or humiliation or an injury to one's cherished religious sentiments. England cannot expect a meek submission by us to an unjust usurpation of rights which to Muslims means a matter of life and death. We may therefore begin at the top as also at the bottom. Those who are holding offices of honour or emolument ought to give them up. Those who belong to the menial service under the Government should do likewise. Non-co-operation does not apply to service under private individuals. I cannot approve of the threat of ostracism against those who do not adopt the remedy of non-co-operation. It is only a voluntary withdrawal which is effective. For voluntary withdrawal alone is a test of popular feeling and dissatisfaction. Advice to the soldiery to refuse to serve is premature. It is the last, not the first step. We should be entitled to take that step when the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the Premier desert us. Moreover, every step in withdrawing co-operation has to be taken with the greatest deliberation.

Many look upon the Calcutta resolutions with the deepest alarm. They scent in them a preparation for violence. I do not look upon them in that light, though I do not approve of the tone of some of them. I have already mentioned those whose subject matters I wholly dislike.

"Can Hindus accept all the resolutions?" is the question addressed by some. I can only speak for myself. I will co-operate wholeheartedly with the Muslim friends in the presentation of their just demands so long as they act with sufficient restraint and so long as I feel sure that they do not wish to resort to or countenance violence. I should cease to co-operate and advise every Hindu and, for that matter, everyone else to cease to co-operate, the moment there was violence actually done, advised or countenanced. I would therefore urge upon all speakers the exercise of the greatest restraint, under the gravest provocation. There is certainty of victory, if firmness is combined with gentleness. The cause is doomed if anger, hatred, ill-will, recklessness and finally violence are to reign supreme. I shall resist them with my life even if I should be alone. My goal is friendship with the world and I can combine the greatest love with the greatest opposition to wrong.

ii HINDU MAHOMEDAN UNITY

 R. CANDLER some time ago asked me in an imaginary interview whether, if I was sincere in my professions of Hindu-Mahomedan Unity, I would eat and drink with a Mahomedan and give my daughter in marriage to a Mahomedan. This question has been asked again by some friends in another form. Is it necessary for Hindu-Mahomedan Unity that there should be inter-dining and inter marrying? The questioners say that, if the two are necessary, real unity can never take place because crores of *Sanatanis* would never reconcile themselves to interdining, much less to inter-marriage.

I am one of those who do not consider caste to be a harmful institution. In its origin caste was a wholesome custom and promoted national well-being. In my opinion the idea that inter-dining or inter-marrying is necessary for national growth is a superstition borrowed from the West. Eating is a process just as vital as the other sanitary necessities of life. And if mankind had not, much to its harm, made of eating a fetish, we would have performed the operation of eating in private even as one performs the other necessary functions of life in private. Indeed, the highest culture in Hinduism regards eating in that light and there are thousands of Hindus still living who will not eat their food in the presence of anybody. I can recall the names of several cultured men and women who ate their food in entire privacy but who never had any ill-will against anybody and who lived on the friendliest terms with all.

Inter-marriage is a still more difficult question. If brothers and sisters can live on the friendliest footing without ever thinking of marrying each other, I can see no difficulty in my daughter regarding every Mahomedan, brother and *vice versa*. I hold strong views on religion and on marriage. The greater the restraint we exercise with regard to our appetites whether about eating or marrying, the better we become from a religious standpoint. I should despair of ever cultivating amicable relations with the world, if I had to recognise the right or the propriety of any young man offering his hand in marriage to my daughter or to regard it as necessary for me to dine with anybody and everybody. I claim that I am living on terms of friendliness with the whole world, I have never quarrelled with a single Mahomedan or Christian, but for years I have taken nothing but fruit in Mahomedan or Christian households,

I would most certainly decline to eat cooked food from the same plate with my son or to drink water out of a cup which his lips have touched and which has not been washed. But the restraint or the exclusiveness exercised in these matters by me has never affected the closest companionship with the Mahomedan or the Christian friends or my sons.

But inter-dining and inter-marriage have never been a bar to disunion, quarrels and worse. The Pandavas and the Kauravas flew at one another's throats without compunction although they inter-dined and inter-married. The bitterness between the English and the Germans has not yet died out.

The fact is that inter-marriage and inter dining are not necessary factors in friendship and unity though they are often emblems thereof. But insistence on either the one or the other can easily become and is to day a bar to Hindu-Mahomedan Unity. If we make ourselves believe that Hindus and Mahomedans cannot be one unless they inter-dine or intermarry, we would be creating an artificial barrier between us which it might be almost impossible to remove. And it would seriously interfere with the growing unity between Hindus and Mahomedans if, for example, Mahomedan youths consider it lawful to court Hindu girls. The Hindu parents will not, even if they suspected any such thing, freely admit. Mahomedans to their homes as they have begun to do now. In my opinion, it is necessary for Hindu and Mahomedan young men to recognise this limitation.

I hold it to be utterly impossible for Hindus and Mahomedans to inter marry and yet retain intact each other's religion. And the true beauty of Hindu Mahomedan Unity lies in each remaining true to his own religion and yet being true to each other.

For, we are thinking of Hindus and Mahomedans even of the most orthodox type being able to regard one another as natural friends instead of regarding one another as natural enemies as they have done hitherto.

What then does the Hindu Mahomedan Unity consist in and how can it be best promoted? The answer is simple. It consists in our having a common purpose, a common goal and common sorrows. It is best promoted by co-operating to reach the common goal, by sharing one another's sorrows and by mutual toleration. A common goal we have. We wish this great country of ours to be greater and self-governing. We have enough sorrows to share. And to-day seeing that

the Mahomedans are deeply touched on the question of Khilafat and their case is just, nothing can be so powerful for winning Mahomedan friendship for the Hindu as to give his whole-hearted support to the Mahomedan claim. No amount of drinking out of the same cup or dining out of the same bowl can bind the two as this help in the Khilafat question.

And mutual toleration is a necessity for all time and for all races. We cannot live in peace, if the Hindu will not tolerate the Mahomedan form of worship of God and his manners and customs or if the Mahomedans will be impatient of Hindu idolatory or cow-worship. It is not necessary for toleration that I must approve of what I tolerate. I heartily dislike drinking, meat-eating and smoking, but I tolerate all these in Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians even as I expect them to tolerate my abstinence from all these although they may dislike it. All the quarrels between the Hindus and the Mahomedans have arisen from each wanting to force the other to his view.

iii THE AMRITSAR APPEALS

§ O these appeals have been dismissed in spite of the advocacy of the best counsel that were obtainable. The Privy Council has confirmed lawless procedure. I must confess that the judgment does not come upon me quite as a surprise though the remarks of the judges as Sir Simon was developing his argument on behalf of the appellants, led one to expect a favourable verdict. My opinion based upon a study of political cases is that the judgments even of the Highest Tribunals are not unaffected by subtle political considerations. The most elaborate precautions taken to procure a purely judicial mind must break down at critical moments. The Privy Council cannot be free from the limitations of all human institutions which are good enough only for normal conditions. The consequences of a decision favourable to the people would have exposed the Indian Government to indescribable discredit from which it would have been difficult to free itself for a generation.

Its political significance can be gauged from the fact that, as soon as the news was received in Lahore, all the preparations that were made to accord a fitting welcome to Lala Lajpat Rai were immediately cancelled and the capital of the Punjab was reported to be in deep mourning. Deeper discredit, therefore, now attaches to the

Government by reason of the judgment, because rightly or wrongly the popular opinion will be that there is no justice under the British constitution when large political or racial considerations are involved.

There is only one way to avoid the catastrophe. The human and especially the Indian mind quickly responds to generosity. I hope that without the necessity of an agitation or petitions the Punjab Government or the Central Government will immediately cancel the death sentences and if at all possible, simultaneously set the appellants free.

This is required by two considerations each equally important. The first is that of restoring public confidence which I have already mentioned. The second is fulfilment of the Royal Proclamation to the letter. That great political document orders the release of all the political offenders who may not by their release prove a danger to society. No one can possibly suggest that the twenty-one appellants will, if they are set free, in any shape or form constitute a danger to society. They never had committed any crimes before. Most of them were regarded as respectable and orderly citizens. They were not known to belong to any revolutionary society. If they committed any crimes at all, they were committed only under the impulse of the moment and under what to them was to grave provocation. Moreover the public believe that the majority of the convictions by the Martial Law Tribunal were unsupported by any good evidence. I, therefore, hope that the Government, which have so far been doing well in discharging political offenders even when they were caught in the act, will not hesitate to release these appellants and thus earn the goodwill of the whole of India. It is an act of generosity done in the hour of triumph which is the most effective. And in the popular opinion this dismissal of the appeal has been regarded as a triumph for the Government.

I would respectfully plead with the Punjab friends not to lose heart. We must calmly prepare ourselves for the worst. If the convictions are good, if the men convicted have been guilty of murders or incitements to murder, why should they escape punishment? If they have not committed these crimes as we believe, most at least have not, why should we escape the usual fate of all who are trying to rise a step higher. Why should we fear the sacrifice if we would rise. No nations have ever risen without sacrifice and sacrifice can only be spoken of in connection with innocence and not with crime.

iv THE WORKING OF THE REFORMS

THE working of the Reforms, all have agreed, requires a co-operation between Government and the people. But the preparation for these Reforms needs a greater co-operation among the people themselves. Before the Reforms come into actual operation, rules have to be made under no fewer than seventeen sections of the Bill. The whole burden of this preparation appears to have been put by the Joint Committee on the Viceroy and his colleagues, but there is no doubt that the Government of India will share this responsibility with the people. Several committees will have to be appointed. Among the questions before these committees, the question of representation in its various aspects is expected to be the most controversial. Increase of rural as compared with urban representation in the council, provision for representation of the urban wage-earning class, additional representation of the depressed classes, reservation of a proportion of seats for the non-Brahmins of Madras and the Mahrattas of Bombay, conditions of the franchise for women where it is adopted by local legislatures, revision of landholders' representation and revision of European representation in Bengal—this list of the various aspects indicates the forms that the controversy may take. We may find controversies between provinces, classes, communities and sexes.

One of these controversies is already raised in Madras. The non-Brahmins have refused to be satisfied with the various proposals of percentage for them. We are not here dealing with any particulars of these proposals. We only wish to suggest our solution of the question of representation in general. The representation of Mahomedans in the Dacca University is another question of the same sort before us. These and the like questions are sure to arise on account of the self-consciousness arising in the various classes and communities of the nation. To shape this self-consciousness properly in the interests of the nation is a great responsibility on our leaders from more enlightened castes and provinces. This responsibility lies in creating in the newly awakening parts of the country, a true spirit of co-operation and, to create such a genuine co-operation, leaders coming from the more enlightened sections have ever to return trust for distrust. This liberal statesmanship underlying this noble policy repays for all the sacrifice that it demands in its initial stages. Any other policy will multiply the intricacies of the problem.

By "VERITAS."

NO one will deny that the Reforms have ushered in a new era in the history of our country and if it is still necessary to refer to the past, it is not with a view to rake up old sores but to draw attention to the legacy to which the Reforms have succeeded—a legacy which so largely reflects on the ability of the Liberals or Moderates, as they used to call themselves, to play their legitimate part in the uplifting of India and might detract, for the time being, from the chances they should otherwise have had of realising the fruits of their labour. The Indian National Congress had made itself hoarse over the demand it used to express in various forms and in various directions on behalf of educated Indians, that the wishes of the people should be more and more respected in the government of the country. Nothing substantial came until Lord Morley appeared on the scene and gave us the Morley-Minto Reforms. Conceived in the most laudable spirit, launched under the most favourable auspices, these reforms failed to achieve the end to which they were designed, because the bureaucracy nullified their value and efficacy by the rules it took upon itself to frame; and the Extremists did not hesitate to impress upon the people their claim to an accurate forecast of the hollowness of the reforms in marked contrast to the optimism of those who had enthusiastically welcomed them. Then, by a series of administrative and other blunders, the Bureaucracy continued to forfeit the support of the people; those who tried to evince the authorities were branded as disloyal and anti-British, those who opposed them were regarded as anarchists, and the position of the Moderates grew more and more difficult when blind support of the Government came to be synonymous with loyalty and educated Indians came to be treated as the enemies of British rule in India. Disappointment followed disappointment, distrust of the people by the Government was reciprocated with greater distrust of the Government by the people, and bitterness grew from bad to worse. No wonder, in this atmosphere of mutual distrust and bitterness, Indian politics degenerated into vituperation and abuse of the Government and its agents. The British people and Parliament were far too absorbed in their own domestic affairs to pay much heed to India and confidence in the British sense of justice and fair play began to give place to a

feeling of desperation that no appeal lay to the real rulers of India—the British electors. This was indeed a very trying time for the Moderates.

THE DIFFICULTIES BEFORE THE LIBERALS

Luckily, Lord Hardinge was at the helm of Indian affairs when the war broke out and he at once seized the right psychological moment to give a practical proof of India's loyalty which eventually made the average Britisher realise the true importance of India as a unit in the British Empire. Indian politicians gave the Government their entire support and India's share in the great struggle called forth glowing panegyrics from British statesmen which roused the imagination of the more sober section of the Indian public and began to revive their declining faith, in spite of the pervading gloom of the moment, in the prospects of a brighter dawn for India. But here, again, the procrastination and delay which preceded the grant of the reforms deprived them of their charm to the man in the street, and when the Reforms actually came the "lacerated heart" of the Punjab was looming much too large in the public eye, almost to the exclusion of everything else. The reforms evoked no enthusiasm at the meeting of the Indian National Congress, now an out-and-out Extremist organisation, and this omission along with the other proceedings of that body gives some index of the present political temperature which is still high and some idea of the present political atmosphere which is still disturbed. Anything in the nature of an analysis of the situation with a view to apportion blame to this or that agency, or to defend the bureaucracy or the people will be useless. Suffice it to say, that these are the conditions under which the Liberals are to start on the road to responsible government, and the task before them is one of unparalleled difficulty, having regard to the obstacles they have to overcome.

THEIR CAPACITY

They have to wipe out the past which was not of their making, and the course of true patriotism demands that they should set out to do so, with courage and magnanimity, realising that on the extent to which they can create a healthy atmosphere will depend the future progress of their country and the suitability of the East to democratic forms of Government. But, if it would be futile to hope to give the country the right lead without taking into account the lingering

bitterness in the public mind, it would be criminal to pander too much to its sensitiveness. In this connection, however, it is interesting to compare the proceedings of the Congress at Amritsar and the Moderates' Conference in Calcutta and to notice the growing sense of responsibility in the Liberals which augurs well for the future and which marks them out as the party which is more likely to lead the country to its goal. The Congress sat for six long days condemning the regrettable incidents in the Punjab and those responsible for them, in belittling the Reforms and preaching the value of obstruction as a means of improving them, and ended by omitting even to refer to the amendment of the Arms Act for which it had fought all its life. The Moderates' Conference in about half that length of time condemned all that called for condemnation, welcomed the Reforms and undertook to make them a success, suggested safeguards against the repetition of the Punjab atrocities and laid down a comprehensive programme for the guidance of the Liberals in the respective spheres of their work in the interests of the country. The Moderates' Conference, in the resolutions it passed, displayed a highly practical bent of mind, shrewd commonsense, moderation, judgment, perception of the country's needs and a real desire to help the country forward. The Congress, on the other hand, revealed a sullen sulky mood, and, influenced solely by the events in the Punjab and a perverse interpretation of the Government of India Act, it refused to consider anything else. If the Moderates' Conference was more business-like the Congress was more sentimental, highly sensitive, equally imaginative and inconceivably indifferent to contemporary history and outlook on the future. Passing popularity is not an asset and the Liberals have done well to recognise that abiding influence on public opinion will be acquired by real work and not by an appeal to passions. After all, when the voters learn the value of their votes, they will judge political leaders not by their professions but by their actions. They will judge then—in the cold light of reason in proportion to what they do for the people rather than the length of their speeches and their capacity for vilification.

THEIR CREED.

Even more valuable than the programme of the Liberal Party has been—what may be described as—its creed. In one of their resolutions they have said "The Liberal Party of India will work for

the success of the constitutional reforms by following a policy of co-operation, and of promoting good understanding among the different communities and interests in the country." No higher ideal could be adopted by any party and the Liberals will stand or fall by the manner in which they follow this ideal. In pursuance of the policy just quoted, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee has already made a stirring appeal to the European community and it is gratifying to note the response which has been made to it. In the way the Liberals have dealt with the situation in the Punjab they have shown that they do not yield to the Extremists in resenting a national wrong. In the terms in which they have invited the Civil Services to co-operate with them they have shown sagacity and judgment which have been handsomely acknowledged by the representatives of those services. In the resolution in which they have extended their sympathy to the Mahomedans over the Caliphate question they have shown a catholicity of spirit which is bound to commend itself to all fair-minded persons and to disappoint all enemies of Indian progress.

A WARNING.

All this points to the growing fitness of the Liberals for the task which has devolved on them. But it also calls for a note of warning. The Liberal party will need resourcefulness, courage and an active, and vigilant organisation. It will have to keep abreast of the times and, in order that it may steer the bark it has taken in its charge with safety, it will have to watch changes in the weather and adapt its sails according to the needs of the movement. Such a change has already occurred in one direction, but the Liberals have not apparently taken note of it. Since they met in Calcutta the Caliphate question has been agitating the public mind and also that of the Government, and the Liberals stand in need of defining their position more precisely. The deputation which waited upon the Viceroy made an appeal to His Excellency and in regard to it he observed "The contention, however, which you urge in your address that Turkey should preserve in full the integrity, sovereignty and dominions which she possessed before the war is one which I fear we cannot reasonably hope will be recognised by the Allied Powers in Conference." The deputation subsequently issued a statement expressing its dissatisfaction with the Viceroy's reply and embodying the absolute minimum which would satisfy Muslim sentiment. A small deputation has already sailed for England and

may possibly visit America in order to state the Muslim case and to agitate for its success. Caliphate Conferences have been held in Calcutta, Bombay and other places. No content with insisting on the fulfilment of the pledges given in this behalf by Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Hardinge and other British Statesmen—in which the whole of India has been and still is ready and willing to support the Mahomedans, these conferences have proclaimed the need for the observance of a day of Hartal, and have urged the desirability of boycotting all association with Government. They have gone even further and invited holders of titles to renounce their titles and threatened to withdraw loyalty and allegiance from the British Crown if Muslim demands are not met in their entirety. This, it must be said in all seriousness, is like playing with wild fire. And, while admitting that the situation has been rather complicated by the highly provocative attitude that was recently taken up by Lord Robert Cecil and his friends in the course of the Turkish debate in the House of Commons, the steps contemplated by the Mahomedans seem to be hardly warranted, having regard to the dangers they involve, by the unmistakable terms in which the Prime Minister and Mr. Bonar Law have condemned the anti-Turk Propaganda and reiterated their assurance to respect Muslim sentiment and their determination to fulfil their pledges. The question, therefore, naturally arises as to how far the Liberals are prepared to identify themselves with their Mahomedan brethren in the event of a not unlikely disappointment and the consequent probability of some Mahomedans attempting to carry out the resolutions threatening passive resistance, enjoining the observance of Hartal and demanding boycott of the Government. Mahomedans are also, not unlikely, to start a more serious agitation in India to support one in England. The question is not easy to answer and no individual need take it upon himself to answer it without carefully considering the issues it involves. The introduction of Satyagraha in an agitation directed against a purely political measure proved so disastrous last year that one can ill afford to minimise the gravity of exciting religious feelings in a very large section of Indians, viz, the Mahomedans and give it the support of an agitation by the rest of the country. Then, the forces of Bolshevism are playing havoc in Russia, Central Asia is disturbed, and a Pan-Islamic party has grown there which is in league with the Bolsheviks; and if they are assured of

serious discontent in the Indian Muslims they may make attempts to endanger the peace and security of India by an attack from across our borders. Through decades of internal peace and security we have managed to prepare ourselves for the reforms which we have gained under the Government of India Act of 1919. Will it be right to endanger them by ferment within and invasion from without? On the attitude the Liberals finally adopt, not only the success of the reforms, but also our domestic peace and happiness may depend. The Caliphate question is primarily a religious matter for the Mahomedans and secondarily a political matter for India as a whole. In a spirit of compromise India has given its wholehearted support to the Mahomedans and made the matter one affecting all Indians alike. Thus the Government have been enabled to press the just claims of the Mahomedans on His Majesty's Government and, as far as one can see, the latter are pressing them on the Peace Conference. Where, then, is the occasion for impatience? Where, again, is there a need for starting an untimely agitation which will also be premature, and possibly dangerous?

A compromise is a mutual agreement in which each party has to surrender something. Non-Muslim India has done its part if we judge the Indian attitude towards the Caliphate and apply this test to it. But may one ask what the Mahomedans, in their turn, propose to surrender? Will it be too much to ask them, in the interests of the country, to refrain from agitation and to suspend their verdict until the history of the negotiations is more definitely known? The British Government is not the only power at the Peace Conference and nothing definite is known on which one can, with any sense of justice, bear any accusations against His Majesty's Government or the Government of India. Also, the British Commonwealth is not a Hindu power, nor a Muslim power, nor a Christian power, but depends for its existence on mutual tolerance, respect and community of ideals; and the future of India depends upon the ideas of liberty and justice for all. An agitation over the Caliphate question may well be misunderstood as overstepping the bounds of justice and as illustrating an idea of the dominance of Mahomedans over all other communities. Such an impression will only injure the cause we have at heart by alienating British sympathy. We have reason and justice on our side and by moderation shall we retain the sympathy of a people who, as the last war has shown us, will not be bullied.

LALA LAJPAT RAI'S HOME COMING

We cordially welcome Lala Lajpat Rai back to India after six years of enforced exile in foreign countries. Mr. Lajpat Rai has for over two decades been a leading public man in this country, keenly interested in education, and social and religious reform. He accompanied the late Mr. Gokhale on deputation to England in 1905. He led the Arya Samaj Movement in the Punjab and was prominently connected with the political and



LALA LAJPAT RAI.

agrarian agitation in the Province. The story of his deportation is still fresh in our minds. The late Mr. Gokhale spoke in high terms of his patriotism, his courage and his integrity. But the Lala's independence roused the ire of the Bureaucracy in India and though his loyalty to the British Raj was above board he was denied his right to return home during the years of the war. We rejoice that the gracious Royal Proclamation has made it possible for the good Lala to resume his place in the public life of India.

Though Mr. Lajpat Rai was in foreign lands the thought of India was uppermost in his mind. We have in these pages recorded now and then his activities in England and America and we have had occasion to review some of his important publications. An observant critic of men and things, he has studied the institutions of the West with a view to adapt them to the conditions of India and he has voiced the surging aspirations of India in his innumerable articles and pamphlets published in the United States. Over a million statements in the form of letters and pamphlets on Indian affairs, we are told, have been published and circulated in America under the immediate direction of the Lala. His *Young India* is widely circulated there and he has kept an organisation called the *India Bureau* for the dissemination of correct information regarding India and the Indian people. Thus Mr. Rai has been busy promoting the interests of India in the west.

Mr. Rai keeps an open mind regarding the parties in India. When, on February 20, he arrived in Bombay, he was received with ovation by all parties and communities. In fact, wherever he went, he was the recipient of a generous meed of tribute to his talents and his services. In Bombay, he gave an eloquent message to the young men of India exhorting them to tread the path of virtue and obedience and self discipline, to promote Hindu Muslim Unity and to have faith in their capacity to rise to their full height. Presiding over a great meeting in Lahore when the Hon. Mr. Sastri spoke on the Reforms, the Lala modestly said that his opinions on current political questions could only be tentative and as yet by no means definite or final. He however told a representative of the *Tribune*:—

"I will advise the country, to use every opportunity given by the Act in the right spirit. We should do nothing to embarrass the Government, but we shall show no weakness in resisting all attempts to take away what has been given and in demanding what has not been given." On the declaration of rights, he said:

"To be frank, I do not attach very great importance to a mere 'declaration of rights,' without the power to ensure that the Government does not infringe those rights. A 'declaration of rights' must necessarily imply the right of the people to choose their own Government. Without the latter, the former is a mere skeleton without soul."

SIR V. BHASHYAM IYENGAR.

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BY

MR. K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

INTRODUCTION.

IN his Convocation Address to the graduates of the Madras University on 28th March, 1893, Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar (then the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur V. Bhashyam Iyengar) said :

In conclusion, whatever your task in life, let your motto be 'be just and fear not.' All of you cannot



be equally learned or equally fortunate, but there is nothing to prevent all being equally *honest* and attentive to duty. 'Knowledge is a steep which few can climb. But duty is a path which all may tread.'

These words form 'the real key to the man's character,' Fearless devotion to duty was the keynote of his long and honourable life.

HIS LIFE

Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar was born in January 1844 and belonged to the well-

known Vembakam family which has contributed so largely to the efficient and valuable service of the public and the State. After a distinguished college career and a period of Government service as Registrar, he appeared for the B.L. Degree examination of the Madras University and took the first place in the first class. In 1872 he joined the bar and made his mark in the new line almost immediately after he entered it. He was the apprentice, and, afterwards, the junior of Mr. P. O. Sullivan, a former Advocate-General. Mr. Sullivan was very much struck with the remarkable legal erudition and subtlety of Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar and predicted that one day he would become the Advocate-General. In a very short time Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar came to the top of the profession and his income distanced all competition during many years. At a comparatively early period of his career he was appointed as a member of the Madras Legislative Council by the Madras Government and much of the provincial legislation bears the impress of his mind. In the Legislative Council he was often required to draft bills, and those who know the work done by him there bear testimony to his supreme skill as a draftsman of legislative enactments. I may refer to his *Hindu Gains of Learnings Bill* which however did not become law. He made the discovery that a Vakil was duly qualified to be an Advocate-General, and an appreciative government, recognising his superior talent and merit, conferred the Advocate-Generalship upon him.

He opened the Gopala Row Library at Kumbakonam on 6th May 1895. He was the first member of the Indian Bar to receive the distinction of knighthood. He was appointed to act as a judge of the Madras High Court on 8th March 1901 and he became a permanent judge on 1st August 1901. He accepted the office at great pecuniary sacrifice. He entirely fulfilled the expectations of all by the learning and impartiality and independence which characterised

* Condensed from a Sketch prepared for the Eminent Indians Series published by G. A. Natesan & Co, Madras.

his judgments during the period of two years and nine months when he was on the bench. In January 1904, he resumed his practice at the bar. In November 1908 he was arguing on a Monday a heavy appeal before the Chief Justice Sir Arnold White and Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim when, as he was returning during the mid-day adjournment, he fell down unconscious and had to be carried to his chamber. He lingered for two days and at 7 p. m. on 18th November 1908 the great career was closed by death.

HIS TRAITS

In personal life he was simple, unaffected and courteous. His tall figure dressed in a garment reaching to the feet could often be seen in the Luz in the mornings in the course of his morning walks which he used to take regularly. Though he was reserved by nature and was a man of few words and few friends, he had an open ear to all that went on about him and his attachments were fast and warm. In the domestic circle and in the wider circle of relations, he was an ideal man. He did not take any prominent part in the social or political movements of the day, either on the one side or on the other, because his nature was one of singular balance and he had hence the merits as well as the defects of that rare quality.

As a lawyer he was without a rival in his day for learning and subtlety and a rare gift of lucid, accurate and exhaustive statement of propositions of law. He was not a brilliant forensic orator and advocate but he was a profound lawyer and jurist. He could prick the bubble of a glittering but unsubstantial legal argument in no time and he was always dreaded by his brethren at the bar on this account. Though he had not a prepossessing delivery or manner or the charm of style, his subtlety of intellect and power of analysis, and his cogency of reasoning and precision of language enforced and secured attention and admiration. The writer of this sketch had many occasions to work as his Junior after his retirement from the High Court Bench and to know the mental grasp of that remarkable personality. During the

course of his career as a Junior lawyer practising in the High Court, he has listened with fascinated admiration to Sir Bhashyam's subtle arguments developing legal principles from their bases through all ramifications and compelling conviction by the clarity of his presentation. The days of such advocacy are now gone. The growing weight of authorities is banishing, if it has not already banished, the mental alertness and the clear-thinking logical presentation of legal principles which are after all the real distinctions and pleasures of a life devoted to the study and practice of the science of law. Another peculiar characteristic of his advocacy was his cultivation of an accurate and capacious memory. He never used to make notes and would and could carry everything in that large head of his. He used to argue big and complicated cases without a single scrap of note in his hand, and without losing the thread of his argument. His habit of mental concentration enabled him to think amidst distractions. Taken all in all, we shall not have his like as a lawyer for a long time to come.

As a judge, he came always fully prepared and yet ready to be convinced. Hence it was a pleasure to argue before him if an advocate was well-prepared. But if he was ill-prepared or was careless or inaccurate in expression, woe unto him. Once Sir Bhashyam admonished a senior Vakil saying that reading was not pleading. He raised the standard of advocacy by his own adoption of a high standard of work. Though some of his legal opinions have been upset by his successors, yet he settled the law in an incontrovertible manner upon many points and even his *obiter dicta* showered liberally in his judgments are even to-day accepted as valuable guides amidst the increasing complications and labyrinths of Indian law.

TRIBUTES TO HIS CAPACITY AND CHARACTER

Mr. P. S. Sivaswami Iyer (now Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer), who was then the Advocate-General, communicated to the High Court the news of Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar's death in a speech full of feeling and dignified

description of Sir Bhashyam's greatness as a lawyer and as a judge. He said :

One had only to listen to him for some minutes to feel the fascination of that masterly intellect growing on one. It was a privilege and a feast of intellect to hear him unravel the facts of a complicated case or expound a difficult question of law. The dry, clear light of his intellect illuminated every nook and corner of the subject, however obscure. As an advocate, the characteristics which distinguished him were his thoroughness, his wary circumspection, the studied presentation of his cases, his readiness of resources, his ability to pounce upon the weak points of his adversary's case, his tact and his successful management of the judges. . . . As a judge he displayed a remarkable fearlessness and independence. He carefully studied every case, as he was wont to do at the Bar, and his great acumen, width of grasp and mastery of legal principles enabled him to get through his work with great rapidity. He had an unerring legal instinct which led him to the correct solution. He was never technical, except for the purpose of defeating a technicality, and was no respecter of precedents which were not supported by principles, and he never shrank from the task of laying down general principles. His judgments were and will be admired throughout India as models of close reasoning, discursive examination of the subjects, elaborate research and precision of language. . . . My Lords, the debt owed by the Vakils to him is immense. No one has done more than Sir Bhashyam to raise the position and prestige of the Vakils."

HIS JUDGMENTS

I shall refer here to a few of his learned and valuable judgments upon points of general interest. Though some of his opinions have been modified or departed from in the course of the subsequent development of the law, yet his judgments are universally recognised as storehouses of sound legal opinions on many matters connected with Indian law.

In regard to Hindu law, I may refer to the well-known case of *Sudarsanam Maistri v. Narashimhulu Maistri*. (I.L.R. 25 Madras 149) in which he discussed the origin and nature of the Mitakshara doctrine of joint family property. In I. L. R. 25 Madras 351 he held that, as the widow's absolute power of disposition over the income derived from the widow's estate is now fully recognised, she will be presumed, in the absence of an indication of her intention to the contrary, to retain the same control over the investment of such income. In I.L.R. 25 Madras 690, he discusses fully and elaborately the rights

of a purchaser from a member of an undivided Hindu family. In I.L.R. 26 Madras 133 he decided that lameness which is not congenital is no bar to the right of inheritance which a member of an undivided Hindu family ordinarily possesses. In I.L.R. 27 Madras 13, he held that there is no text of Hindu law under which an illegitimate son of a Hindu, by a woman who is not a Hindu, can claim maintenance. In I.L.R. 27 Madras 32, he decided that an illegitimate member of a family, who is not entitled to inherit, can be allowed only a compassionate rate of maintenance and cannot claim maintenance on the same principles and on the same scale as disqualified heirs and females who have become members of the family by marriage; that the presumption as to paternity in section 112 of the Indian Evidence Act only arises in connection with the offspring of a married couple; and that a person claiming as an illegitimate son must establish his alleged paternity in the same way as any other disputed question of relationship is established. In I.L.R. 27 Madras 243 he held that, independently of the debt arising from the original transaction, the decree against a Hindu father, by its own force, created a debt as against him which his sons, according to the Hindu law, were under a pious obligation to discharge, unless they showed that the debt was illegal or immoral. In I.L.R. 27 Madras 326 he held that there was no distinction between a mortgage for an antecedent debt and a mortgage given for a debt then incurred.

Among his noteworthy decisions bearing on procedure, evidence and limitation, I may refer here to the decision in I.L.R. 25 Madras 300 where he held that where a suit for redemption has been instituted and a decree for redemption has been passed therein, but not executed, a second suit for redemption is not maintainable for the redemption of the same mortgage. In I.L.R. 26 Madras 760 he dealt exhaustively with the law of *res judicata*. In I.L.R., 27 Madras 377, he held that, where a court finds that a next friend does not do his duty properly, it is its

duty not to permit him to prejudice the interests of the minor, but to adjourn the suit in order that some one interested in the minor may apply on his behalf for the removal of the next friend and for the appointment of a new next friend, or in order that the minor plaintiff himself may, on coming of age, elect to proceed with the suit or withdraw from it. In I.L.R. 25 Madras 7 he held that oral evidence and evidence of conduct to show that a sale was only a mortgage was not admissible under section 92 of the Indian Evidence Act. In I.L.R. 26 Madras 91 he held that time runs for execution only from the date of the decree on appeal. In I.L.R. 27 Madras 192 he dealt with the nature of acquisitive and extinctive prescription as between two branches of trustees.

I shall now refer briefly to a few other decisions bearing upon miscellaneous matters. In I.L.R. 24 Madras 421 he has discussed in a learned elaborate manner the meaning of *agriculture*. In I.L.R. 25 Madras 183 he held that in a case of insurance the warranty by the assured operated as a condition precedent to the attaching of any risk under the policy that every statement and allegation contained in the declaration was substantially and in fact true, and that the question for the Court to consider was not the materiality or otherwise of that statement, but its truth. In I.L.R. 26 Madras 514 he held that possession is, under the Indian, as under the English law, good title against all but the true owner. In I.L.R. 27 Madras 28 he held that, though a vendor's right to sue for the purchase money may be barred, he can retain possession till the buyer pays the price, because his lien is not extinguished under section 28 of the Limitation Act. In I.L.R. 27 Madras 211 he held that the maxim "*quicquid inaedificatur solo cedit*" does not generally apply in India and that a tenant who erects a building on land let to him can only remove the building and cannot claim compensation for it on eviction by the landlord.

I shall now make a fuller reference to his great judgments on a few matters of general

public importance and interest. In I.L.R. 25 Madras 635 he held that, when a street is vested in a Municipal Council, such vesting does not transfer to the Municipal authority the rights of the owner in the site or soil over which the street exists; that it does not own the soil from the centre of the earth *usque ad coelum*, but has the exclusive right to manage and control the surface of the soil and so much of the soil below and space above the surface as is necessary to enable it to adequately maintain the street as a street; and that it has also a certain property in the soil of the street which would enable it as owner to bring a possessory suit against trespassers.

In I.L.R. 26 Madras 268 he held that the Civil Courts have jurisdiction to determine whether a grant of land, alleged to have been made by an officer on behalf of the Crown, is binding on the Crown or persons claiming under it subsequent to the grant; and that the mere fact that the alleged grant purports to have been made under the *darkast* rules does not affect that jurisdiction. He held further in that case that a grant which purports to have been made under the *darkast* rules by an officer empowered by Govt. to make it is a grant made by a person authorized in that behalf and has the validity of a grant made by the Governor-in-Council and that such an officer is an agent generally or specially appointed in that behalf, and his acts, if within the scope of his authority, are as binding on the Crown as if they had been done by the Governor-in-Council.

Another equally well known and learned decision is I.L.R. 26 Madras 339 about the enfranchisement of service inams. He held that, when a personal inam is enfranchised by the imposition of a quit-rent, the resumption by Government simply consists of so much of the assessment or *melvaram* as is equal to the quit-rent, neither the land nor the assessment in excess of the quit-rent being resumed; that the enfranchisement of a service inam does not operate as a resumption and fresh grant by Government subject to the payment of a quit-rent, any more than it is so in the case of the enfranchisement of a personal

inam; that it stands on the same footing so far as the family in which the village office is hereditary is concerned; and that the enfranchisement only converts the inam property into ordinary property.

In I.L.R. 26 Madras 554 he laid down the law as to processions on the highway with his usual learning and completeness. He held that no assembly can be "lawfully engaged" (within the meaning of section 296 of the Indian Penal Code) on a highway, unless it be established or can be reasonably presumed that the dedication of the highway was subject to the user, and that the user of a highway as a place of worship is not the legitimate user of it as a highway.

This view of the law was no doubt not upheld after the Privy Council decision in I.L.R. 30 Madras 185 but every one can realise that there is a great deal to be said in favour of the view.

In I. L. R. 27 Madras 386, (Full Bench) he held that penal assessment could not be collected as land revenue. He says at page 396 :

"The right of Government to assess land to land revenue and to vary such assessment from time to time is not a right created or conferred by any statute, but, as stated in my judgment in *Bell v. Municipal Commissioners for the City of Madras*, is a prerogative of the Crown according to the ancient and common law of India. The prerogative right consists in this, that the Crown can by an Executive act determine and fix the '*Rajabhogam*' or king's share in the produce of land and vary such share from time to time. This necessarily implies and pre-supposes that the occupant of the land has an interest in the land and is entitled to the occupant's or ryot's share of the produce as distinguished from the king's share. The same idea is often expressed in the words that the Crown is entitled to the *melwaram* in the land and the ryot to the *Kudiwaram*. It therefore necessarily follows that the Crown cannot impose land revenue upon lands in which, according to its own case, the person in occupancy has no title or interest or *Kudiwaram* right."

In regard to the criminal law he laid down clearly in I. L. R., 26, Madras 198 that, unless there is sufficient *prima facie* evidence and a reasonable probability of conviction, the Court giving the sanction or upholding it will not be properly exercising the discretion vested in it by law. He says at page 117 :

"The according of sanction or upholding the same when a sufficient *prima facie* is not made out will, in

the majority of cases, simply lead to waste of public time and subject the person against whom the sanction is given to serious annoyance and expense which he can in no way be compensated for even though he be honourably acquitted."

In the famous *Ranga Reddi* case reported in I. L. R., 24, Madras 523, he made strong remarks at page 548 about the sending of anonymous or pseudonymous communications to judges pending trials by them. He said :

"The authors of these three letters, whoever they may be, have committed a grave contempt of court in sending by public post private communications to a judge of this court with the sole and deliberate object and set purpose of influencing his decision in a judicial matter of the highest importance to the public. These persons and others similarly disposed to tamper with justice ought to know that it is a high contempt of court to communicate with or seek in any way to influence a judge upon the subject of any judicial matter which he has to determine, and that a Chartered High Court in India is a Superior Court of Record which can summarily deal with contempts of Court though the same be committed otherwise than *in facie curiae*, which has the power to punish the offender by commitment in a summary way, a power which no doubt will be sparingly used but will certainly be used when there is the 'pressure of public necessity,' and even then not to vindicate the dignity of the Court but in the interests of justice and in view to repress tampering with justice."

HIS VIEWS ON EDUCATION

In his excellent convocation address he deprecated the commercial conception of education and pleaded for a loftier conception of the scope and function of education in life. He said : "No system of national culture in which education is not regarded as a social and humane training that serves to elevate the individual and improve the nation can ever take root or prosper." He also emphasised the importance of attention to physical culture in India. In this matter he gave healthy advice which is as valuable to-day as it was twenty-five years and more ago. He said :

"It is an encouraging sign of the times that athletics and field sports are beginning to be recognized in our country as an essential part of education. Do not suppose, however, that they are new to India. In some form or other, even as religious observances, physical exercise has always been practised by orthodox Hindus, the fair sex included. And here, let me give you a few hints from experience. Regular physical exercise in some form or other is absolutely necessary for vigour of body and mind. Do not suppose that it can be had only by means of fashionable and costly games. The cheap indigenous sports need not be despised."

He removed another current and absurd misconception when he said in the same address that "this ideal of University education is by no means foreign to India. It was typified in the old system of pupils or *sishias* receiving, in the hermitage or home of their teacher or *guru*, lessons in high-class oriental philosophy and religion."

In regard to the modern University education he pointed out how the University of Madras is "purely an examining corporate institution." He said further: "At all the older University centres in India, a feeling has grown of late that the University should be not merely an examining and degree-conferring corporation, but should aim at the higher and nobler function of teaching." To promote the proper University spirit (to use a great phrase of President Wilson), he advocated the founding of a University library, adequately representing all departments of literature, science and art, and freely accessible to all its fellows and graduates. He pointed out in a fine passage why the Indian intellect is now comparatively barren in the realms of literature, philosophy and science, and when that sterility will cease:

"A talented Indian, who has had the advantage of an English liberal education, and entered a particular profession, receives in the very exercise of his profession the best training possible, and rises to high distinction. But the case is different in speculative and original branches of knowledge and thought. A long time must elapse before Indian students of western literature, philosophy and science can become so steeped in them as to distinguish themselves by original research. Ancient India did produce her renowned poets, philosophers, and theologians, and I am sure the past will repeat itself in the future. As our Universities rear up a band of enthusiastic and devoted scholars, to whom learning will be their lifelong vocation, modern India may compete with the civilised West in literature, philosophy and science as well."

Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar has expressed himself clearly and unhesitatingly in favour of the maintenance and extension of higher education in India. In words, as wise as they are weighty, he said:

"In certain quarters, a distrust has now and then been expressed as to the effect of higher education in this country and as to the policy of the State in maintaining and aiding it. It is recklessly asserted that it produces a band of discontented and disaffected agitators. If there were any truth in this assertion, there must certainly be something radically wrong

in western literature and science. To my thinking, nothing can be a greater blow upon their noble literature and science, or upon educated Indians, than such a baseless cry." "Among the manifold blessings that England has conferred upon India, nothing stands, or can stand, higher than the gift of western knowledge. She has been bestowing on the sons of India some of her most cherished institutions, and among them, the liberty of speech and the freedom of the press..... I have no hesitation in saying that western education is the strongest foundation on which the loyalty of the Indian subjects to the British Throne rests."

Again in the same address he said:

"It is to be sincerely hoped that there is no cause for the apprehension that Government, in its desire for the promotion and spread of primary education, will practically withdraw its support to higher education. The inevitable result of such a step will be a marked deterioration in its quality. Though we hope that the time will arrive, when the people of India will become sufficiently enlightened and advanced to undertake the task of national instruction by private resources and private organisation, subject only to a general control by the State, yet it must be confessed that such hope belongs to the distant future. In a country where the requirements of the Public Service and of the learned professions, no less than the cultivation of social virtues, demand it, higher education ought not to be left to suffer under a narrow spirit of financial economy. Any amount of money spent by the State in the advancement and extension of higher education will be amply repaid. It will further the cause of good government, and facilitate the introduction by government of all reforms calculated to develop the resources of the country and advance the people."

At the same time he was well aware of the urgent need of primary, secondary, and technical education. He said: "The promotion of primary and secondary education is as essential, as higher education is, to the welfare of the nation. All kinds of education, whether primary, secondary, higher, or technical, have an equal claim upon the State, and none cannot be neglected without prejudicially affecting the rest."

In regard to the methods of education he deprecated the system of inattentive and unattended lectures in the lower classes. He said: "But I am afraid that the majority of the so-called lectures are as monotonous and unimpressive as is the charging of a jury in most of our Indian Courts..... Thus the primary object of education is defeated. The dormant and undeveloped faculties of the youth are not evoked and trained." He pointed out further another glaring evil. "What is still more to be deplored is that

personal influence, as such, of the teachers over their pupils is growing less and less. Under a formal system of lecturing without catechising, and without, too, any mode of tutorial instruction such as obtains in Oxford and Cambridge, few are the opportunities that teachers have of coming in contact with the minds and hearts of their pupils."

Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar pointed out further that education is after all only the means to perfect self-culture which is a lifelong task and of which the fruition is the attainment of God. He said :

"Let me remind you, gentlemen, that higher education is not the highest, that the long course of instruction, which you have received, and which to-day receives the stamp and recognition of this University, is only preparatory to the great work of self-culture which lies before you. Even the highest University degree is but a basis on which the edifice of knowledge has to be built. The education which you have received will be of little avail to you and to the society to which you belong, unless you deepen and widen the perennial stream of knowledge. The culture of the mind is a lifelong task."

HIS VIEWS ON INDIAN LITERARY WORK

He deprecated the tendency to look to the style as if it were a thing quite independent of the matter. He said: "Remember that style cannot be cultivated independently of ideas, that, where these are confused and illogical, there can be no clearness in the language that clothes them.....The merit of good style does not consist in obscuring or concealing the writer's thought, or in making it intelligible to the learned few, but in conveying it to as wide a class of readers as possible." He deprecated also the large production of annotated text-books and compilations and manuals. He said: "Let me tell you, that all books, which pander to the indolence of students, even to the extent of avoiding their dictionary, and give them the false idea that there is a royal road to knowledge, are pernicious to the cause of sound education."

HIS VIEWS ON PROFESSIONS AND CAREERS

He pointed out in the clearest terms that diverse careers should be chosen as means of public service and private livelihood. He said :

"The question is often asked, what are the graduates to do if they do not enter the public service or one of the learned professions? The simple answer is that they must betake themselves to those callings

which they would have exercised if they had not received their University education and pursue the same with greater efficiency and success, than they would, without such education. If the University should draw men away from their numerous avocations in life and drive them all into the public service and the legal profession, it would indeed be a great evil to the country. There is ample scope for the employment of educated talent in agriculture and in the expanding industry, trade, and commerce of the country."

Another very important aspect emphasised by him is the need for realising that the larger share in the administration of the country coming into Indian hands implies heavier responsibilities. He said: "The temptations to err and to abuse power are great, nay, greater and more insidious than they ever were. It is, therefore, of the highest importance that you should cultivate betimes virtues that will befit you for your new trials, virtues not only of the amiable kind, highly useful as these must be, but the sterner ones of the strictest integrity and uprightness and force of will and decision of character needed for the most trying of situations." Another valuable quality needed was also prominently stated by him. It is "that a public servant holding a responsible office should not only be honest and upright in fact and truth, but that he should enjoy the public reputation of being what he is." His observations on this point are and will be a source of guidance always.

"From an administrative point of view, a good reputation is as essential to good character, for, every often no less evil results from one's bad reputation than from one's actual corruption. When one's reputation does not correspond to his real character, he has, in many cases, only to blame himself for it. It arises from a habit of exclusiveness which often goes with misplaced confidence in a privileged few or in some subordinates, or from unworthy associations. A little tact and judgment are all that is needed to correct an erroneous popular impression. Open and free intercourse with people easily removes the unfavourable opinions which they may have hastily formed. Accessibility to people and openness to conviction will always help a public officer over difficulties, and secure that popular esteem to which his real character entitles him."

Equally noteworthy is his view that a public official's private life should be pure and stainless. He said: "It is difficult to believe for a moment that a person whose personal character is degraded, and who, in his relations and dealings with his fellow beings, especially with those less fortunate than himself,

is mean and unscrupulous, can possibly be an honest-minded official or command that esteem and confidence of the people which are indispensable to his efficiency and usefulness as a public servant..... Those of India's public servants who are not fit to help in this noble task, whose private lives are not in consonance with the high official positions entrusted to them, positions which, in India more than in any other country, secure to them almost the highest social status, justly deserve the strongest condemnation."

Equally precious is his utterance that we must be on our guard against the bureaucratic system making machines of us all and leading us to substitute the spirit of domination for the spirit of service.

"The bureaucratic system in this country is not calculated to widen your sympathies or enlarge your views. An administrator of a Taluk, Division, or District is often apt to fancy that he is a king in miniature and as such 'can do no wrong' and that any person criticising his official acts in the press or elsewhere is guilty of disloyalty or disaffection to the British Throne. When you rise to any such position bear in mind that you are, as your designation significantly denotes, only a servant of the Public, and that it is your duty to consult always the interests of the people and promote their good and not domineer over them as their lord."

In regard to the profession of law of which he was such a distinguished ornament, and which in every civilised community is the bulwark of order and stability and the slow and sure and steady guide of progress and the gradual adaptation of human life to higher ends, he has given valuable advice which is as true and precious to-day as it was two or three decades ago, and which will be a noble guide to professional conduct and integrity and efficiency at all times. He pointed out that questions of law arise only in a small percentage of cases, and that the more important trait to be acquired is the habit of sifting evidence. He stated that there was not much improvement in handling questions of fact and said: "The much neglected art of examining witnesses should be cultivated; and for this purpose you must have not only an insight into human nature, but a thorough familiarity with the intricacies of your various, religious, communal and caste institutions,

and of land tenures and with the peculiar habits and usages of the different sections of the people." He condemned in strong terms the tendency to bully witnesses in cross-examination.

"It is these and the like causes that operate on the minds of respectable persons, to try, if possible, to avoid being cited as witnesses, and, if cited, to evade giving evidence. Until there is a decided change for the better in the treatment of witnesses, and the art of examination and cross-examination is better attended to and cultivated, there will be no improvement in the quality of the oral evidence secured in courts, especially in criminal cases. Whether you become a judge or an advocate, you should do the utmost that may lie in your power to effect such improvement."

In equally strong terms he condemned the often-manifested judicial tendency to reject the entire oral evidence in cases:

"He (the judge) then decides the case, basing his judgment on a speculation of probabilities. This is certainly a most dangerous doctrine and strikes at the very root of the administration of justice; for, in most cases, you have no other means of arriving at the truth. It is because much ability, skill and experience are required in scrutinising evidence, that trained judges and learned professional men are, at a great cost, employed in the administration of justice and not simply because questions of law may have occasionally to be decided, which, if they go wrong in the court of first instance, may more easily be corrected than questions of fact in the Court of Appeal."

In regard to the conduct of cases he showed that a lawyer is solely responsible for the conduct of the case and should not merely be the litigant's mouthpiece. He said:

"The anxiety of the client is centred solely in the result of the case, but yours ought to be in the conduct thereof. The Indian client is, generally, a very reasonable being. If he wins the case, he will invariably feel grateful to you, but, if he loses, he will ascribe it to his ill-luck, and not blame you, unless he thinks it was due to your neglect or mismanagement. Be a zealous and earnest advocate, but allow not your advocacy to be hampered by your anxiety about the result. I say this no less in the interests of your client than in your own. A suitor has a great advantage in securing the zealous and earnest advocacy of one who is perfectly unconcerned about the result."

He pointed out also that vain hopes should not be held out to clients and that they should not be frightened by needless discouragements. He said: "The client is entitled to the benefit of the judge's judgment, and you should not take the responsibility of substituting yours for his." He insisted on the need of full and careful preparation of cases

and his remarks on this matter are worth our full attention as life changes but slowly in India and the *vis inertia* is a very powerful factor in professional life as in general life.

"You must go to court prepared with your cases, and not, as is often the case in the Mofussil, conduct the case as best you can, from the instructions which you may be able to get from your client or his agent, in open court, during the trial. Without previous preparation you can have no plan, and the judge cannot follow you. The consequence is that, very often, the trial of a case, including the argument, extending over several days, is gone through as a mechanical process. Judgment is reserved, not because the judge has an intelligent doubt or a question of law or fact involved in the case, but because he has to understand the case as best he can, and analyse and weigh the evidence after calmly going through the whole record. This deprives the suitors of the inestimable advantages of a judicial trial, and is but an apology for the English system."

HIS VIEWS ON THE GENERAL REGULATION OF INDIVIDUAL LIFE

He gave sound and wholesome advice the neglect of which has brought, and is bringing, many valuable lives to ruin. The inattention to health which is the cause of early mortality among our public men could not be too severely condemned. He said: "While avoiding the native quack, guard yourselves against the seductive advertisements of patent medicines that are now deluging the country. Do not despise any rule of life or observance conducive to health and cheerfulness of mind, simply because it happens to be associated with, and based upon, rules of caste or religion, any more than you would give up inheritance because of its religious basis in the Hindu Law."

His admonitions about the need of hobbies and second interests in life are equally valuable. He said:

"In addition to general literature, it is well that you pursue, if only for pleasure and recreation, a special study of some one science or art. Such a course will not only give you an interest beyond the narrow sphere of your vocation and serve to relieve the ennui of life, likely to be engendered by exclusion, but may enable you to contribute your mite to the stock of human knowledge; and also to spend the evening of your life, when you have retired from active service, in enjoyment to yourself and with profit to your countrymen. Many an important scientific discovery has been made by non-experts. To those who complain of want of time, I have only to say that the busiest always find time for more; and that small intervals snatched from even the

heaviest pressure of professional business will, in the long run, give ample time for considerable accumulations of knowledge."

We must however guard against aimless reading. The cataract of printed stuff is increasing in volume and intensity. A reader should not be as Lowell describes:

"A reading machine ever wound up and going
He mastered whatever was not worth the knowing."

Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar said: "Because a man's thoughts appear in print, they cannot be more worthy than the man himself. Because a book has been newly published with an attractive title, and reviewed favourably, in not a few cases by the author himself, in some irresponsible journal, you should not be tempted to buy and read it." Further, reading should not only be select and informing but must lead to independent and original thought and must be applied to life. He said: "Remember that after all reading is at best a passive self-culture. Your delight must be to think."

He advised every one to cultivate also the habit of speech by which in private conversations and public addresses a higher life could be stimulated in the country. Many a learned man buries and entombs his learning in himself because he has not learnt to exercise "the precious gift of the tongue." How true, alas, is what he says—how true, or rather how much truer, to-day,—when education is even more on stilts than before and the life of educated men is *in nubibus*. He said:

"In the present system of education there is little scope for the exercise of your conversational powers, and the exclusive life of the students of our public schools and colleges gives them few opportunities of cultivating the power of intelligent conversation in their mother tongue with their relatives, friends and countrymen. And if we look at the matter aright, how incalculable is the loss caused by this neglect of conversational powers. Whether in the domestic or the social circle, or in the wider sphere of citizenship, how are your higher intelligence and culture to be useful, to be productive of any good at all, unless you can effectively wield your mother tongue in oral communication with those for, and amidst whom, you work. Remember also that the great masses of our population can be reached only by the ear, and if you cannot succeed in making yourself heard by them, you can produce no impression on them; and to most of you the opportunities of disseminating knowledge, by means of conversation, are infinitely greater than by

writings or lectures. Remember also that all eloquence, strictly speaking, is oral, and if you wish to be the representatives and leaders of the people, you must work through and by the language which will go home to their hearts."

Last but not least, he warned us not to neglect the "much neglected virtue, intellectual Honesty and Candour." He said: "never pretend to know, or delude yourself into the belief that you know, what you do not know. . . . People have recourse to a thousand devices to conceal their ignorance, and thereby often neglect opportunities for dispelling the same. . . . It will result in ignorance of your own ignorance."

HIS VIEWS ON SOCIAL REFORM.

He held settled and mature views on Social Reform and advocated moderation and measure. He said:

"No society has ever improved by a revolution. Revolution may bring about a social dissolution, but cannot construct. In our zeal for reform, and in the vehemence of our individual convictions, we are apt to overstep the bounds of wisdom and prudence, and destroy when we mean to reform. Let us not therefore, forget the importance of the society of which we are but units. . . . If the reform you aim at is to be real and lasting, you must take the community with you; and how can this be done unless you first study their opinions, prejudices, their strength and weakness so as gradually to win them over to what you hold and believe to be right? . . . It is, of course, open to those who wish to secede from the Hindu community to do so, and not actively concern themselves with its social advancement or to claim its privileges."

He advised all lovers of social improvement to endeavour to create a healthy public opinion and warned them to remember that "the ruling convictions of mankind are often swayed by feeling, imagination, usage and tradition more than by logic and reason." Then in a passage full of 'quintessential wisdom' he said:

"In all questions of social reform, as in politics, we have to look to the practicability, in the near future, of the change proposed, and, not unfrequently, have we to choose between two evils. Do not despise small reforms for which Society may be prepared, simply because they do not satisfy your ambition. On the other hand, reforms which are small in themselves, but are regarded as revolutionary by the people, are not worth your attempt. . . . We ought to be able to effect it (reform) without seeking the interference of the Legislature in concerns, which in all civilised countries are not generally attempted to be regulated by Positive Law. Do not neglect an existing institution which may be utilised to the greatest public good. Let your endeavour always be to arrest its decay and extinction and to improve upon and refine it."

HIS VIEWS ON POLITICS.

He said of political education and political life in general; "In civilised countries one of the chief objects of the State is to give a political training to its subjects. . . . It is but right that he (the educated native) should have political aspirations and take an active and intelligent interest in all movements of a political nature." He warned us however against "the error of supposing that politics needs no study, and that every man is a born politician." He showed how the educated Indian is the real representative of the millions of India.

"There are some who are fond of saying that the legitimate sphere of action for the educated native is the field of social reform and not of politics; and that we should not be taken as representing the views and sentiments of the dumb millions. In the very nature of things, the so-called dumb millions can be represented only by the educated natives, and it is incumbent upon the latter to enlighten the masses and educate their feelings and sentiments."

"We may well remember in this connection his warning about our usual error in using "educated" as implying education in the English tongue. He said: "And here we have to correct ourselves of a fatal error that has crept into fashionable use by the conventional sense in which we use the word 'educated' to designate only those who have received English education, as if all our countrymen, ignorant of English, including the best cultured in oriental literature and philosophy, are to be classed as uneducated." In regard to the political future of India, he emphasised that popular institutions are now on their trial in India and that we must be as fully alive to the responsibilities as to the privileges of the higher political life. He said well:

"Popular election can work successfully only when every individual vote, though in itself a drop in an ocean, is realised to be of sufficient importance to be given, and to be given too, under a sense of public duty, and not from considerations of race, caste, kinship, or friendship."

CONCLUSION.

Such was the great career of Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar and such were his sound and wholesome views on matters vitally affecting the public welfare.

ON LABOUR UNREST

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BY

MR. J. D. MATHIAS, M.A., L.T.

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THE world to-day is faced with many perplexing problems, political, social and economic, but the greatest of them all is, undoubtedly, the labour problem. Since the war labour troubles have been plentiful in every country; scarcely a day passes but brings us news of strikes, either actual or impending. In England the coal miners' strike is seriously threatened and in France the big railway strike appears to be the beginning of the Soviet movement. There the strikers press for increased wages, nationalisation and abolition of disciplinary punishments, whereas in Russia, where nationalisation of industries had been introduced in part, we are told that a Commission has now been appointed for the purpose of increasing the output and enforcing labour discipline. In India, too, the general strike frenzy has been very much in evidence during the last four years, when strikes were of frequent occurrence in almost every department of labour and, unfortunately, judging from the recent strikes in the Mills, the railway workshops and the Tata Works, there seems to be again a recrudescence of strike fever. India has a bright industrial future before her when a large number of workmen will be required for the new factories. Therefore it is a great pity that labour at this juncture should come to believe more and more in strikes and less in itself. Labour has challenged the organization of the economic world and has declared war against the whole capitalist system but, in doing so, it has struck an uncompromising attitude and pursued revolutionary methods, which have had the effect of alienating the sympathy of the public and of the Government as well as the goodwill of the employers. Responsible and right thinking men have begun to enter an emphatic protest against direct action by the workmen, because they are convinced that the welfare of the people as a whole is the highest law and that a hateful, brutal alternative strike should only be resorted to when all appeal to reason has failed. This is what should be.

A strike or a lock-out, as we know it, is the deliberate stoppage of work in a particular trade or at a particular factory, because the workmen and those who employ them cannot agree chiefly,

as regards wages and hours of labour. The expression "labour" is used now-a-days to denote the whole class of employees as distinguished from and as opposed to the whole class of employers. It cannot be denied that strikes have greatly helped in the past to raise wages and to obtain for the workmen favourable terms of employment. But strikes are appeals to force and therefore they possess all the disadvantages of war. I need only refer the readers to the enormous waste of production caused by the recent Bombay mill hands' strike, a waste which is now estimated at several lakhs of rupees and this at a time of great scarcity and distress. As a result of the recent strikes, which have shown a strong tendency to become a chronic disease of our economic organism, ways and means are being devised and discussed with a view to make strikes, if not impossible, at least difficult in the future. Just as the horrors of the late war have brought to a head the necessity for the establishment of an International Court of Arbitration to settle political disputes between nations, even so in the industrial world, the great labour unrest that has followed in the wake of the great war has emphasised the necessity for the formation of Industrial Courts, Courts of Enquiry, Boards of Arbitration and Boards of conciliation in order to settle future conflicts between labour and capital, without resorting to strikes.

The great social upheaval and the industrial unrest that have wellnigh convulsed the whole economic fabric of the world may be regarded as a necessary evil of the great war that has just closed. War weariness, enhanced cost of living, conditions of employment and the housing difficulty may be said to be at the bottom of all labour troubles. Before the war, although labour felt that it was being exploited by capital, it found neither means nor opportunities to claim its just rights and protect itself against the tyranny of capital. During the war, however, labour became conscious of its power on the battle field, which fact accounts for its present uncompromising attitude in its conflict with capital. But the present day doctrine of a "living wage," is economically unsound, for no industry can be carried on for any length of time at an ever increasing cost of labour. In my opinion, the

great problem of our country's industrial reconstruction is *maximum production at minimum cost*. It is therefore the duty of labour leaders to lay great stress on the fact that things worth having must be strenuously worked for. I am inclined to the opinion that, if labour should persist in its present unreasonable attitude towards capital, it would in the long run defeat its own ends. I say so, not in spite of, but because of the fact that I am as anxious as anybody else to promote the welfare of the working classes. The Great War was fought to make the world a safer and better place for mankind to live in. But this consummation is impossible unless labour problems that have sprung up since the war are speedily solved so as to secure industrial peace based on the soundest of economic principles, i.e., maximum of production at minimum of cost.

That union is strength was never better realized than now when labour all over India is actively organizing itself by forming associations and unions for the purpose of defending its interests and it is no exaggeration to say that there is scarcely any department of labour to-day which is not so organized: workmen as long as they do no violence to others have a perfect right to try to improve their own position by means of such combinations. But the danger is that the average workman, being ill-educated and imbued with a deep dislike for class privileges, may indulge in great violence of language and threaten oppression and tyranny against those richer than himself. The fact that so many new associations are rapidly being formed, when labour trouble is still brewing and strikes are in progress, would necessarily create the impression on the popular mind that the principal if not the only object of all such associations is to organize and ensure the success of strikes. But this ought not to be so.

The two chief functions of Labour Unions are the fraternal and the militant. As fraternal organisations their object must be to provide mutual assurance for the members, by means of assistance in money, in case of sickness, accident, death or loss of work. But this aspect of their function is not very much in evidence amongst the numerous associations recently formed. As militant organisations, the object of the Unions must be to secure to their members the best return for their labour, that is, to obtain for them as high wages and as short hours as possible. At present this seems to be the only object of labour unions which seek to gain their ends by means of strikes and the only object also of the so-called labour leaders

who are intent upon gaining cheap notoriety. Strikes can no more be condemned in the abstract than any other effort of men to get the best price they can for their labour. Strikes are either wise or foolish according to circumstances and I would therefore draw the attention of the labour leaders to the following observations, because it appears to me that strikes are becoming too frequent to be effective. Every workman has a right to refuse to sell his labour if the terms of employment are unfavourable to him. What is unwise therefore is not a strike but a strike entered upon without due consideration. The true aim of labour leaders in this respect must be to obtain for their members wages, justified by the general state of the market, and not as it seems to be the fashion at present, determined by the dearth of foodstuffs and poverty of the working classes. As a result of the war some departments of labour are hit harder than others and therefore it would be unreasonable to expect the same rate of wages in all departments. Strikes must be used not as the first but as the last argument when all other methods and means of arbitration in the matter have failed. It is my opinion that just as "passive resistance" is defensible in extreme cases of mis-government, even so "strikes" must be justifiable only in extreme cases of the so called "sweating system" of the present day. It would be futile to expect industrial peace as long as capital and labour show want of trust in each other.

Labour unions like all other human institutions have elements of evil in them as well as elements of good. The great danger of such unions is that they may be tempted to use violent means for getting what they desire and may be forced to do the will of a dominating and reactionary few. The use of trade unions for objects other than those connected with the bettering of the conditions of labour must always be a grave injury to the labourer. That unsuspecting and ignorant labour in India has, in the past, been exploited to some extent by political propagandists to serve their political ends is unfortunately too true.

In the matter of ordering strikes a grave responsibility rests on the union leaders, for if they act unwisely in any particular they may not only do great injuries to the members but to the country as a whole. It is no doubt the duty of the leaders to get as good pay and as short hours as possible for their fellow workmen, but in doing so they must be careful not to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. It is highly desirable to get higher wages, but it is no good to get wages

higher than the employer can pay and which if insisted upon will ruin his work. Therefore those who order strikes must carefully consider whether the employer or manufacturer can afford to give more in wages. This condition will depend upon a variety of circumstances. If the wages' bill is raised, the loss to the manufacturer must be made up in one of the following ways. Either the profits must be reduced and less paid to capital required in the business or else, the price charged for the things manufactured must be increased or else by the use of improved machinery and more careful superintendence, the same number of men must be made to produce more. Unless the loss is made good in one or more of the above ways the employer will have to close his factory. I now propose briefly to consider the above conditions.

Capital is often called the chief instrument of production and it has a market value like all other instruments of production. More capital in any department of labour means more work for the labourer. Therefore, it is the interest of the labourers to attract as much capital as possible in their business. In this sense, capital and labour are partners and therefore the work of production should be carried on, not by a conflict between them, but by their mutual co-operation. Just as the symmetry of the human body results from the disposition of its members so, in a State, capital and labour should by their very nature exist in harmonious agreement and maintain the equilibrium of the body politic. Each requires the other. Capital cannot be without labour nor labour without capital and I am inclined to the opinion that labour is more impotent without capital. If therefore capital tries to beat down the price of labour too low, labour will not work and if labour is unreasonable in trying to beat down the price of capital too low, capital will not be forthcoming and the partnership cannot be formed. Labour sometimes argues that capital once embarked in a particular trade cannot easily run away and therefore may be squeezed to any extent. This is not true, because an industry once started can neither flourish nor be maintained in efficiency unless there is a constant flow of new capital into it for purposes of improved machinery etc. But it is evident that no new capital will come into the business, unless it is properly paid. A flourishing trade means brisk employment for the working men and, under a system of free competition bringing into play the economic law of supply and demand, would also

mean higher wages for the workmen. Profits and dividends in any particular business cannot long remain far above the normal rate, for they will soon be brought down under the force of free competition. High profits will also increase the total quantity of capital seeking investment and thus raise the price of labour. Besides that, income tax and supertax on profits would add considerably to the revenue of the State, the benefits of which will be shared by the labouring classes as well.

It is sometimes argued that wages are higher after a strike than before it, and therefore strikes are the only means of pushing up the price of labour. This however is not absolutely true. If a strike does take place after proper representations from the workmen for an increase of wages—and let me add here that, more often than not, this is not done in India—it is a sign that the employers honestly believe—but it is just possible that they may be mistaken in their calculations,—that they cannot find the money out of which to pay the extra wages' bill. And, if they do grant an increase after the strike, it is because they hope to make up the loss by raising the price of goods and by other methods above referred to. But if they have misjudged the ability of the market to bear an increase of price, they may soon be compelled either to contract their business and thereby contract labour or else to close it down altogether. Neither of these alternatives would suit the workmen. I am therefore of opinion that if India should be self-supporting in the matter of new capital required for the industries, labour should refrain from violent methods and be reasonable in its demands. I think that employers of labour have long ago understood that they would injure themselves if they try to drive too hard a bargain with their employees, for then the best men would leave the trade and no new ones who are good workmen would flow into it. Therefore, whether a strike in any department of labour is wise or unwise will greatly depend upon the answer to the question whether capital in that particular trade is paid more than capital elsewhere. If the answer is "yes," on this ground at least it may be safe to strike, but if the answer is "no," then surely it would be very foolish to do so, for it would drive away the capital necessary to increase the price of labour.

If labour leaders find that an increase of wages cannot be got out of the money paid to capital, they must next consider whether it can be paid by an increase in the price of the manufactured

article. We are all well aware that a marked rise in price at once causes a decreased demand even in apparent necessities. Besides that, the manufacturers have to take into consideration possibilities of foreign competition which may kill their trade. And this means injury to the manufacturer no doubt but also less work for the workmen. An increase of wages can also be obtained by increasing the efficiency of labour, i. e., by providing better conditions of life for the labourer and by improved machinery. To pay the workman better, that is to say, to give him more food, more rest and, a better and healthier house is as much to the interest of the employer as of the employed. Of course, there is a limit to this. Care however must be taken that the uneducated workman does not spend his extra wages in liquor shops, but in maintaining his family and himself in efficiency and comfort. Therefore, what the labour leaders ought to consider carefully before ordering strikes is whether capital may not be made to take a little less pay, prices may not be raised a little and the efficiency of the machinery and of labour may not be increased. All this is a matter of investigation and experiment and therefore "lightning strikes" which have become too frequent now-a-days appear to me to be quite indefensible.

As regards short hours of work, it is really very difficult to say what is the minimum number of hours a workman must be made to work without in any way diminishing the total output and increasing the cost of production. Hours of work must differ very much in different trades. A man

has only so much work in him each day and this can be done in six hours as efficiently as in twelve. Therefore, this is also a matter for experiment and as such it cannot be decided in a hurry.

It is a matter for much satisfaction to know that efforts are now being made to settle disputes between employers and workmen by means of Boards of conciliation first and Boards of Arbitration next. If the Board of Conciliation composed of equal numbers of representatives of employers and workmen fails to effect a settlement of any dispute arising between them, then the same will be referred to the Board of arbitration presided over by an impartial outsider. I would suggest the formation of Boards of Conciliation for all departments of labour employing more than twenty workmen. Attempts are also being made to improve the economic condition of the working classes by means of co-operative societies and by various methods of profit sharing. Payment of labour by results, wherever possible, would also go a great way to secure maximum of production at minimum of cost. Some persons are of opinion that nationalisation of industries would provide a panacea for all the economic ills of the present day. I do not think so and this opinion is daily gaining ground all over the world. It has not yet been shown that people would work harder for the State than for private interests. On the contrary, there is little doubt that production will materially decrease under a system of nationalisation. Therefore the only remedy for the present labour unrest seems to be more production and less consumption.

Reservation of Seats for Non-Brahmins.

THE following is the award of the Right Honourable Lord Meston in the matter of the reservation of seats for non-Brahmins:—With reference to paragraph 12 of this award the Government of Madras have, as a result of the discussion with the Non-Official Members of the Legislative Council, proposed the following modifications in the distribution of the general seats that was placed before the Arbitrator.

1. They have reduced the number of seats for Madras City general from five to four.

2. They have made separate urban constituencies of Cocanada and Vizagapatam; and have merged the separate urban constituency formerly proposed for Calicut in the general rural constituency of Malabar.

3. They have reduced the rural seats in Vizagapatam from three to two and increased the rural seats in Ganjam from two to three.

The effect of these changes has been shown in the last column but one of the Statement attached to the award. The Government do not think that they involve any alteration in the distribution of reserved seats proposed by the Arbitrator (as shown in the last column of the statement.)

THE ARBITRATOR'S AWARD.

To H. E. the Governor of Madras:—

I have the honour to submit for your consideration the following report on the question of reserving seats for non-Brahmins in the future Legislative Council of Madras, as it will be constituted under the new Government of India Act.

The Joint Select Committee of Parliament which dealt with that measure reported as follows:—

"In the Madras Presidency the Committee considered that the non-Brahmins must be provided with separate representation by means of the reservation of seats. The Brahmins and non-Brahmins should be invited to settle the matter by negotiation among themselves; and it would only be, if agreement cannot be reached in that way, that the decision should be referred to an arbitrator, appointed for the purpose by the Government of India.

Your Excellency invited the Brahmins and non-Brahmins to act upon this recommendation but they failed to reach agreement. At your instance the Government of India then appointed me to arbitrate.

2 On the 1st March, 1920 at 3 P. M. I met the following gentlemen at Madras:—

Brahmins—The Hon'ble Mr. T. R. Ramachandra Iyer, Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Mr. P. Narayanamurthi Pantulu, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, Mr. K. Rama Iyengar and the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Iyer.

Non Brahmins—Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, Mr. V. Chakkarai Chetty, Mr. Idd Govind Doss, Mr. L. K. Tulsiram, the Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetty and Mr. A. Ramaswamy Moodelliar.

The first six described themselves as representatives, but not with plenipotentiary powers of the Brahmin community in Madras. The other six described themselves as representatives of, and plenipotentiaries for the non-Brahmin community.

3 The proceedings of the meeting were reported with substantial accuracy in the local Press. I began by making an appeal to the 12 gentlemen present for an amicable settlement among themselves, but, after a short interval of private discussion, they assured me that they could not compose their differences. They then stated their respective cases.

4. The non Brahmins opened the discussion. Mr. Kesava Pillai on behalf of the Madras Presidency Association read the statement which I append and have marked "A". He was supported by Mr. Theagaraya Chetty and with reservation by Mr. Govinda Doss. Mr. Theagaraya Chetty and Mr. Moodelliar on behalf of the South Indian Liberal Federation expressed a preference for communal electorates, failing which they were ready to endorse the claim of the Madras Presidency Association. Mr. Tulsiram urged the claims for separate representation of certain

named castes but explained that this was only his personal view. Mr. Govind Doss handed in a new scheme which I attach and have marked "B". He also read the explanatory memorandum accompanying it.

5. After these six gentlemen had spoken, I asked if I might take it that the non-Brahmin community, though some of them would prefer communal representation, are unanimous in asking that 42 seats be reserved for them if 66 seats are allotted to the general Hindu electorate. They accepted this as a correct summary of the wish of their community.

6. The Brahmin representatives then put their case. Mr. T. R. Ramachandra Iyer read the statement which I append and have marked "C." Each of the six gentlemen spoke in support of it. They described the Brahmin community as unanimous in the demand that, if 65 seats are to be filled by the votes of the general Hindu electorate, not more than 25 or 26 of these should be reserved for non-Brahmins. The Conference closed at 7 P. M.

7. I have given my best consideration to the case as thus presented and I have studied the earlier literature forwarded by the Government of India. I had previously had the advantage of hearing most of the evidence which was given on the subject before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament last year. By "non-Brahmins" I understand that the Committee meant those non-Brahmin Hindus for whom communal representation is not provided. By "separate representation" I do not understand that the Committee meant communal representation. Nor do I understand that they contemplated the reservation of seats in any definite proportion to either the size or the voting power of the two communities. On these assumptions the following are my conclusions.

8. The issue has become a comparatively narrow one. The contention of the non-Brahmins before me was that an arbitrary limit should be placed upon the number of Brahmins who may be elected by the territorial Hindu constituencies; they would allow roughly only one Brahmin in each territorial unit. On the other hand the Brahmins urged that they should be free to compete for any seats after a certain number, roughly one in each territorial unit, had been reserved for a non-Brahmin candidate. The latter view seems to me to accord more nearly with the general equities of the case, than the former.

9. The claim of the non Brahmins for special protection is based, as I understand it, on the

apprehension that they would otherwise be left in a minority at the polls despite their superior voting power, by reason of the social influence and electioneering tactics of the Brahmins. To avert such a contingency it does not appear to me necessary to guarantee the non-Brahmins a large majority of seats, or indeed any majority. It seems sufficient to ensure them such a start in the race as will prevent their being out-distanced if they exercise ordinary energy and intelligence. In this connection it is impossible to overlook the very great preponderance of the non-Brahmins in the electoral rolls, which they themselves put, on moderate computation, as 8 to 1.

10. That the non-Brahmins are already competent without special protection to secure reasonable success would appear from statistics which I obtained informally from the Madras Secretariat. The figures in question are the number of Brahmin and non-Brahmin members of Municipal Councils for which there are direct elections and of District Boards for which there are electoral colleges based on direct election. They show that in these bodies non Brahmins have secured a very considerable proportion of seats. The inference, both from these figures and from general considerations, seems to be that the necessities of the case do not go further than the provision of a reasonable minimum number of non-Brahmin seats to be supplemented by the growing political capacity of the community.

11. I do not, therefore, advise the reservation of an absolute majority of seats in the territorial Hindu electorates for non-Brahmins. Such a course would place the non-Brahmins in a position of security which might tend to impair their cohesion and encourage sectional differences. On the other hand, something less than a clear majority would ensure an effective voice for the interest of their community in the Council, while it would leave them with a healthy stimulus to strive in the competition of the polls for a representation more closely related to their numerical superiority.

12. My award accordingly is as follows:—For the non-Brahmins there should be reserved two seats in the city of Madras; the single seat allotted to the towns of Tinnevely and Palamcottah; the single seat allotted to the Nilgiris and one seat in each of the plural constituencies for the districts of Anantapur, North Arcot, South Arcot, Bellary, Chingleput, Chittoor, Coimbatore, Cuddapah, Ganjam, Godavari, Guntur South Kanara, Kistna (First Division), Kistna (Second Division),

Karnool, Madura, Malabar, Nellore, Ramnad, Salem, Tanjore, Tinnevely, Trichinopoly and Vizagapatam thus making 28 seats in all. This proceeds on the assumption that the accompanying list of constituencies for the general Hindu electorate and the allocation of seats indicated in the accompanying statement, which was furnished to me by the Madras Secretariat, will be finally accepted.

13. With this report I enclose a number of letters and telegrams received by me during the course of the arbitration. I also enclose two letters which reached me subsequently on the subject of reserving seats in the Indian Legislature and a copy of my replies thereto.

Cities and Districts.	No. of seats.	No. as since re-vised.	No. re-served to Non-Brahmins
URBAN.			
Madras	5	4	2
Madura	1	1	...
Calicut	1	...	...
Trichinopoly & Srirangam	1	1	...
Tinnevely and Palamcottah	1	1	...
Cocanada	...	1	...
Vizagapatam	...	1	...
RURAL.			
Anantapur	2	2	1
Arcot North	3	3	1
Arcot South	3	3	1
Bellary	2	2	1
Chingleput	2	2	1
Chittoor	2	2	1
Coimbatore	3	3	1
Cuddapah	2	2	1
Ganjam	2	3	1
Godavary	2	2	1
Guntur	3	3	1
Kanara South	2	2	1
Kistna I	2	2	1
Kistna II	2	2	1
Kurnool	2	2	1
Madura	3	3	1
Malabar	2	2	1
Nellore	2	2	1
Nilgiris, The	1	1	1
Ramnad	2	2	1
Salem	2	2	1
Tanjore	3	3	1
Tinnevely	2	2	1
Trichinopoly	2	2	1
Vizagapatam	3	2	1
Total	65	65	28

A Permanent Coalition Party

In the *Review of Reviews* (London), Mr. E. Elliot, M. P., makes out a strong case for a permanent Coalition Party, while Mr. W. M. R. Pringle argues *contra*.

Captain Elliot says that even in pre-war days the Coalition was emerging; the recent acceleration has simply made clear to every one the trend of the currents. In Austria, New Zealand and the continent of Europe, the Coalition or the Centre Party has come into power as a result of the war. He is of the view that there is no substantial difference of policy between the Liberals and the Unionists of Great Britain in most matters, excepting the thorny Irish question. It is the ten million mass of organised labour with which the Cabinet has to deal. Liberals and Unionists have to present a united front to the creed of Socialism, Marxian or Guild, as the case may be. The centre-party, the supporters of the step by step advance, the method of trial and error, having a deep distrust of formula must fight Labour with its far-reaching, revolutionary creed.

For till the differences between Capital and Labour have been thrashed out all over Europe the difference between Conservative and Liberal, even between Tory and Wee Free, will be no deeper than the shades of their neck-ties.

The writer then refers to the United States, where party activity is trying to wreck the League of Nations. He sums up the achievements of the present Coalition Party in Great Britain thus:—

(1) It has concluded peace. (2) It has demobilised the armies without any hitch. (3) It has staved off the Revolution. (4) It has toiled unceasingly at Reconstruction.

The writer deals with each of these four items at some length. With regard to Reconstruction he claims that the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Transport organised by the Coalition are outstanding features and he gives credit to it for the League of Nations, the Indian Reform Act, the Sankey Commission, the Pre-war Practices Act, the Housing Acts, the Electricity Schemes etc.

The following is the concluding portion of his argument for a permanent Coalition Party:—

The Coalition is not a local, but a world phenomenon.

If the Coalition did not exist we should require to create it.

Therefore it will emerge, a Permanent Coalition Party, to front organised Labour and with it thrash out the problems of our century—in short, to liquidate the Industrial Revolution.

Mr. Pringle, on the other hand, states that the brilliance of the Prime Minister's success in the general election of December 1918, has only momentarily obscured his fundamental failure. His arguments against the Coalition Party may be summarised thus:—

(1) Mr. Lloyd George's old Liberal colleagues, in fact, more than half of the Liberal Party, regard his electoral tactics with sullen resentment. (2) The bye-elections of the last twelve months have proved that more than half of the electors who take any interest in politics are opposed to the Government which claims to represent a united nation. (3) Even the Prime Minister's laurels as the man who won the war are beginning to fade. The people are beginning more and more to realise the part played by American intervention in the war. (4) Mr. Lloyd George's attempts at reconstruction have not proved much of a success. The Ministry of Health Act and the Ministry of Transport Act have not achieved anything worth the name. Conscription has not yet been fully abolished, because peace has not yet been fully concluded. The Housing Act is inadequate, of the 100,000 houses proposed to be built in the year following the Armistice, only 124 have materialised. Land has been actually bought, but the settlers are few. The delay in announcing the future policy in regard to the mines is very serious. The number of bills abandoned at the close of the session, is to some extent an indication of the Coalition's failure. (5) The Coalition's treatment of Ireland is a record of unretrieved disaster. The enactment of conscription for Ireland in April 1918, even though there was no intention of enforcing it, shattered the Constitutional Nationalist Party of Ireland and made Sinnfeiners dominate Irish politics. The report of the Irish Convention has not been legislated upon, as per promise. (6) Finance has been handled without courage, skill or forethought. Extravagance has been allowed to reign too long unchecked. The funding loan was a failure: week by week the floating debt is being increased. Inflation has been continued and extended with the result that instead of prices falling, as the Prime Minister predicted, they have risen to a height unprecedented at any period of the war. (7) The Coalition's policy in Russia has been a hopeless muddle. (8) The maintaining of the blockade even after the Armistice was concluded was unjust and opposed to International Law and is one of the causes for the present economic crisis in Central Europe. (9) The territorial adjustments made in consequence of the peace set at nought the principle of self-determination and are a fruitful seed-plot of future wars. (10) The reparation clauses of the Peace Treaty are so severe that Germany cannot carry them out.

Mr. Pringle concludes his arguments thus:—

The Coalition discloses no vision, courage or statesmanship. Instead of well-considered schemes of reconstruction they have given us hasty, ill-digested and ineffective legislation. Their Budget is a monument of financial ineptitude. Ireland they have driven into irreconcilable antagonism. They have wasted British treasure and British lives in prolonging and aggravating the woes of Russia. In Central Europe they have produced Chaos and called it Peace.

The Armenians: their past and future

W. E. D. Allen, writing in the *Quarterly Review* for January 1920 on the Armenian question, says that, wherever the Armenian is found, from Marseilles to Cairo, from Cairo to Tiflis and up the Volga to Kazan, he is universally disliked and that the Egyptian occasionally lynches him, the Turk systematically bullies him, the Khurd murders him, the Tartar robs him, the Georgian vituperates him and the Russian despises him. The Armenian occupies in the social system of the Eastern Mediterranean and Pontine lands the same unenviable position that the Jew has in Central and Eastern Europe. Foreign opinion about the Armenians has been formed by contact with the wealthy but denationalised merchants of Marseilles and Manchester. But the real Armenians are to be found near Mount Ararat and consist in the great majority of peasants and they retain much of the inherent characteristics of sturdiness and obstinacy which history attributes to their race. The Zeitun Armenian and the Erivan Armenian are the real types of the nation which has preserved its individuality through 3000 years of vicissitudes. From its geographical position, Armenia became from the earliest times the battle-ground of contending nations, the battle-field of the Romans, and Partho-Persians, then of Greeks and Arabs, while Alans, Khazars and Huns periodically swarmed from the north into the country. The decline of the Khalifate in the 9th century occasioned an Armenian revival and there arose the two feudal monarchies of the Bagratuni family at Ani and the Ardezeni at Van. In the 11th century the Seljuk Turks overran Armenia and Georgia and sacked Ani and the country became a hunting ground for Khurds, Turks and Mongols until the Ottoman Sultans established their authority there. But, throughout the long centuries of Turkish domination, the Armenians retained their individuality and independence, both in thought and religion. At the end of the 17th century, the Armenians began to look to the help of the aggressive Muscovite power and with the establishment of the Russians in Trans-Caucasia began the modern phase of the Armenian question.

For 80 years the Armenians under Russia were accorded some degree of autonomy in educational and ecclesiastical affairs and a peaceful administration. Certain provisions in the treaties of Berlin and Paris were inserted in favour of the Turkish Armenians; with Abdul Hamid and more particularly with the accession of the Young

Turks to power in 1908, the Turkification of Armenia proceeded apace accompanied by massacres and brutality. In the late war, Enver Pasha began a scheme of erecting an autonomous Armenian principality in return for support against Russia. But the Armenians steadily and persistently fought the Turks and most bravely in the terrible and critical winter of 1917-18, when the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was being negotiated. In Nov. 18, the Erivan Government requested the Allied Powers to give it official recognition and financial assistance. Suggestions have also been made that the United States of America should accept a mandate for Armenia. The question of the future of Armenia and Trans-caucasia is still unsolved and is complicated by the probability that the political status of Russia will remain indefinite for some years to come.

The Untouchables of India

The name Untouchable, as a name for the depressed classes, is a revival of the most ancient designation of these people and in reality refers to that part of the population which is not admitted to any recognised social status in the Hindu community and accordingly segregated from it without having gained admission to either Christianity or Islam. The untouchables, writes the Rev. H. V. W. Stanton, in the *Asiatic Review* for January, may be broadly divided into the Aboriginal and the Domiciled, the former living in more or less separate territories and following their over-primitive organisation and cults. An appreciable number of some of these tribes as in the case of the Bhils are domiciled among the general population. The domiciled untouchables are the body of subjugated Aborigines who have been fitted on to the Hindu community as an appendix, embracing occupations which are specially menial and toilsome or ceremonially degrading. The variety of religious belief and practice among this section is very great. Generally speaking, they represent the animist cults of their ancestors, in which ritual is more persistent than belief. In some cases, as among the Chuhars of the Punjab, the old beliefs and practices are much overlaid by the religion of the masters whom they happen to serve. The Chuhars adopt names and religious terms, Hindu, Sikh or Mussalman as the case may be.

Sir Herbert Risley classifies the untouchables by regions and divides them into Hindus and animists. Sir Athelstan Baines, in his *Ethnography of India*, classifies the domiciled untoucha-

bles by castes and occupations and totals them as amounting to about 35 millions. Taking the chief Aboriginal tribes, we may group them into (1) Western, (2) Central (3) Southern and (4) Eastern. Out of a total of nearly 20 million Aborigines, the main groups mentioned above count for over 13 millions (Bhils, Bhilals, Gonds, Santals, Kol, Munda, Oran, Mina, Khond, Kurumban, Kachari, Magh, Naga, Shan and Kharen). Of these the Bhils are a tribe that includes every stage of civilisation from the wild hunter of the hills to the orderly and hard-working peasant of the lowlands. Another difficulty lies in the variety of occupations which may be comprised under one caste or sub caste. Among the 30 millions of the domiciled untouchables the largest groups are (1) Chuhra and Megh of the Punjab (2) Bhangi and Bhur of U.P. (3) Hari, Dinak, Mochi and Nama Sudra of Bengal, (4) Dhed, Mahar, Maugh etc. of Bombay. (5) Madiga, Mala and Paraiyan of Madras. Less than 3 millions remain divided among the minor unclean castes. The mass-movement towards Christianity has been most in evidence among the three South Indian groups and among the Chuhras of the Punjab. Next would come the Bhangis of the United Provinces, the Mahars of Bombay and the Namasudras (erstwhile Chandals, of Bengal. A few among the Chamars have been converted. A very large portion of the domiciled untouchables remain as virgin soil for missionary and philanthropic effort.

Ancient Hindu Politics

In an article on the Hindu Theory of International Relations contributed to the *American Political Science Review*, Professor Benoy Kumar Sankar writes:—

The conception of "external" sovereignty was well established in the Hindu philosophy of the state. The Hindu thinkers not only analyzed sovereignty with regard to the constituent elements in a single state. They realized also that sovereignty is not complete unless it is external as well as internal, that is, unless the state can exercise its internal authority unobstructed by and independently of other states.

"Great misery," says Shookra, "comes of dependence on others. There is no greater happiness than that from self-rule." This is one of the maxims of the *Shookra-necti* bearing on the freedom of the *rashtra*, or the land and the people in a state. Kautilya also in his remarks on "foreign rule" expresses the same idea in a negative manner. Under it, we are told in his *Artha-shastra*, the country is not treated as one's own land, it is impoverished, its wealth is carried off, or it is treated "as a commercial article." The description is suggestive of John Stuart Mill's metaphor of the "cattle farm" applied to the "government of one people by another."

Defects in Education

In an article on education in the *Wednesday Review*, Mr. Francis H. Skrine, F.R.H.S., deals with four chief defects of the present system of education. His first complaint is that the emoluments of the teachers are so low that a rankling sense of injustice which is highly destructive of efficiency lurks in the mind of the teacher. Unskilled dockers earn £7 a week, while, under the scale of salaries proposed by Lord Burnham's Commission in England, headmasters will receive about £6 10s. and certificated assistants with two years' college training will draw only about £3. His second item of complaint is that there is inadequate provision for the comforts of teachers in schools. He cites the instance of a school where the teachers' common room is little better than a cupboard, without sufficient hooks for overcoats and their lavatory is alongside the children's closets out of doors. He says that every elementary school should have a comfortably-furnished common-room suitable to its staff.

The next item is the unwieldiness of the present day classes. He rightly remarks that each child has a claim to individual attention which cannot be satisfied in classes containing forty and upwards. It is difficult, if not impossible, to keep such a crowd within the bounds of discipline. Backward children, who require more sympathetic care than their brighter fellows, are perforce neglected. The classes should be reduced to a maximum strength of thirty.

Mr. Skrine then complains about the inadequate facilities for manual training in schools. In a school at Millbank, where the school-going population numbered 1,500 children, there was provision in manual instruction for only 40 boys. The equipment also was very poor. Facilities for acquiring the rudiments of the arts and crafts in schools ought to be provided on the same scale as those for mastering the contents of books.

The last and most important item of his complaint is the ill-equipment of the majority of the children for an honest career. The majority of the Poor Law Commissioners found out that seventy to eighty per cent. of the boys who leave school at fourteen drift into "Blindalley" callings. An enquiry into the economic condition of the workers at Sheffield confirms the above estimate. This is in itself a crushing indictment of the system of elementary education observing in England. The imperfect education tends to make the labourer clay in the hands of Bolshevik potters.

Education in Mysore and Bengal

Writing on the above subject in the *Modern Review* for March, Prof. Radhakamal Mukherjee lays great stress on the importance of vocational instruction in the earlier classes of Indian schools. He regrets that the Calcutta University Commission, though they recognised fully the defect in our present day education arising from the neglect of science and technology, did not recommend adequate measures for removing it. He then refers with approval to the recent memorandum on education published by the Mysore Government. He says:—

The essential features of the scheme of educational organisation are (1) a system of Kindergarten in the primary schools; (2) agricultural education in the rural middle schools with an alternative industrial course in urban middle schools, or, as a modification, training in agriculture and one industry in the rural middle schools and two industries in the city middle schools; (3) provision for a three years' course in industries or agriculture as optional within the curriculum combined with general education in the High Schools; (4) specialised technical schools for more advanced courses as well as continuation classes for adult workmen.

Turning to the recent memorandum circulated by the Government of Bengal, Prof. Mukherjee says that daily weather observations and nature observations in the nature diary will prove to be of great interest and delight to the pupils whose knowledge will be related to environmental facts and conditions. He then insists on the need of a garden and a small industrial workshop in every school. He urges that in the primary stage vocational instruction should not be direct and that only in the secondary stage direct vocational instruction ought to be more emphasized. In rural middle schools, agriculture should form a compulsory part of the curriculum, while in urban middle schools industrial training ought to be compulsory and diversified. Even in high schools a three years course in agriculture or industries should be provided as optional, for High Schools should train students not only for the University but also for the vocations in life.

"It will thus be the task of secondary schools to continue the practical course so that the student may earn his living without a long course of subsequent special training in polytechnic institutes and workshops. The introduction of music, marching drill and country games as well as hygiene, village sanitation, sick nursing and domestic economy are among other excellent features of the proposed curriculum in Bengal. These assuredly demand recognition in the curriculum for the primary and secondary schools in Mysore."

Women's Franchise in India

In the *United India* (London) Mrs. Herabai A. Tata traces the progress of the agitation for women's franchise in India and its results. She says that the awakening of India to her rights as a great nation has not been confined to the men of India. The women of India by no means lagged behind their men in their demand for political rights. When Mr. Montagu went to India to investigate and study the conditions there, a deputation of Indian women, in which all the provinces were represented, waited on the Viceroy and the Secretary of State and spoke on behalf of their Indian sisters. The chief promoters of this deputation were two ladies who had been ardent workers for the women's suffrage movement in England. However, when the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of Government came out, no mention of women was made in it.

The women of India nevertheless worked on. They wanted to move a resolution at the Calcutta Congress, Dec. 1917 in favour of women's suffrage, but the resolution could not be taken owing to want of time. But the women were at last successful for a resolution to the same effect was passed by the Special Congress of September 1918 and the regular Congress at Delhi in Dec. 1918.

Nor did the women remain quiet in Provincial and District Conferences. The Malabar District Conference 1918 passed a resolution in their favour and several provincial Congress Committees and the Andhra Provincial Conference followed suit.

A resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council to the effect that women should be eligible to sit as municipal councillors was carried by a majority but a resolution to the same effect was thrown out by the Corporation of Bombay in April, 1919. The principle, however, being granted in the Legislative Council, the women of Bombay feel assured that the right to vote and take active part in the affairs of their country would soon be theirs in actuality.

John Bull's Wail

"What a difference it would make if we had only a score of men in the House of Commons owning no allegiance save to Britain, caring less than nothing for the smiles or frowns of any party, clique or junta—calling none their master but their conscience and their King."

The Housing Problem

Henrietta O. Bartnet, C. B. E., writing in a recent issue of the *Cornhill Magazine*, points out that it is not habitations that are wanted but homes. She urges that Government should take the lead in supplying housing accommodation for the working classes. She puts the objectors to the State Scheme into the following five classes :

1. The attitude of one set of people may be summed up as follows :—

'Hurry up, get something temporary done, don't wait for all this planning and arranging. Run up huts or patch up condemned houses. This determination to get it all exactly according to the fancy of some architect fellows is hindering trade. House the "hands" somehow and let us get on.'

2. The attitude of another set of people may be summed up as follows :—

'All this class of things is too expensive. It perhaps might be desirable if the nation were very flourishing, but it is in imminent danger of bankruptcy, and every penny must be saved. We can't afford to house the people at the proposed cost ; it is ridiculous. The poor must learn to put up with inconveniences. They want it all their own way now-a-days. Why should the rich be taxed to pay rent for the poor ?'

3. The attitude of a third set of people may be summed up as follows :—

'That class of persons, believe me, does not want baths, three bedrooms, a parlour and a garden. They would not know what to do with them if they had them. They are not used to more than two rooms. Why should the Government give what is not asked for, and encourage them to make further demands ?'

4. The attitude of a fourth set of people may be summed up as follows :—

'England has recently shown the splendid qualities of her people. They were reared in the conditions which are now condemned. What was good enough for their fathers is good enough for their sons. Character is born by conquering difficulties. Don't let us make our people soft.'

5. The attitude of a fifth set of people may be summed up as follows :—

'History shows that every nation has a residuum. Let it live in slums. It likes them, is happy in them, and as they are unhealthy the consequence will be that the residuum will not increase in number. A survey of centuries will show the wisdom of retaining slum areas.'

Sully's Grand Designs

In the October number of *The Edinburgh Review*, Sir Jeffery Butler writes about the League of Nations idea which Sully, the Minister of Henry IV of France, projected and which has not received sufficient attention either at the hands of authors of most books dealing with Modern History. Sully was a voracious reader and voluminous writer. In his *Economics Royales*, the historian is introduced to the conception of the Grand Design, that system of world organisation which Sully attributes to his master, Henry IV. Sometimes the idea is treated merely as the subject of the king's day dreams, sometimes as a useful handle in the negotiations between the King and the Huguenots. The basis of the policy was conceived to consist in the reduction of the European balance of power to an equilibrium, and it was thought that this could be obtained by a re-grouping of European powers. These powers should form a general council consisting of 66 persons, chosen proportionately every third year from all. There was an obligation upon all to combine counsel and forces against the Turk if it were necessary, and secondly there was to be attempted the enforcement of religious tolerance with regard to Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists which was coming into force in France.

Sully's hopes of securing English co-operation died out with the death of Elizabeth, and though his idea was well received by James upon whose impressionable mind he worked with much success the fruit was not realised.

In the Grand Design there is nothing to surprise the historian of the period though modern popular opinion has either hailed it as a novelty, or put it down as an anachronism indicative of later forgery. But the 17th century France saw Bodin developing political philosophy and speculation concerning national and international government. Besides Bodin there were obscure writers like Postel, Hotman, etc. Sully's design was not merely the creation of a disappointed statesman ; it must have been working in his mind before his retirement. In the French hatred of the Empire, Sully saw that it was necessary to form a great League with France at its head in which France must adopt an attitude of selfless benevolence. The permanent fruit of Sully's idea was the creation in 1610 of the great anti-Habsburg League at Halle.

The Evangelisation of India

The Rev. H. A. Popley, writing in *The East and West* (for January, 1920), says that Christianity has in India its biggest and hardest task, and has to face in the country virile Mahomedanism, the aggressive propaganda of the Arya Samajists, the calm assurance of the Jains, the boldness of Indian nationalism, and the all-absorbing pantheism. He summarises some of the results and lessons of the tour undertaken by Dr. & Mrs. Eddy for the purpose of stimulating Christians to become evangelists, for conducting evangelistic meetings among prepared audiences of Hindus and for speaking to non Christian students. The following are the most important of the lessons.

The task of evangelisation needs time. In many places we found that neither missionaries, nor pastors nor church members had time for this. The missionaries were too busy with other things, the Indian Christians were too busy with earning their livelihood, and there was no time for anything but haphazard and spasmodic efforts. It is clear that it is impossible to effect any large advance until more people are prepared to give time to this task. We are not going to win India simply by giving to the work of evangelisation a little spare time now and then.

Another lesson which has impressed itself upon us is the need for steady and continuous effort. We must not expect to achieve much by spasmodic or occasional efforts, and we must never leave an effort of this kind without the possibility of a continuous follow-up. We must plan for a campaign which is spread over years and not simply a few months, which goes forward a little each time, and which puts before the Church a strategic objective at which it aims continuously. We have determined, and many evangelistic workers are with us in this determination, that this special effort shall continue, and that there shall be agencies available to help forward the steady progress of the work in all the places visited.

The value of personal influence to lead to decision and to provide for a continuance of the work was another lesson of the tour. Several of the brethren told us how they had begun personal work after the meetings. Dr. Eddy says, "I leave India with the conviction that you are entering upon a new era. North and South throughout the country I have seen signs of promise. I have never seen the Indian Church so roused and at work. I believe it will surpass China. In due season we shall reap if we faint not. We are on the right lines. This method will win India."

A New Fibre

In the *Japan Magazine* for January, we read that Japan has discovered a new fibre to mix with cotton which promises to cause a revolution in cheap fabrics. It is a kind of sea-grass known as *sugeme* which when properly treated and mixed with raw cotton makes thread strong and useful. The quantity available is believed to be unlimited and grows luxuriantly about rocks facing the open sea. The plant grows best from spring to autumn and can be best harvested in winter or in the autumn. The use of this weed in cotton spinning has only just begun and is not on a very extensive scale as yet. It was first tried in making rough horse blankets. Fishermen do not like this plant as fish do not come where it is to be found and bathers regard it with aversion as they get tangled up in it. The outer casing of the weed can be removed and when the fibre is washed and boiled it looks exactly like cotton fibre.

The preparation of this sea-weed for use in spinning is a work that calls for no special time or pains. The weed can be harvested when convenient, and it does not spoil by waiting and drying. The plant can be gathered in the autumn and the spare days of winter used by the fishermen to carry on its preparation for spinning. The material is not liable to be spoiled and the fibre can be left waiting indefinitely. With such facilities for procuring and preparing the fibre the supply is inexhaustible in Japan, and if it comes into general use the effect on cheap clothing will be very important. Cotton mixed with this fibre is far stronger than thread made from raw cotton alone. Fishing nets made from material mixed with this fibre have been in the seawater for three months or more without showing any sign of being affected by the water, which is more than pure cotton twine can do.

Nor is the appearance of the cloth made from this fibre at all objectionable, as it has a peculiar gloss that is rather pleasing, and it takes dye well, which cotton does not do. It is also lighter than cotton; while in the use of it there is not so much waste as there is in cotton. Japanese fishermen are taking up the business now, as it can be carried on as a side issue in connection with their ordinary occupation. The Oriental Textile Company is preparing to exploit this new fibre and is offering fishermen good prospects of special work by buying as much as they can produce. In the manufacture of summer clothes and pongee-coloured shirtings the fibre will have an abundant use. Paper made from this fibre is strong and excellent for drawing. Mixed with pulp it makes an excellent foreign style paper. Capitalists are becoming interested in the possibilities of the fibre and it is likely that in the near future it will prove quite an industry. Owing to rise in prices of raw cotton the subject becomes all the more interesting at present.

Al Farabi and His Philosophy

Al Farabi the greatest philosopher of Islam before Avicenna was born in Turkish Transoxiana towards the end of the 9th century. He studied logic at Bagdad and acquired a knowledge of mathematics, medicine and philosophy, chiefly the works of Aristotle. He lived for a long time at Aleppo leading a retired life in a Sufi garb and died about 950 A.D. He was busy in commenting on the works of Aristotle and was for this reason called the 'Second Aristotle.' He also wrote commentaries on several Greek books, like Plato's *Lysis*, Ptolemy's *Almagest* and the *De Anima* of Alexander of Aphrodisias. Farabi's most original work is his treatise on the Ideal City, in which under the influence of Plato's Republic he gives his conception of the organisation of a perfect city.

About Farabi's philosophy, Mutarzud-Wali-Ur-Rahman gives a clear account in the current number of the *Indian Philosophical Review*. Farabi like other Muslim philosophers believed that Greek philosophy was a unity and that Plato and Aristotle, its two great Imams, did not contradict each other. Farabi's style consists of a peculiar series of contentious expressions which always appear to be profound and scholarly, but are rather obscure. The function of his logic is not merely the analysis of scientific thinking, but also comprises some remarks on grammar and the discussion of the theory of knowledge in general. Logic can be divided according to its subject and its relation to actuality. The first part deals with the doctrine of ideas and definitions and the other discusses the doctrine of judgments, inferences and proofs. Ideas are not in themselves related to actuality and are neither true nor false. Among ideas are included the simplest psychological forms. According to him the doctrine of proof is logic in the strict sense of the word; by it, we acquire knowledge of the unknown from what is already known and well-established. He has no belief in the formal side of proof which should be more than a mere automatic process.

According to him, the Universal has no existence apart from the individual and the particular is not only found in things and in sense perception but also in thought, and universal exists not merely as an accident in individual things, but as a substance in mind as well. His proof for the existence of God is based on the doctrine that all change and development must have some cause and the First Being exists necessarily.

The Law of Progress

Uriel Buchanan writes on the above subject in the *Kalpaka*. He enunciates three principles governing life and progress. The first of these is character. It is the greatest attainment to success. It is the essence of man's being; it is the one imperishable substance gathered from the wreck of life's experiences.

The second principle is the law of motion or activity. Activity is the universal law of nature. There is no place for mental and physical drones anywhere in the broad empire of progressive life. Inactive people are useless to themselves, a burden to their friends and a hindrance to the progress of the race.

The third principle is the law of repose. This is the opposite of motion. Everything in existence is dual, having a positive and negative aspect. In nature we see this dual manifestation in the alternation of night and day, darkness and light, winter and summer, cold and heat. The highest power is found in repose—not the repose of idleness—but the positive repose of self-mastery, the repose that achieves without exertion. Motion is the activity and flowing forth of life through channels established by nature or habit. Repose is the restless spirit of life under control of the will. A practical application of the two principles of motion and repose may be summed up in the words, *haste not, rest not*. Have a fixed purpose, a high ideal, and take no false steps, make no feverish haste; but with controlled energy and untiring effort, having a thorough knowledge of details and the power of execution, move calmly and unfalteringly toward the accomplishment of some great purpose.

Hold ever in mind an image of the ideal you are seeking to make manifest. That image will become a central living magnet which will begin to draw to you the experiences that must be encountered and the conditions that must be overcome before the ideal can be obtained. Concentrate all the forces of your being on the undaunted duty of the moment; then the numberless wants will be forgotten, and the troubles and uncertainties of life will pass away. Be mindful of the smallest details of daily life. The pathway of to-day is illumined by the experience you have gained from the yesterday; and the light that dispels the mystery surrounding the present gives greater knowledge, which will shine with increased brightness tomorrow. Learn to rightfully use what is already yours. Be not oblivious to the glorious realities of the present, while contemplating the greater things you hope to attain in the future. Stop by step, you will rise to greater heights. The things that are true, the things that are good, and all that is helpful will gravitate to you only in proportion to the degree that you desire and invite them.

How Women Vote in the United States

In the *Political Science Quarterly*, William F. Ogburn and Gnez Goltra discuss the above question. They have made a minute study of an election held in Portland, Oregon, in 1914.

In the case of a constitutional amendment requiring voters to be citizens of the United States in all elections unless otherwise provided for in the Constitution, which was referred to the electors by the Legislative Assembly, women seem to have voted more generally for the measure than men. The writers say that it is interesting to observe that one of the first questions voted on by women after they had received the franchise was to restrict the use of it. The measure was adopted by a large majority and received a large vote.

With regard to a constitutional amendment for the purpose of creating the office of Lieutenant-Governor, to act as Governor in case of the inability of the Governor to perform his duties, and to act also as President of the Senate, fixing his salary at 10 dollars per day, but only while the legislature is in session, there was no difference of opinion between women and men.

We have then the constitutional amendment providing that when any county contains a city of over one hundred thousand inhabitants, the boundaries of such county and city may be made identical, the two Governments consolidated and the remaining territory of such county, if any, created into a new county or attached to an adjoining county or counties. Women were slightly more in favour of this measure than men.

The next item voted on was an amendment enabling the state to lend its credit or incur indebtedness in excess of fifty thousand dollars for certain specified public purposes. This measure had received very little discussion previous to the election and did not receive a large vote. Women were considerably more opposed to it than men.

Another interesting item was an amendment authorising the enactment of a general law to enable an incorporated town, city or Municipality, by a vote of the electors interested, to surrender its charter and be merged into an adjoining city or town. This measure met no organised opposition, received little discussion, called out a relatively small vote and was adopted.

It is curious to note that an act to limit the hours of labour and require certain conditions of rest for female workers seems to have been opposed more by women than by men.

London to Calcutta

Mr. Lindsay Bashford, writing in the *Edinburgh Review*, foreshadows a London to Calcutta journey by rail in a fortnight. "The Baghdad Railway," he says, "begins at Roni, in the heart of Asia Minor, where, by means of the Anatolian Railway, it connects with Constantinople. From Constantinople to Aleppo, the distance is some 850 miles. From Aleppo, the line proceeds to Jerablus on the Euphrates and thence by Nisibis to the important centre of Mosul on the Tigris; thence southwards to Baghdad and to Basra. The distance from Aleppo to Baghdad is about 650 miles. Carry the imagination further and we may reasonably picture, under the new political arrangements between Great Britain and Persia, the extension of the Baghdad Railway to Teheran, and thence to Quetta and India. That done—and the conception has its grandeur—travel overland, between London and Calcutta, should be a matter of less than a fortnight."

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH INDIA. By

Dr. Gilbert Slater. ["The Young Men of India," February 1920]

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ORIENTAL ART. By Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy D. Sc. ["The Hindustan Review," January 1920]

THE LABOURER IN INDIA. By Umrigar. ["The New Review," January 1920]

PARLIAMENT AND INDIAN TARIFFS. By Saint Nihal Singh. ["The Modern Review," March 1920]

THE SUNDARRANS OF BENGAL. By Leo Faulkner, F.R.G.S., J.P. ["Indian Business," December 1920]

A COMMENTARY ON THE BHAGVAD GITA. By Dr. S. Subramaniam. ["The Theosophist," March 1920]

AN ENGLISH HISTORY OF INDIA. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar. ["Political Science Quarterly," Dec 1919.]

FERISHTA, THE HISTORIAN. By C. S. Srinivasa Chari, M.A. ["Everyman's Review," March 1920.]

ENGLAND AND INDIA. By P. A. Mairat. ["Britain and India," February 1920.]

THE ARYA SAMAJ AND PUBLIC LIFE IN THE PUNJAB. By Kalinath Roy. ["The Vedic Magazine."]

CO-OPERATION AND THE MILK SUPPLY OF CALCUTTA. By Mr. J. T. Donovan, I.C.S. ["The Co operative Journal," January 1920.]

The Aga Khan's Views

His Highness the Aga Khan had a lengthy interview with the *Times of India's* representative on his arrival in Bombay. Speaking on the



H. H. THE AGA KHAN.

Indian Reforms Scheme he said:—What I would like most earnestly to urge upon my countrymen is that they must always remember that ultimately it is the man-in-the-street in England who rules and the man-in-the-street in England is neither a dreamer nor very well informed, nor given to abstract consideration. If we really wish the scheme to develop fully its possibilities and if rapid progress is to be the goal, I think the best, the surest and shortest cut to ultimate full self-government is to make it a point of national honour that the transferred department should be obviously so much better, more efficient and more advantageous for the mass of the population in India than it was before it was handed over to us under the new reforms. With such a determination we can go forward in two or three years and show the man-in-the-street in England that we are fit for a further instalment of power. Whatsoever may be the nominal conditions whereby we are hedged in the success of these transferred departments, the fact of their operation proving so very useful to the masses will at once give

us a position which no amount of agitation, no amount of abstract right and reasons and arguments would give.

His Highness spoke briefly on the Turkish peace terms chiefly emphasising his confidence in Mr. Montagu and Mr. Montagu's extraordinary understanding of the Indian point of view. His Highness concluded the interview by saying:—There is one question in which I am heart and soul interested. I should like my countrymen to take this up. They have already taken it up, but it should be done more scientifically and seriously. That is the question of the position of British Indians overseas which will be absolutely disastrous to the export trade of India if she is gradually forced out of these countries. We may have in Europe, by and by, a great emporium of trade, and, as I have always advocated, we badly want Indian Consuls attached to British Consulates in order to encourage Indian trade, particularly in South Africa and East Africa, and other places.

America and The League

"It is the great note of interrogation that hangs over the New Year," writes "A. G. G." in the *Daily News*. Will America come in?

"There is no need to dwell on what is involved in the answer. If it is in the negative, the League of Nations Covenant is a dishonoured scrap of paper, and the world will be reorganised afresh for war. If it is in the affirmative, the tragedy of 1919 may yet be redeemed, and 1920 may start the world on a more hopeful journey.

"It is an auspicious moment—a year that should stir America with great memories, and inspire it with high motives. It is the tercentenary of the sailing of the *Mayflower*. A few weeks ago I stood in the little graveyard at Plymouth in New England, where the Pilgrims of that immortal expedition sleep. All that is best in America will turn in reverent thought this year to that sacred spot. And I have confidence that what is best in America will prevail in this great emergency as it has prevailed in the past."

Danger of Socialism

Mr. Churchill has issued a vigorous manifesto calling on the non-Socialist parties to unite to combat the Socialist Party, arrogating to itself the name of Labour. He points out that the Unionist Party has lost the support of a powerful portion of the press and is also disturbed by the democratic measures demanded by the changing conditions, while the Liberals are divided throughout the country on personal grounds.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

The Indian Press Act

Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, presiding over a public meeting in Bombay under the auspices of the Press Association, spoke as follows :—

I am glad to associate myself with this movement for the repeal of the Press Act. I have been ever since I began public life a supporter of the liberty of the press. Having been myself at one time a journalist for twelve years, I have realised the grave responsibilities of the press, and the power it has to make or mar its country. I have felt how precious on the whole is the liberty of the press. I will, however, not dilate here on the value of the liberty of the press. That is unnecessary because the Government by removing the restrictions imposed on certain newspapers under the Indian Press Act has shown that it too values that liberty. So long, however, as the Act remains—and the suggestions of Sir Sivaswami Iyer for mere modifications in the Act will make no difference—liberty of the press in India must remain adulterated; and we know adulterated articles and policy are not pure. My opinion that the Press Act should be repealed is not of to-day. It was strongly pressed in a memorial to Government addressed by the Bombay Presidency Association five years ago. Briefly, what have been the main arguments advanced in support of the Act? First, it has been said that the ordinary law has been unable to get at "veiled sedition." What, I ask, is veiled sedition? In plain language it must mean sedition which works and spreads in secret, which is not open and therefore cannot be got at by ordinary means. It operates under-ground, hidden. But a newspaper writing is open; it works in broad daylight. So, if it is seditious, it cannot be said of it that the sedition is veiled. If by veiled sedition is meant covert attacks upon Government, intended to overthrow it, I humbly affirm, having had judicial experience, that the ordinary law is sufficient to provide against veiled sedition. In a recent decision a well-known English Judge sitting on the Judicial Committee of the House of Lords to decide a case said in his considered judgment that words which are dangerous to society or social stability change their meaning, according as society changes with its views and ideals. They have no fixed import applicable to all times. Sedition is one of those words, and the definition of it in the Penal Code is so elastic as to apply to any seditious writing veiled or not.

VEILED SEDITION

The real root of the matter in this term "veiled sedition" used in support of the Press Act is a cover for the distrust of our courts by the executive. But, it is said, the courts have power under the Act, to decide whether a newspaper writing is seditious or not. Yes, they have the power; but, there again, it is an adulterated power, not the full judicial enquiry, of the ordinary Law. The full judicial enquiry, it has been urged in defence of the Act, won't do in the case of newspapers because a long trial in court with the articles read, commented on and exposed to public gaze by publication of the court's proceedings in newspapers serves only to spread the seditious writing

more widely than when it had appeared in the paper arraigned, and to make a martyr of the charged editor. But that evil remains all the same in the case of the Press Act. The proceedings in court, where they are taken against the paper brought under the Act, are exposed to public gaze all the more, and when the court holds it guilty, the editors become martyrs—greater martyrs too than if they had been found guilty by the process of the ordinary law, because the more summary character of the proceedings of the Press Act strikes the ordinary layman as denial of full justice and as oppression. The Act has been in operation now for several years. We have had sufficient experience of that operation. Does the experience justify the continuance of the Act on the Statute Book? The test is: Has its application these nine years allayed unrest? It has not. Its supporters would perhaps say: "Things might have been worse but for the Act." That is at best speculation. The bed-rock of fact stands that the unrest has been there all the same—I would say—it has been greater than it was before the Act. At any rate, it has not sensibly diminished. Then what is the justification for the Act except the making of the executive partly at least judges in their own cause? That is the sting of this law and this sting must go, if liberty of the press is to be real.

THE NEW ERA

It has been declared by His Majesty that we are entering on a new era of Reform in India. That new era has been initiated by amnesty to a large number of political prisoners and by removal of restrictions imposed on a large number of newspapers under the Press Act. We ask that this circle of confidence for the new era may be completed by the repeal of the Act itself and the right hand of fellowship extended cordially by Government to the newspaper press, whose function it is in modern times to discharge the duty of the prophets in old times. I would also most earnestly appeal to the Press to rise to the occasion of the new era, to the height of His Majesty's recent Proclamation and serve the country and the empire with a faithful sense of duty and dignity in upholding the cause of the people and of progressive Government, exposing fearlessly and ruthlessly all wrong and injustice and in purifying the private and public life of the country all round. It is of no use for a newspaper to claim liberty of the press in the name of liberty and criticise and condemn autocracy as it should and, at the same time, impose its own autocracy and slavery on the people by creating its own reign of newspaper terror, and vilifying all who differ from it and who do not sing to its tune, or pander to its taste. Liberty in such a case is worse than slavery. Liberty of the Press is a means, not an end. It is a means to larger liberty. When then the liberty of the Press becomes liberty for the newspaper, none for others, it imposes its own slavery on others and endangers the larger liberty and taints and corrupts true national life. We are now at a momentous step of India's growth when we all, Government, the Press and the people, are being tested and tried by Providence. Let all three strive for real liberty. One way to that is the repeal of the Press Act by Government and fearless, highminded and impartial discharge of its duty by the press.

Indian Princes in Council

In creating a permanent Chamber of Indian Princes, writes the *United Empire*, the difficult question of membership has been decided primarily upon the salute list. The States differ widely in size and importance, Hyderabad, for example, having an area of over 82,000 square miles and a population of 13,000,000, while others consist merely of a few villages. The rulers of all States (and they number over 80), who enjoy a permanent dynastic salute of eleven guns or more, are to be entitled as a right to membership of the Chamber. Including some of the Burmese Chiefs, there are some thirty-three rulers entitled to a salute of nine guns. Of these, those who enjoy practically full internal powers are to be admitted to the Chamber, while, in the case of the others, the Government of India will investigate and decide whether to grant the internal powers required in order to qualify for admission. The heads of all States qualified for admission to the Chamber will be designated Ruling Princes, while the others will be known as Ruling Chiefs, and the membership will probably be well over 100. Attendance and voting in the Chamber will be voluntary, since the Princes and Chiefs have not been unanimous in desiring the institution of a more formal assemblage than the annual conferences of the last few years. The Chamber will be a consultative body, not an executive one, and the Government will safeguard the interests of the absent rulers by ascertaining their views before acting on the resolutions of the Chamber. The direct transaction of business between the Government of India and any individual State will not be prejudiced in any way. There will be a Standing Committee of the Chamber, which will be competent to initiate questions affecting the States generally, or the common interests of India, as a whole, for the consideration of the Viceroy.

Indian States

The State of Patiala is making speedy progress both as regards revenues and industrial development in recent years. From nearly 82 lakhs in 1912, writes a correspondent in a contemporary, the gross revenue of the state has gone up to over a crore and 17 lakhs, and its ruler, the Maharaja, who but recently returned to India after strenuous and praiseworthy work at the Peace Conference, has, under consideration industrial, commercial and agricultural programmes. A State Bank was opened last year and

is now doing useful work. A hydro-electric scheme for the State has since been considerably expanded. Under this scheme, says a contemporary, it is intended to harness the Sutlej river some 16 miles above the proposed dam at Bhakara and by constructing a series of falls to generate electricity which, it is estimated, will give 1,35,000 horse-power. This power will be transmitted all over Patiala and used for lift irrigation by means of tube wells to irrigate an additional area of about 6½ lakhs of acres as also for supplying motor power to various existing and contemplated industries. The climate and soil of Patiala are particularly conducive to the development of different kinds of industries, and an industrial survey is being carried on with a view to tap and develop its forest and mineral resources. The development of agriculture and urban co-operative credit societies is receiving special attention, and a big railway programme is also under consideration.

Industrial Activities in Travancore

Speaking at the Shri Mulam Popular Assembly, the Dewan gave a summary of the progress of the State in several directions. In regard to industrial progress the experiments conducted by the Shellac Assistant at Aramboly having proved the possibility of the extraction of shellac as a profitable cottage industry, he has been directed to make similar investigations and demonstrations in other parts of the country. Arrangements have been made for the opening of three depots one each in North, Central and South Travancore, for the development of the bamboo, screw-pine and weaving industries respectively; the encouragement of minor cottage industries such as the manufacture of glazed pottery and plantain fibre has been provided for; schemes for the establishment of a pencil factory at Alwaye and a match factory at Nagercoil at private expense have been sanctioned, and a pencil expert trained at the instance of the Government has been appointed to supervise the former. The investigation of the possibilities of the paper pulp industry has been taken up. Arrangements have also been made for the organisation of industrial conferences and exhibitions, and for the formation of industrial associations in important centres. It has also been decided to establish an Industrial Museum and Bureau with public subscriptions.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Indians Overseas Association

Mr. H. S. L. Polak, writes :—

"The Association, which was established on December 17th, 1919 with the Aga Khan as Chairman and Sir Mancherji M. Bhownaggee as Deputy Chairman, for the purpose of maintaining the rights and privileges and protecting the interests of Indians residing in places outside India, has since been active in promoting the welfare of Indian communities settled in South and East Africa, British Guiana, the West Indies, Fiji, Ceylon, Mauritius, British Columbia, Australia and the Mandated Territories.

SOUTH AFRICA

The Association has carried on an active correspondence with the Colonial and India Offices with a view to secure a wider reference to the proposed Commission promised by the Union Government after the passing of the Asiatics Trading and Land Act. (Transvaal) 1919, and also to ensure satisfactory Indian representation before the Commission.

The Association understands that Sir Benjamin Robertson and the Hon Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri have been appointed to represent the Government of India before the Commission, and that Mr. C. F. Andrews, who already has a wide knowledge of the subject, has proceeded to South Africa on behalf of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay in order to assist the Indian community in the presentation of their case.

The Association learns that the Union Government have agreed to refer not only the trading question but also that relating to the ownership of land to the Commission. As the Association is of opinion that the question of occupation of premises situated in mining areas is of vital importance, it has urged that the operation of the Gold Law and other similar enactments should be referred to the Commission.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA

Whilst appreciating, after the lapse of many years, the nomination of two Indian members to the Legislative Council, the Association, quoting the precedents of India under the Reform Scheme, Fiji, British Guiana and Trinidad, has urged that the franchise be conferred upon qualified Indians in the Protectorate.

Having regard to the fact that the question of the administration of the whole of East Africa is shortly coming up for consideration by His Majesty's Government, the Association has pressed upon the Government the desirability and necessity of giving effect, as a matter of justice and equity, to the demand of the British East African Indian population for equality of status and the removal of galling disabilities designed to reproduce the unfavourable conditions prevailing in South Africa affecting the resident Indian population, and restrict, if not even prohibit, Indian immigration into the Protectorate in favour of European immigration, in spite of the fact that Indians commenced to develop these lands three centuries before any white settlement was established there.

BRITISH GUIANA

The Association has drawn the attention of His Majesty's Government to the strong objection to, and protest against the so-called Colonisation Scheme on the part of the East Indian Association (Georgetown), and has received an assurance from the Colonial Office that the fullest consideration will be given to the views expressed by that and similar Associations.

FIJI

The Association has pressed for the termination of existing indentures of Indian labourers in this Colony, and has been notified by the Colonial Office that orders have been given for the termination of all existing Indian indentures on January 2nd, 1920, and for the repatriation, as soon as possible, of freed Indians desirous of returning to India.

CEYLON

The Association has made representations to His Majesty's Government with a view to securing improvements in the draft Labour Ordinance shortly to be introduced into the Legislative Council, and particularly to obtain the omission of the clauses imposing criminal punishment for breach of contract.

The Association has also made representations with a view to promoting the education of Indian children on the Ceylon estates.

MAURITIUS

The Association, being alarmed at the movement in French Mauritian circles in favour of the transfer of the Island to France in spite of the fact that the large majority of the inhabitants are Indians who had not been consulted in the matter, inquired of His Majesty's Government what steps had been taken in this direction and has received an assurance from the Colonial Office that no serious consideration need be given to the movement.

AUSTRALIA

Having regard to the Commonwealth Government's undertaking to remove certain existing disabilities affecting Indian residents in Australia in the light of the Reciprocity Resolution passed at the Imperial War Conference, 1918, the Association has directed the attention of His Majesty's Government to the differential operation against Indians of the Queensland Sugar Cultivation Act 1913, the interpretation of which was recently tested in an Appeal before the Privy Council, when a judgment adverse to Indian appellants was delivered. The Association has requested His Majesty's Government to press for the repeal of necessary modification of this enactment.

MANDATED TERRITORIES

With the coming into force of the Peace Treaty with Germany, mandates under the League of Nations have now been conferred upon certain countries for the administration of the former German Colonies. Thus the Samoa Islands fall to be administered by New Zealand, South-West Africa by the Union of South Africa, and German East Africa by the British Government. The Association has accordingly made representations to His Majesty's Government to maintain for His Majesty's Indian subjects the right as to immigration and residence, which they have hitherto enjoyed in these respects, and equal rights in the future with all others of His Majesty's subjects.

The Association has also reminded His Majesty's Government of the danger to Indian interests of the movement officially favoured in New Zealand to supplement native labour in Samoa by indentured labour, and has received an assurance that no further emigration from India under indenture will be countenanced by His Majesty's Government.

Housing in Madras

We are glad to note that a Society called the Madras Central Housing Society is being promoted in Madras.

The objects of the Society are to build or own houses in, and about the City of Madras which will be made available for occupation, and purchase where so desired on easy instalment system, by the poorer classes including men with small salaries; to organise and finance co-operative housing societies among the poor; and generally to further the cause of good housing by propaganda and other means.

The proposed capital of the society is Rs. 1,50,000 made up of 1,500 sharers of 10 Rs. each and the proposed bye-laws permit the society to receive deposits or otherwise borrow to the extent of eight times its paid up share and reserve fund. We wish the society all success in its laudable object of improving housing conditions and thereby preventing infantile and adult mortality in the city of Madras.

The Strike at Tata's

As an indirect outcome of the present strike, the Servants of India Society has withdrawn its operations in the matter of organising welfare work carried on under the direction of the Tata Iron and Steel Company. Since their coming in August 1918, grain and cloth stores, which supply the most important needs of the workmen at cheap rates, were opened. Ten primary schools have been opened, of which one is mainly intended for the children of the tribesmen. Ten co-operative credit societies have also come into existence. In fact they were doing their best to make the life of the workmen happy.

British Trade in India

Few people perhaps realise the enormously important part that the markets of British India played before the war in Britain's export trade. In 1913 the United Kingdom shipped to India over £70,000,000 worth of goods, of which no less than £67,000,000 represented manufactured articles. For the year 1917 these figures were £60,000,000 and £57,000,000 respectively. Obviously, the prosperity of India and the maintenance of the purchasing power of the Indian people are of vital importance to British industry. These facts are brought out clearly and strongly in the report on the conditions and prospects of British trade in India, written by His Majesty's Senior Trade Commissioner in India and Ceylon, and issued as a Government White Paper. (C. M. d. 442).

One remarkable feature of India's import trade during the war has been the great expansion of imports from Japan, which country now comes second on the list of India's business customers. It is in great Britain's chief staple trade with India, namely cotton yarn and piece-goods, that Japan has made most headway. In cotton yarn, for instance, in the year ending March 31, 1919, the United Kingdom only enjoyed 25 per cent. of India's trade, whereas Japan enjoyed 71 per cent. One of the many merits of this trade report is that it offers valuable advice to British traders.

A Prize for a Spinning Wheel

A prize of Rs. 5,000 is offered by Mr. Rawshanker Jagjiwan Mehta of Javeri Bazaar, Bombay, to the inventor of a spinning wheel which would enable a spinner to spin from ten needles at a time as much yarn as is ordinarily spun by means of a common country spinning wheel. The conditions attached to the prize are: the spinning wheel should be portable and capable of being accommodated in the ordinary Indian hut; all its parts should be of Indian manufacture; it should be capable of being repaired by village carpenters and blacksmiths.

Bombay Mill-hands' Conference

The Bombay Mill-Hands' First Conference was held on Dec. 15, when delegates attended from about 75 miles to the city. Gratitude was expressed to Sir George Lloyd for the recent modification of the Gambling Act, the abolishing of bucket shops and for the interest evinced in the housing question for the poorer classes. Resolutions were passed amongst others urging the reduction of working days from 12 to 9 hours, increase of recess from half an hour to one hour, fixing the age limit of child labour at 12 instead of 9, utilisation of the funds accumulated by forfeited and unclaimed wages and fares for the benefit of the mill-hands, introduction of equitable uniform rules and regulations in all mills and compulsory primary education for the children of the mill hands. The Conference also urged that free medical aid, housing accommodation, etc., should be provided for the mill operatives and that in sections chiefly manned by women supervision should be conducted by literate women only and not by men. The Conference also pleaded for the introduction of a provident fund, co-operative credit societies and stores, etc., in all mills and urged the appointment of a Commission by the Government to enquire into their poor condition due to high cost of living and to fix minimum wages.

Agricultural Institute for Dacca

It is understood that an Agricultural Institute for giving a higher course of training in agriculture will be started in Dacca near the Agricultural Farm. Three hundred acres of land to the north of the farm have already been acquired for the purpose. The course at the institute will include farming, cattle, husbandry, and agricultural engineering.

Electric Ploughing in Italy

The Vioalti-Tescari system of electric ploughing, lately tested near Rome, is quite simple, says the *Popular Science Siftings*. A powerful electric capstan or winding apparatus is set up at one corner of the field, and wire cables are stretched from it entirely around the field. At two corners these cables pass through two securely anchored pulleys, while at the far corners they are connected with two movable anchor-wagons. A duplex plough mounted on wheels is drawn backward and forward across the field by the cable, and as each furrow is finished the anchor-wagons advance sufficiently to bring the plough into position for the next furrow. With an equal number of shares on each side of the wheels, the plough is not required to turn. In the tests made, a single plough reached a depth of about 20 inches in difficult ground at a cost of about 26s. per acre.

A Practical Horticulturist

Mr. B. S. Nirody, B.A., a practical horticulturist of Madras and a writer on the back-to-the-land movement in India, has been awarded a foreign scholarship by the Satya Linga Naickers Trustees of Cocanada for the study of agriculture in England, America or Japan. Mr. Nirody will proceed to America to specialise in the plant industry with special reference to rural development.

The Canning of Fruit and Vegetables

The preservation of fruit and vegetables by canning has many advantages over bottling, especially when carried out on a commercial scale. The initial outlay is not so heavy, and packing and transport difficulties are much reduced, while breakages of bottles are avoided, and a great saving of time is effected, as large quantities of produce may be dealt with quickly.

Furthermore, if the canning be carefully done the flavour of canned fruit is considered superior to that of fruit preserved by other methods. This is due to the fact that the cans are hermetically sealed before being sterilized, and all volatile oils and flavours are, therefore, retained. [From the *Journal of the Board of Agriculture*.]

Poultry Manure

This manure, writes the *Agricultural News*, is rich in plant food, and, if properly dried and stored in sacks or casks, is said to be worth about four times as much as farmyard manure. Even the small poultry keeper should methodically save it, for a little concentrated manure is a very handy thing to have for a small garden. It should never be used fresh, as its value is about double when it has been allowed to dry. Once dry, if not wanted for immediate use, it is best stored in a barrel, mixing in a little soot with a covering of dry soil placed on the top. An excellent liquid manure can be made by mixing some of the contents of the barrel with an equal quantity of soot, putting it in a piece of sacking and soaking it in water for a few days. About an ounce of dry manure and an ounce of soot are usually sufficient for a gallon of water to provide a liquid manure suitable for use with the majority of vegetables.

Agricultural Education in India

In the course of his presidential address to the Board of Agriculture, Pusa, in Dec. 1919, Mr. Mr. Mackenna said:—

One of the notable features of the last two years has been the increased attention devoted to agricultural education. The subject was last discussed by the Board of Agriculture at Poona. The Board *inter alia* resolved that for the rapid development of agriculture in India a sound system of rural education based on rural needs is essential, and recommended the establishment, as an experimental measure, of a limited number of agricultural middle schools to meet the probable demand for improved rural education. These suggestions have received serious attention in the provinces. Agricultural middle schools are being opened in Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces, while, in the Punjab, agricultural education is encouraged in the existing vernacular and English high schools.

With regard to higher agricultural education, the Lyallpur College has been affiliated to the Punjab University, Burma is having its own College and Bengal is considering the question of having one for the presidency. It is gratifying to note that the Calcutta University Commission have recommended that there should be an elementary agricultural course provided in some of the intermediate colleges suitable for zemindars, officers of co-operative societies, etc.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

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[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

The Oriya Movement. By Two Bachelors of Arts, Published by H. H. Panda, B.A., Secretary, Oriya Samaj Ganjam, Aska.

The writers offer a comprehensive study of the Oriya movement in this volume of 350 pages. They condemn the present state of administrative dismemberment and emphasise the need for urgent union. They demand a separate High Court, and an independent University—in fact all the requisites of an autonomous province. They urge that it is not merely a political movement but that it is essentially a national movement touching the deeper cultural aspect of their life.

The Karachi Handbook 1920. Edited by S. Lupton, Editor, *Daily Gazette*, Karachi.

Karachi has, on account of its position and natural advantages, become one of the leading centres of trade and commerce and with a well equipped harbour is on a fair way to compete with Bombay. Mr. Lupton's handbook will therefore be welcome to all traders and business men who will find much useful information collected in a handy form. The book opens with an interesting historical sketch of Sind together with an account of the development of the port of Karachi and is profusely illustrated.

Cartoons from the Hindi Punch for 1919 (Edited by Burjorjee Nowrosjee, Hindi Punch Office, Bombay), Price, Rs. 2 2 as. (Can be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.)

We heartily welcome the twentieth annual publication of the "Pickings from the Hindi Punch." It is quite as interesting and instructive as any of its predecessors and we congratulate the Editor on his judicious taste, for the cartoons are at once pointed and vivid without being offensive. Conceived in good taste they offer an entertaining record of recent history and would therefore amply repay perusal.

Wake up Princes. By Khushero Jadhava, District Magistrate, Baroda.

The author has been connected with a premier Indian State for a quarter of a century and has had opportunities of intimate contact with leading men of different States. He urges in this pamphlet the broadening of the alliance between the Imperial Government and Native States and says that Indian princes should be freed from the "leading strings" of British officials. He pleads for reforms in Native States not only in relation to the subjects but equally in relation to the Imperial Government.

Nanda : The Pariah Saint. "Saints of India Series." G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, Price 4 as. This welcome addition to the Saints of India



Series was originally written for the *Prabuddha Bharati* by its talented Editor, the late Mr. B. R. Rajam Aiyar. It is an inspiring record of the life and doings of a great Boktha.

BOOKS RECEIVED

KEEPING YOUNG AND WELL. By George Washington Bacon, F.R.G.S., L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

IS MODERN SPIRITUALISM BASED ON FACTS OR FANCY? By James Cortes, Ph. D., F.A.S., L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

GREAT GANGA THE GURU OR HOW A SEEKER SOUGHT THE REAL. By Kavita Kaumudi, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. London.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF THE BENGALI PRESS. By P. N. Bose, M.A. and H. W. B. Moreno, B.A., Ph. D. Central Press, Calcutta.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Feb. 13. Under the patronage of T. E. Lord and Lady Chelmsford, Dr. Girdwood, historical photographer to the Indian Government, exhibited at Delhi his famous cinema films "With the Empire's Fighters."
- Feb. 14. Poona women in deputation urge compulsory Education for Girls.
- Feb. 15. Mr. C. F. Andrews cables from Durban that Natal European sentiment is better than Transvaal.
- Feb. 16. H. E. the Governor of the French settlement in India arrived in Madras this morning.
- Feb. 17. Bombay tailors struck work this morning.
- Feb. 18. Debate on the change of capital in the Imperial Legislative Council.
- Feb. 19. Discussion on imperial preference in the Viceregal Council.
Gokhale Anniversary dinner in Poona.
- Feb. 20. Lala Lajpat Rai arrived at Bombay this morning.
- Feb. 21. H. E. Lady Chelmsford opened the Child Welfare Exhibition at Delhi.
- Feb. 22. M. Millerand has left Paris for London.
- Feb. 23. The Indian Association of Calcutta gave a dinner in honour of Mr. Bupendra Nath Basu.
- Feb. 24. Lady Astor's maiden speech in the House of Commons.
Mr. Asquith has been returned as member for Paisley.
Kerzberger has temporarily resigned.
- Feb. 25. In an interview published in the *Evening Standard* Mr. Montagu strongly urges retention of Constantinople by the Turks.
Strike at the Tata Works, Jamshedpur.
- Feb. 26. Debate in the House of Commons on the future of Turkey.
The first Indian Khilafat Deputation arrived in London to-day.
- Feb. 27. Lufendorff, Tirpitz, Falkenhayn, Kluck, Manteuffel and others have issued a declaration refusing to appear before any foreign Court but agreeing to a trial before a German Court.
- Feb. 28. The Bengal Provincial Khilafat Conference was held at the Calcutta Town Hall to-day.
- Feb. 29. Allies agree to a German Court of Justice trying a number of selected war criminals.
- Mar. 1. Lord Meston as the Arbitrator heard the respective claims of Brahmins and non-Brahmins in the matter of reserving seats to the latter.
- The Hon. Mr. Hailey presented the Financial Statement in the Viceregal Council.
- Mar. 2. Death is announced of the novelist Charles Garvice.
Mr. Fisher, on behalf of Mr. Montagu, received the Indian Khilafat delegation.
The Prince of Wales was enrolled as a Privy Councillor to-day.
- March 3. President Wilson in a motor car took his first outing since his illness.
The rule issued against Mr. Gandhi for contempt of court came on for hearing in the Bombay High Court. Judgment reserved.
- Mar. 4. A Deputation from Ceylon presented a memorial this afternoon to H. E. the Viceroy on the food situation.
- Mar. 5. The British Government decides to press forward the Irish Home Rule Bill.
- Mar. 6. A meeting of the Council of the League of Nations Union has passed a resolution in favour of the Government of Constantinople and the Straits coming under the control of the League of Nations.
- Mar. 7. *The Daily Telegraph* states that the British Government have decided to occupy Constantinople.
- Mar. 8. Mr. Asquith re-entered the House of Commons to-day as member for Paisley and was warmly cheered.
- Mar. 9. Discussion of the financial statement continues in the Imperial Legislative Council.
- Mar. 10. A grant promised in the Imperial Council by the Home Member for the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibboi College, Delhi.
- Mar. 11. Workmen's Breach of Contract Amendment Bill was passed in the Imperial Council.
- Mar. 12. Mr. Gandhi reprimanded by the Bombay High Court to-day in connection with the *Young India* case.
- Mar. 13. Bill to amend the Punjab Colonisation of Government Land Act 1912 passed by the Punjab Council to-day.
- Mar. 14. Sensational police raid on the offices of the Bengal Provincial Khilafat Committee.
- Mar. 15. The strikers at the Tata Iron Works at Jamshedpur assumed a menacing attitude and were fired on by the Police and troops.
- Mar. 16. The Marriage of the Honourable Joan Thesiger, the Viceroy's daughter, with Captain A. F. Lascelles was celebrated at Delhi to-day.
- Mar. 17. Religious Endowments Bill was passed in the Imperial Legislative Council to-day.

Literary

American Literature.

In literature there is no healthier sign than the critical attitude, and the best American writers of to day are all critical, writes Mr. D Willoughby, in the *Outlook*. In vanished times of New England's hegemony there was, also, much criticism but it was usually of Europe or the slave-owning South. Steadfastly it avoided self. Maliciously, but with more than a grain of truth, one Harvard professor wrote of this tendency to look abroad for faults as good proof that New England and old England were, after all, at heart a nation one and indivisible. The modern writers, particularly the novelists, are free from this reproach. Without sparing, they turn on people and things immediately about them. For evidence one need not drag Mr. Upton Sinclair from his jungle. With equal honesty, but without fanaticism, Mr. Winston Churchill ranges from the churches to clean government, and is always a reformer. Incurably solemn he may be, but Mrs. Wharton has a lighter touch, and her satires on the position of her sex, certain aspects of New York life and plutocratic society are immensely effective. No woman writing in our common language has a higher place among contemporary novelists. My country right or wrong, but especially when its actions are open to adverse comment, is an unnatural sentiment in a young State. It is the equivalent to a high protective tariff. I have no mind to upbraid it, but it does show a patent lack of confidence. The scouring of national weakness warns one, on the other hand, of a deep reserve of strength.

"Abraham Lincoln"

"In recent years no English dramatist has been praised as highly in America as Drinkwater, and the popular success of his play seems assured," says the *London Telegraph's* New York correspondent.

"An Englishman," says the *New York Globe*, "has given us the best, clearest, and most imaginatively true picture of Abraham Lincoln. It is very difficult, one would say impossible, to dramatise such a figure as Lincoln, who is at once the most intimate and the most idealised character in our national life. It has been done, however. Drinkwater has accomplished the impossible, and his work has every mark of mastery."

World's Press Congress

It is now definitely announced, from the Premier's Office, New South Wales, that the next "Press Congress of the World" is to meet at Sydney during the month of October of the present year. The Congress is organised from the United States, and the invitation from Sydney was received at the last gathering of the kind, held at San Francisco during the exhibition year. The Congresses were intended to take place at intervals of two years, but as one of the consequences of the war the Sydney meeting has been put off year by year, so that it will be three years behind the date originally fixed upon. The Canadian gathering of the Empire Press Union has been similarly delayed, but seems likely to be held in time to permit its members, or such of them as are so disposed, to attend the Congress at Sydney. It is hoped that it will be possible to make arrangements for a comprehensive tour of the Overseas Dominions, and in any case there will be special facilities for seeing Australia and New Zealand. The New South Wales Government is taking an active and continuous interest in the preparations that are being made.

A Literary Repast

T. J. H. contributes the following amusing verses to the *Burma Critic* :—

Many a literary dish
With pleasure I've partaken;
I have relished many a slice of *Lamb*,
And many a piece of *Bacon*.
I've fed on tasty *Spratt* and *Crabbe*—
I've got a *Wolfe* in store;
I've chased the *Warren* for a *Hare*.
And then I've asked for *Moore*.
I have eaten dainty *Cheke* and *Foot*,
Though never a whole man;
For though I've swallowed *Coke* and *Cole*.
I drew the line at *Colman*.
I've eaten *Bird*, I've tackled *Crowe*,
I've swallowed *Swift* and *Martin*,
Alas! I had an *Akenside*
From what I've taken part in.
I've made a meal of *Flint* and *Clay*,
I've tried a dish of *Cotton*;
'Twas rather indigestible
The *Paine* is not forgotten.
I've eaten *Peacock Hogg* and *Foxe*,
Of *Greenes* I've had my share,
And after drinking out of *Horne*
I've tried to eat the *Ware*.
I've tried the *Carver's* juicy joints
And portions of the *Cooke*;
And when the *Fisher* dined with me,
He lured me with a *Hook*.

Educational

A Message to Teachers

Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, gives the following message to teachers:—

No one would question the appropriateness of teachers at the present crisis dedicating themselves anew to the National Service. Every teacher worthy of the name must have a vocation in the religious sense of the word, though, as a great teacher once said, he should not talk of it. He must have caught some glimpse of truth and of inward freedom, which truth alone can give, and must be inspired by the desire to turn the eyes of others to the light, which he himself has seen. He must have faith—faith in his pupils and in his work, and faith, despite all discouragement and difficulties—in the power of ideals to transform human nature. There never was a period in our history when teachers had a greater opportunity or a heavier responsibility. The nation is awakening, as never before, to the possibilities of education, and to the necessity of combating ignorance in all its forms physical, mental and moral. The war has burnt into all the value of knowledge and ordered discipline, of devotion to a great and common cause; but there is the danger that, in a reaction consequent upon peace and in the turmoil of material reconstruction, the spiritual truths enforced by the war may be forgotten or obscured. It will rest largely upon the teachers to secure that these truths become the part of the inheritance of the coming generation and that the full influence of education may be directed to the training of men and women inspired by lasting ideals of public service and self-sacrificing citizenship.

Sir H. Butler's Ultimate Ideal

Sir Harcourt Butler, presiding at a meeting of the Committee to reconstitute the Allahabad University on Feb. 13, said, in the course of his speech, "I wish to put before you the ultimate ideal, viz., unitary teaching and residential universities in the Provinces at Allahabad, Benares, Lucknow, Agra and Aligarh, and it may be before long, at Cawnpore. To ensure this and carry out the recommendations of the Sadler Commission we shall have to face big changes. The existing institutions have done great work, but we must be prepared to sacrifice some of their present advantages for the larger educational life that is to come."

Bookish Education

Prof. Slater writing of Education in England points out:—

I happened to look into a book about my native county of Devonshire by the well-known novelist, Mr. Baring Gould. He described how he went into a school nestling below the hills of Dartmoor with His Majesty's Inspector. First the Inspector asked the children questions. He asked them to name the rivers of Siberia and they did. He asked them to name the highest mountains of Africa and they did. He asked them to give the height of the highest mountain of Africa, and they did. And the Inspector was pleased. Then Mr. Baring Gould asked questions. He asked them to give the name of the river which flowed through their village, and they could not. He asked them to give the name of the hill that overhung the valley, and they could not. He asked them how high the hill was, and they did not know. He asked the name of a common wild flower he had picked in the lane, and no one knew it. "This," he cried, "is the rubbish which we inflict on the children and call education." Is there nothing of that unreal unimaginative bookish quality in Indian education?

Lord Ronaldshay on Education

The following extract from Lord Ronaldshay's address at the recent Calcutta University Convocation will be read with interest:

A system of education which is calculated merely to make of the Indian student an imitation European is fundamentally unsound. It can only end in creating an educated class incapable of drawing inspiration from its own environment, and doomed, therefore, like a plant uprooted from its natural surroundings and transplanted to a foreign soil, to fade and wither into decay. No one will deny for one moment the immense service which Western science and learning have rendered, and can still render to India. But assimilation is one thing and imitation is another; and the civilisation of the West can only be of true value to India to the extent to which she can assimilate it without discarding what is fundamental in her own civilisation and drying up the roots of her own peculiar genius. Upon the urgent necessity of striving after a real synthesis between the thought, the culture, the civilisation of East and West, I have consistently laid stress; and I am convinced that unless we keep this supreme necessity constantly before our eyes all our efforts at reconstruction must be lost in the barren wastes of the artificial and the unreal, just as the waters of some of the rivers of the Asian continent dry up and perish in the vast expanses of sterile desert through which they are doomed to wend their way. It is because I believe that it is to this end that the University Commission have framed their recommendations that I invite for them the support of all who are concerned for the future of Bengal.

Legal

"Young India" Case Judgment

At the Bombay High Court on March 12, a special bench consisting of Justices Marten, Hayward and Kajiji delivered judgment in the rule nisi issued against Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Mahadev Desai as editor and publisher of *Young India* for contempt of court by publishing a letter of the District Judge, Ahmedabad, to the High Court against Satyagrahi lawyers and adversely commenting on it. Mr. Justice Marten in the course of a lengthy judgment held Mr. Gandhi's contention that he performed a useful public duty at a time of great tension was entirely erroneous and based on strange misconceptions of the legitimate duties of a journalist, and said that though the Court could inflict both fine and imprisonment, in view of the fact that the respondents paid attention more to the liberties of the press than to duties accompanying it, they would state the law in emphatic terms and confine the order to a reprimand. Justices Hayward and Kajiji concurred with Mr. Justice Marten and passed the following order:—The Court finds the charges proved and severely reprimands the respondents and cautions them both as to their public conduct.

Lord Halsbury

The following is the letter that Lord Birkenhead addressed to Lord Halsbury on the seventieth anniversary of the latter's call to the Bar:—

"It is amazing to contemplate the long historical perspective which that reflection evokes. You were born during the Lord Chancellorship of Lord Eldon. You were called to the Bar in the Chancellorship of Cottenham. You took silk when Westbury was Chancellor; your immediate predecessor upon the Woolsack was Selborne; and you had been practising as a leader for eight years when the writer of this letter was born.

Only the other day, when the House of Lords was engaged upon a case of the first importance, involving a consideration of our legal theories of crime, you came to my room and suggested an apt and valuable illustration of the matter under discussion drawn from your recollection of a case in which you yourself had been engaged forty-six years ago.

Success in the profession of the law and that vitality which produces length of days must have some intimate connection if we may judge by the

span of life allotted to the Chancellors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Yet to none of them was it given to look back on so prolonged a professional experience as to yourself. St. Leonards, at the age of 94, looked back on sixty-eight years, Brougham at 90 to sixty years, Chelmsford at 82 to sixty years, Lyndhurst at 91 to fifty-nine years, Selborne at 83 to fifty-eight years, Hatherley at 80 to fifty-four years, Eldon at 87 to fifty-two years. These records seem to shrink when compared to your own evergreen and vigorous life.

This long period has been passed by you in active professional and political work. For forty-three years you have been a member of one or the other branch of the legislature; for thirty-five years you have held the office of a Judge, and you now possess, not through age and experience alone, a position in the esteem and affection of every member of the profession, whether on the Bench or at the Bar, which is wholly unexampled.

'Two generations of mortal men already had he seen perish, that had been of old time born and nurtured with him in goodly Pylos, and he was King among the third.' (Homer's tribute to Nestor).

I could not allow this memorable occasion to pass without sending to you, on behalf of all my brethren on the Bench and all my colleagues at the Bar, these few words to express to you our hearty congratulations upon this anniversary and our fervent and affectionate regard."

Trial of War Criminals.

Reuter is authoritatively informed that the Allies have agreed that a German Court of Justice shall be permitted to try a number of selected war criminals as test cases. It has been decided to furnish Germany with a list of forty-six names, Britain choosing seven, France twelve, Belgium fifteen, Italy four and Poland and Roumania the remaining eight. Britain's list will be concerned for the most part with submarine atrocities. The cases chosen will be plain and straightforward ones, in which the accused were obviously guilty of the vilest violations of the law governing warfare. If the test cases are properly carried out, it is probable that the Allied lists, comprising 800 criminals, will be drastically reduced. The Allied legal representative will attend the trials to ensure that there is no favouritism and that all evidence is produced.

Medical

The Leper Problem.

The following resolution were passed at the last Leper Mission Conference at Calcutta:—

1. The Conference considers that legislation should be primarily concerned with pauper lepers, as these are the greatest menace to public health.

2. That as far as possible segregation should be of voluntary character.

3. That it is our considered opinion that the present type of mission asylums with sympathetic Christian management affords the best means of effecting a voluntary segregation of lepers.

4. We further consider that, where compulsory segregation of large numbers of pauper lepers becomes necessary, this might be brought about by the establishment of suitable settlements for the care of this class of people.

5. That no amendment of the Lepers' Act in itself, or the establishment of the leper settlements, will be of any real value, unless the provisions of the Act are strictly enforced.

6. That, in the case of voluntary institutions now notified under the Act, the provision of detention wards is not desirable.

7. That this Conference reaffirms the principle that segregation of the sexes should be maintained in all mission asylums except under exceptional circumstances and that the marriage of lepers in mission asylums is not desirable.

8. The Conference recommends that great care be observed in the selection of sites for new asylums and in the arrangements for water supply and drainage and that where necessary expert advice should be obtained.

9. In conclusion, it is the opinion of the Conference that the disease of leprosy could be stamped out in India, if all lepers were segregated, but, as this does not appear to be practicable at this time, it strongly urges that the first step to be taken in this direction is the segregation of all pauper lepers.

New Kind of Influenza

A new terrible epidemic called Brain Influenza, declared to be similar to lethargic encephalitis, is ravaging Austria. There are three hundred cases in Vienna alone. The disease is spreading alarmingly throughout the country. The symptoms begin with headache and sleeplessness followed by stomacic convulsions similar to appendicitis which in their turn are followed by violent delirium.

Motoring for Health

The opinion that the growing use of motor vehicles has materially reduced the opportunities for exercise that is so necessary for our well-being is frequently discussed. A doctor, however, takes exception to this general view, and states that motoring is beneficial, and shows accruing benefits under three heads—physical, mental and volitional. He proceeds to point out that, in addition to the exercise, the motorist has been in the open air, buffeting the winds, inhaling ample quantities of oxygen to meet the increased needs of the accelerated currents of blood corpuscles; and that digestion and assimilation are thereby facilitated and the toxic products accumulated through former inaction progressively are in increased measures oxidised and eliminated.

When you drive a car 40 or 50 miles, says the authority, you give your arms and torso a course of purposeful calisthenics that redounds directly to the benefit of your muscles and arteries and heart and, indirectly, but no less significantly, to the benefit of your digestive apparatus and organs of elimination as well as the nervous system.

Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine

There has been considerable improvement of late in the financial condition of the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine, the appreciation of whose utility and great public usefulness has attracted some benefactions. The most noteworthy contributions have been Rs. 70,250 from the members of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Rs. 50,000 for research from the Maharajah of Dharbanga, Rs. 50,000 from the Maharani of Hutwa, Rs. 50,000 from Mr. Buldeo Das Jogul Kishore and Rs. 5,000 from Mr. Kesorani Poddar for extension of laboratories, Rs. 40,000 from Messrs. Bird and Co., and Rs. 20,000 from Messrs. Begg Dunlop and Co., and Rs. 10,000 from the Raja of Vijianagaram for research. The titled Zemindars of Behar have contributed Rs. 1,25,000. Sir David Yule has recently promised a handsome subscription of Rs. 9,000 annually and Sir Dorab Tata's companies Rs. 7,500 annually towards the endowment for research work in chemistry. The tea, jute and mining associations with the mining federation are contributing Rs. 20,000 annually for five years for three additional research workers. The total annual income at the proposed opening of the School next cold weather will exceed a lakh of rupees and will enable five wholtime research workers to be employed in addition to Government teaching staff of seven professors.

Science

Wireless to the Stars

Among proposals for communicating with the worlds about us which have been put forward are two which can be submitted to the test of mathematics.

In the current issue of the *Nineteenth Century* the writer of an article on the possibility of harnessing atomic energy says: "Even the awful gulf that yawns between the earth and the nearest fixed star might be traversed by wireless telegraphy or telephony, were there on its other side some intelligence to receive it."

Well, the nearest fixed star is Alpha Centauri, distant approximately 40,000,000,000,000 kilometres.

The time taken for a signal to pass from the Eiffel Tower to Arlington, near Washington and back, a total distance of 7,674 miles, was 0.066 second, approximately 295,000 kilometres a second. Consequently a wireless signal, moving day and night at that stupendous velocity, would take four years and four months to reach Alpha Centauri from the earth.

Another proposal is to switch on simultaneously the whole street lighting of every city in the United States.

The combined street illumination of London, probably the most brilliantly illuminated city in the world, is 1,250,000 candle power. It was calculated by a German scientist that the smallest light signal visible on Mars from the earth is 4,000,000,000,000 candle power. It would, therefore, need the combined light of 3,200,000 cities as brilliantly lit up as the City of London to aggregate four billion candle power.

Advance in Radio-Communication

A leading Norwegian engineer is reported to have recently invented a device for the production of electrical current for radio-telegraphy. The electricity is received by an accumulator, which releases it at certain intervals. The system is sparkless, and the sounds are clearer than in the older inventions. The clearness of sound depends upon the regularity of the current, and with this system the current is released with mathematical exactness. The device has further advantages in that it is cheaper, simpler and more durable than those now in use. If the claims for this invention prove well-founded, it is thought that it will mark a distinct step in advance of what has so far been accomplished in this line.

Daylight from Electricity

Various attempts have been made within recent years to obtain an artificial light which is near enough in tone to ordinary daylight to enable colours to be matched with accuracy. In most of these attempts screens were used to filter the light of electric lamps. Recently, however, a much more promising solution was solved by a British artist, Mr. Sheringham, in conjunction with Dr. Martin of the Optical Section of the Imperial College of Science, London, and Major Klein, an officer engaged on camouflage work. The device is remarkably simple. All the light from a half-watt (or gas-filled) electric lamp is thrown on to a screen overhead, painted with apparently aimless splashes of various pigments. All the light obtained is that reflected from this screen and the pigments are arranged to absorb certain portions of the electric light so as to make the reflected light a close imitation of daylight. Electric light (from gas filled lamps) is rather richer in red and yellow rays than daylight, and the pigments correct this excess. This mode of lighting has already been adopted with conspicuous success in a London picture gallery.

Spokeless Wheels

Having dropped militarism and war, writes the *Times of India*, Germany has now turned her attention to inventing—and with promising results. Of the many strange things now appearing in Germany as a result of the inventive wave that has swept over that country as well as most of the world at large, is a carriage equipped with spokeless wheels. This carriage makes use of two rims in place of wheels. The rims are held in place by small wheels, and may be said to work very much after the fashion of the tank; that is to say, the vehicle rolls along on the rails formed by the rims. It is claimed that this method of mounting carriages possesses various advantages, among them the reduction of friction. The novelty of the arrangement is sufficient to warrant further experiments and tests.

Glasses

Investigations made in America on the best kinds of glasses for shielding the eyes of men working at furnaces show that, for protection from ultra-violet light, black, amber, green, greenish-yellow and red glasses are efficient. Against the infra-red rays, deep black, yellowish-green, sage green, bluish-green and gold-plated glasses are best.

Personal

Lord Carmichael

A very pleasant function took place at the Council Chamber at Calcutta, on Saturday, the 13th, when H. E. Lord Ronaldshay unveiled the portrait of Lord Carmichael. The Hon. the



Maharaja of Burdwan, in requesting H. E. the Governor to unveil the portrait, said that it was presented by the non official members of the Legislative Council as a token of affection and regard for Lord Carmichael. It is but fitting that the portrait of the first Governor of Bengal should be placed in the Council Chamber. Said His Excellency :—

Lord Carmichael's administration will, for all time, stand as a landmark in the history of Bengal. Lord Carmichael was appointed to inaugurate a new regime. His appointment itself was the outcome of sweeping changes. There had been the annulment of the partition of Bengal; there had been the removal of the capital from Calcutta, there had been the elevation of the Province to the status of a Presidency and the

adoption of Government by a Governor-in-Council in place of Government by a Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. It would be idle to pretend that these changes met with universal approbation. There were many persons connected with Eastern Bengal who felt that they were losing much that had been theirs when Eastern Bengal was a separate Province. There were many who resented deeply the removal of the capital of India from this city. Lord Carmichael possessed precisely those qualities which were required to meet the situation with which he was faced. There will be few I think who will deny that with his extraordinary patience and accessibility, his geniality, his tact, his kindness and his shrewd capacity derived, perhaps from his ancestry, for probing into the heart of the problems with which he was faced, he achieved a measure of success which, perhaps, few men in his position could have achieved in pouring balm upon many a smarting wound.

In this connection we remember with gratitude his brief stay in Madras prior to his transfer to *Fort William*. A public meeting was held at the Victoria Hall and an appeal was sent to His Majesty protesting against the transfer of so excellent a Governor. Our anxiety to retain his Lordship's services for this province showed the marked respect and affection he had evoked even during his brief tenure in our midst.

Since his return to England Lord Carmichael has been actively engaged in promoting our interests at Home. Like Lord Ripon of happy memory he has taken a leading part in helping the movement for Indian Reform. His evidence before the Joint Committee is a masterly defence of responsible Government for India. And none has helped our cause more whole-heartedly. By his active participation with the Moderate Committee in England, his great experience and influence are directed to the strengthening of our cause in the Councils of the Empire, and we have no doubt that his discerning counsel and sympathy with our legitimate aspirations will be of immense help to us in our political struggles.

Mr. Asquith's Return

We welcome with pleasure the return of Mr. Asquith to the House of Commons by a large majority at the by-election for Paisley. Quacks some times effect cures in politics as in medicine, but it is dangerous, says the *Indian Social Reformer*, to trust the destinies of a great Empire to men who have learned statesmanship by rule of thumb. "Men like Peel, Gladstone, Salisbury, Balfour, Morley, Grey, Haldane and Asquith have built up English public life and imbued it with its high character, and it will be an evil day when their places are taken by gentlemen who learnt their politics on the roadside."

Political

Future of Liberalism

Viscount Haldane, as the guest of the Scottish Liberal Club at luncheon in Edinburgh, spoke on the future of Liberalism.

"We cannot turn out the Coalition," he said, "we have no party to put in its place at present." He did not agree with what Mr. Churchill said the other day about Labour or any other party. Labour had succeeded in capturing the heights while Liberals were down in the plain. It was the idealism of Labour which had enabled it to attract a great body of religious men to its side. That was the secret of the loss of Spen Valley and other constituencies which had passed away from Liberalism.

"I do not think," he remarked, "that Labour is very near coming into power at the present time, not so near as people think. I do not think that Liberalism can come into power just yet, nor any other party, but what I do think is that by some means we, Liberals, framing ideals which are as high as those of Labour, will have to agree with Labour upon methods which, allowing for freedom of opinion and programme, will make it possible for us to work together at the same problems, the problems that a united Opposition ought to work at if it is to prepare to form a great and powerful Government."

Lord Haldane proceeded that the Lord Chancellor had delivered himself upon the subject of the Coalition with his customary directness. He had accused the Coalition of being invertebrate and inept. "Well," said Lord Haldane, "I am very glad when anything is said in public life to which all parties can agree. The Coalition had done some good things, and it was because of the good things that it was tolerated; but it was plain that the hand-writing on the wall was against the Coalition."

What India Needs

A missionary who is in England on furlough from India writes to the *Christian World* :—

What India needs is Britishers who will show the spirit of fair-play and real sportsmanship which has been so characteristic of the British. It is strange how easy it seems for us to lose this when dealing with Orientals.

At any rate, with the passing of this Reform Bill, we have to recognise that the day of rulership has passed, and that we have entered upon the day of comradeship.

Swami Shraddhananda's Exhortation

Three years ago at the time of entering the Sanyasa Asramam, Swami Shraddhananda made over charge of the Gurukula Academy to a co-worker of his. But the co-worker has now suddenly resigned and the Swami has been appealed to by



the governing body of the Gurukula to take charge of the institution. In returning to his educational work the Swami gives the following advice to future voters :

"There are different political societies in the country and they are inducing you to return members who would support their different propaganda. But whether you return a liberal moderate or a Home Ruler, a Tilakite or Bantite, a title holder or a congressman, *do keep one great Truth in view*. If you vote for a man who is sexually impure, is a miser, a hypocrite, a prey to passions or is addicted to any one of the five great vices enumerated by the ancient Indian law-givers, the change in your political emancipation will be a change in name only. Therefore, I earnestly implore in the name of Truth and the Motherland all the voters to vote for men of sterling moral character whom no smile by Kama, or Lobha or Moha will be able to lead astray from the path of Truth and Justice."

General

Imperial Statistical Conference

The Imperial Statistical Conference discussed *inter alia* the improvement of trade statistics and the advantage to the Empire of accurate and complete data, especially with regard to the control of raw materials and the food production of the Empire and the establishment in London for this purpose of a central organization to arrange to collect and to disseminate all requisite material.

Ladies Conference

At the last session of the Ladies' Conference held at Amritsar, Mrs. Hassan Imam said in the course of her speech that the purdah was a meaningless anachronism and must go.

"While it is the duty of our men to do all they can to remove this evil from our midst, I think the duty cast upon those of us who have shed the trammels of Purdah is infinitely greater. It is too late in the day to demonstrate that the kind of Purdah that is practised in India has sanction in religion or can be tolerated by any live and progressive community. The causes which led to the growth of Purdah in our social system are now too well known and it will be uselessly taking up your time to dilate on that aspect of the subject. All the reasons that are usually brought out in support of the system are now fully exploded, and all thinking persons realize that Purdah is not only now a meaningless anachronism but also a source of great hindrance to the onward progress of our country. With the new opportunities that are to day being offered to our country for progress and advancement, our ideals and aspirations are naturally set on a future for our country which should in every way be worthy of her past."

Flaunted Wealth

"Never has wealth been so insolent, reckless, and unashamed in its expenditure," says the *Nation*. "It is buying the land of England from its former proprietors. It is maintaining the old luxury trades in unexampled prosperity. It is spending and wasting and scattering as if to-day alone counted and to-morrow will never come. It is the apparent wealth, not the real poverty, of England after the war which is the first cause of social discontent and may ultimately lead to social revolution."

Handwriting as an Index of Character

A Bank cashier, Mr. George H. King, who has spent a good part of his life studying signatures, has some very interesting things to tell us about graphology, or the art of describing character through handwriting.

"An hotel register is really a gallery of character, as well as a list of names and address," he says. "Run down the page of the register and you can tell, to a certain extent, the characters of the guests by their signatures. And no special study is needed to read the character of those with outstanding signatures. The expert can tell you something about the character of every person who has signed his name.

"Take the man with the flowing, easily-read signature. The chances are that he is a likeable person of a rather easy-going nature.

"Take the signature which looks as if it might have been copied from a copybook. It displays no mark of character. The signer is surely a characterless person.

"Take the bold, heavily written signature. The writer was a man of aggressive and forceful character.

"The illegible, affected signature indicates vanity in the man who made it.

"The signature with a general upward slant to the lines normally horizontal indicates a man with a hopeful, optimistic outlook upon life.

"But the signature is by no means the best indication of character to the graphologists. An excerpt from a letter, written under normal conditions, is much better. Many persons affect freak signatures, which, while in itself is an indication of character, may not disclose many phases which a normal specimen of handwriting might show."

Miss Sherwood's Compensation

Miss Sherwood, the Christian Missionary lady who was brutally assaulted at Amritsar, had been offered Rs. 50,000 by Government as compensation for the assault, and had refused it. Commenting on this the *Rengulee* writes:—"Miss Sherwood has shown her true nobility of mind by refusing the offer. But why did the Government go out of its way in offering such a huge compensation to her alone? There were others, both Indians and Europeans, who suffered more or less during those dark days when the hangings of the officials made matters worse in the Punjab. Were they offered similar compensations conceived in a reckless spirit?"

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THE NEW ERA

BY

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Author of "India and The Empire", &c.

I. PRESENT-DAY IDEALS.

THE defeat and destruction of German militarism mark the opening of a new era for the human race. No longer will the various peoples of the earth be regarded as mutually hostile groups struggling one with another for existence and supremacy. No longer will powerful nations impose their will by force upon others weaker than themselves. Recognition in practical form will be given to the fact that weak and strong, rich and poor, high and low, black and white, brown and yellow—all men, in short—are literally dependent one upon the other, if the human race is to continue to move forward. Each individual, each group of individuals, each people, each nation, contributes something to the general stock. And each, therefore, has rights and corresponding duties that all must recognise and act up to. When the liberties of the leading nations were jeopardised by the criminal conspiracy of the peoples of Central Europe, the rest of the world did not take long to perceive in which direction their duties lay. With the signing of the Peace Treaty and the Covenant of the League of Nations, Great Britain and her Allies recognised that all had rights as well as duties. Thus the first steps were taken to inaugurate the New Era for mankind.

It is now possible to see what a great advance has been made during the last five years. In the first place, it has been everywhere understood that Might, improperly used, can never be Right: and that law and justice must govern the relations of one nation with another. Further, it has been much more widely perceived than ever before, that the same principle applies to the relation between the strong and the weak of all classes—from ruling and dependent peoples down to individual employers and employed. Thirdly,

democracy has been recognised as the basis for the future political organisation of the world. Fourthly, the responsibility of civilisation for the protection and uplifting of the backward peoples of the earth has been definitely established. And fifthly, the duty of all mankind to look beyond the limits of national boundaries, and to assist in maintaining the peace and progress of the human race as a whole has found definite expression in the formation of a League of Nations.

These are all fine ideals which, if carried out, can only make for the greater happiness and security of all mankind. But constant and strenuous effort will be needed not only to maintain the advance positions already gained, but to consolidate them in forms of a permanent character from which still further progress can be achieved. For there still remains much organised hostility to the new ideals. Believers in the efficacy of force before all else can still be found, not only in the United States and Japan, but also in the United Kingdom, in the Colonies, and even in India. Justice between man and man is still being outraged daily through State currencies that have lost more than half their purchasing power; yet the Governments of to-day (including those of Great Britain and India) have so far failed to remedy the evil. Then again, to mention but one specific case, are there not many opponents of the scheme of political reform (in the direction of local democratic control) now about to be introduced into India? As for the newly devised mandatory system (under which Britain will administer parts of East Africa, Mesopotamia, etc.) many people openly regard the whole thing as farcical. Even the League of Nations is not without its critics; and one political party in the United States is so hostile to the

whole scheme that the Senate have declined to be a party to it.

It is very evident, then, that those who believe in the opening of a new era of progress for the human race will have to work hard in support of their faith.* In Europe, the war has left behind it many other complications. The continental nations are now so exhausted and their food supplies are so inadequate that multitudes are at present dying from the effects of lack of nourishment. The leading combatants have incurred colossal debts—the United Kingdom by far the greatest of all—and are now suffering from a day-to-day shrinkage in the purchasing power of their money that can be measured by the general rise in prices, some commodities now being more than three times their pre-war cost. In short, the war has produced conditions of friction and hardship, not to mention positive injustice and misery, that will require our utmost courage and resource to overcome and rectify.

In the United Kingdom, the present Coalition Government is making but very little progress in clearing up the problems immediately consequent upon the war. As for the greater problems of the New Era, much vague talk has taken place, but very little has been accomplished. No definite Home or Foreign policy has been thoroughly worked out and authoritatively placed before the public. Even finance—a vital factor in all after war problems—has not yet been properly tackled, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain) has nothing at present to propose beyond still more State-borrowing to make ends meet. Indeed, the only political party that has a definite, comprehensive programme before it is the Labour Party. As it seems quite probable that the Labour Party may come into power in the United Kingdom before long, and as, moreover, many of India's politicians have allied themselves to the British Labour Party (who have warmly welcomed the new-comers), it will be wise to devote a little time to an examination of the Labour Party's programme, so that we may grasp Labour's aims in the new era now opening.

II.—INDIA AND THE LABOUR PARTY.

Many Europeans in India regard the British Labour Party with great misgivings. The unqualified support, which many of that Party have given to the claims of India's most noisy political extremists, (themselves not of India's manual labouring classes) seems to augur ill for

the peace of India in the near future. Before jumping to dismal conclusions however, let us glance at the official programme of the British Labour Party as set forth in the latest issue of their "Labour Year Book" (which, by the way, every student of politics should possess). Therein will be found the ideals of Labour's leaders set forth with remarkable frankness and courage. Those ideals include no less than the entire reconstruction of Britain's social order. The Labour Party aims at an entirely new social order based on a "deliberately planned co-operation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who labour by hand or brain." Individual responsibility, throughout life, is to be largely replaced by State responsibility, the State guaranteeing everybody a minimum wage, a decent house, a good education, regular employment and an adequate pension for all who, through age or disablement, are beyond work. The private capitalist is to be "progressively eliminated" from the "control of industry," and the nation's trade is to be re-organised "on the basis of common ownership of the means of production, and the equitable sharing of the proceeds among all who participate in any capacity." Taxation is to be re-adjusted so as to make "the real sacrifice of all taxpayers as nearly as possible equal."

There is little or nothing in this programme that finds any counterpart in the political activities of this country. True, some of India's extremists are commencing to repeat the denunciations of private capitalists that form so large a part of the stock in trade of a section of the Labour Party in the United Kingdom. But it may be truthfully said that the peoples of India as a whole know nothing of the "new social order" which organised labour in Great Britain has solemnly and deliberately set itself to bring into being.

We must look in some other direction, therefore, in order to find the explanation of Indian politicians' attachment to the representatives of manual toil in the United Kingdom. The Labour Party, so the Labour Year-Book tells us, stands for Home Rule "all round within the Empire and for a repudiation of that imperialism which seeks to dominate other races and countries." Here we have the key to the attitude of many of India's politicians towards British Labour. It is not surprising in the circumstances that politicians of "other races and countries" within the Empire look to the Labour Party, rather than to any other British political Party, to place them in positions of power and authority

in their own lands, when, sooner or later, the Labour Party takes charge of the government of the United Kingdom. Labour orators are frequently telling those Indians who approach them and who attend Labour meetings, that India shall have complete Home Rule on the Colonial pattern as soon as the Labour Party governs the Empire. It is only to be expected, therefore, that Indian politicians should be attracted by those who make such promises.

In other important matters, too, the Labour Party has taken a very definite line. Thus, Labour holds the view (not yet openly shared by any other political party) that Britain's present National Debt—over £8,000,000,000—is a burden that will not only press unduly heavily on the manual labouring classes, but will gravely embarrass the whole nation. Labour accordingly advocates a special levy on wealth to pay off the National Debt, once and for all. Then again, in order to facilitate the attainment of its foreign policy (briefly indicated above), the Labour Party whole-heartedly supports the idea of a "universal League of Nations", and its most prominent leaders have made special efforts to popularise the League among their supporters.

In these circumstances, nobody can accuse Labour of selfishly striving for the mere aggrandisement of the manual workers at the expense of all other sections of society. It is quite clear that whether Labour's ambitions for a new social order and for "Home Rule all round within the Empire" are at present practicable or not, Labour's leaders are moved by ideals of the loftiest humanitarianism.


This is all to Labour's credit. At the same time, it is quite certain that the British Labour Party will never command general support so long as it allows its heart to run away with its head. Thus, whilst our feelings of humanity prompt us to gentleness and mutual consideration in the great struggle for life, all experience points to the conclusion that the complete avoidance of individual competitive effort and individual responsibility, such as the Labour Party advocates, could only result in stagnation followed by retrogression and obliteration. Then again, the whole of Labour's programme of economic and social reconstruction is drawn up on the assumption that Britons are a self-contained, self-supporting people who can "self-determine" what they please in their own island; whereas the truth is that the peoples of the United Kingdom are dependent upon several other peoples over the

seas not only for their daily bread, but also for their clothing, their houses and the raw materials for their manufactures. So that, in practice, Britons' powers of self-determination are limited and governed by the necessity of working hard, and successfully competing with other manufacturing nations in selling British products in overseas markets. Otherwise, the peoples of the United Kingdom must starve. So, too, Labour's generous intentions of allowing everybody Home Rule, and avoiding all domination over other races and countries, ignore the facts that some races are at present quite unable to govern themselves, or even to defend themselves against aggressive, un-moral, yet powerful neighbours. When these facts come to be understood by the rank and file of the Labour Party, it is quite certain that both their Home and their foreign policy (which latter, by the way, is opposed—quite illogically—to all protective customs tariffs) will undergo considerable modification.

This modification will assuredly include a more informed outlook with regard to the practical difficulties in the way of complete self-determination for the peoples of India, Egypt, etc., for those peoples are no more able, in the present state of affairs, to "self-determine" what they please, regardless of their local conditions and environments, than are the peoples of the United Kingdom. This does not mean, however, that political progress in those countries has reached a terminus. On the contrary, we know that Lord Milner's Mission is endeavouring to find a *via media* that will satisfy local political ambitions for self-government, and at the same time safeguard British, French and other interests, whilst in India a great step forward has already been taken, which it is the duty of all who are interested in the welfare of India to make thoroughly successful. Where there is a will, there is a way. Let it be clearly seen and understood that it is not only the British Labour Party that is sincerely anxious that Indians should have greater means and powers of self-development and self-control, and all will be well. Let every Briton in India, be his work and politics what they may, unite in an honest endeavour to help forward the ideals of the New Era, and India will quickly prove its ability to take its place up among those countries who have been genuinely lifted by the war, who properly recognise their rights, and are ready to perform their duties, as members of the League of Nations. India is already a member of the League and this fact is in itself of great significance.

YELLOW FEVER

By "MEDICO."

OME two or three months ago, the Government of India appointed a committee of medical and other experts to consider the question of the possible danger of importation of yellow fever into India, and to report what measures should be taken in India and in ports outside India to prevent such importation. Although the Committee's report has not yet been made public, it may be of some interest to state the present position with regard to this fell disease. The casual observer may possibly think that the introduction of yellow fever into India is a very remote contingency, and may straightway dismiss the matter as of no importance; but while it may be said at once that the danger to India from yellow fever at the present time is somewhat remote, yet the result of its introduction would be so terrible that the question deserves attention.

The disease known as yellow fever has been recognised since the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. The general belief is that it was originally a disease of the Antilles, and was carried from the Isle of Spain to the mainland of America in 1495 by the troops employed by Columbus. Up to the year 1635, the descriptions of the disease were very vague, but in that year P. du Tertre in Guadeloupe made very exact studies of the subject, and since then accurate data have become more and more frequent. The disease appeared in epidemic form in Cuba in 1648-49, in Jamaica in 1655, in San Domingo in 1656, in Martinique in 1688, and in Vera Cruz in 1690; and it was very quickly recognised that ships were mainly responsible for the carriage of the infection from place to place. Quarantine regulations were introduced in 1709, and from that year until 1790 the disease was kept under fairly efficient control. The wars of the French Republic and Empire between 1791-1815 prevented the continuance of these measures, and as a result several extensive epidemics took place, these being more widely prevalent and destructive than at any other known period. Since 1857 very strict quarantine measures have been in force, and, with increased knowledge of the disease, have been periodically supplemented and improved. Under the English Public Health Act of 1875, very stringent regulations were brought into force to deal with the possible

introduction of yellow fever into England by ships arriving from endemic and epidemic areas. For many years "yellow jack," as the disease was popularly called, was dreaded by sailors more than any other known disease.

Yellow fever exists in endemic form over a large part of the coasts of Central America and also in the islands of the West Indies, and spreads periodically from these centres in epidemic form by the agency of ships. The Atlantic coasts of North and South America are most frequently affected by these epidemics, but the disease is also not uncommonly met with on the West Coast of Africa, from Senegambia to Saint Paul de Loando. Europe has not escaped, for yellow fever appeared in England (Swansea) in 1865, in France in 1861, and in Spain and Portugal as recently as 1878. The American Pacific coasts have also been infected at times, Guayaquil in Ecuador, and Peru having both suffered from severe epidemics. The disease is a very fatal one, especially when introduced into a susceptible population, and the death rate during these spasmodic epidemics usually runs very high. As early as 1794-1802, several observers drew attention to the large numbers of mosquitoes which abounded in the town when yellow fever epidemics appeared, and further observations only served to confirm the theory that some mosquito was responsible for the spread of this disease. In 1876, Dowell of Galveston showed that mosquitoes and yellow fever obeyed the same natural laws in that the disease is endemic in the tropical zone, and is at its highest incidence during the hot season, while it disappears in the winter in temperate zones, re-appearing in the summer with the mosquito. In 1882, Gerard proved the mosquito theory to be correct by allowing a mosquito which had previously fed on a yellow fever patient to bite his hand. He developed a mild attack of yellow fever in due course. In 1900, several American workers went to the West Indies to conduct investigations into the cause of the disease. Two of them became infected with yellow fever and one died, but they were able to prove that yellow fever was not contagious and was only spread by the bites of the *Stegomyia fasciata*, a member of the family *Culicida*. Up to the present time research has failed to demonstrate the causal agent, but our knowledge of the

spread of the disease is sufficient to enable us to lay down measures for its prevention.

Yellow fever does not exist at present in India, but it is known to be capable of spreading within the parallels 40°N . and 40°S . The coast lines of India lie well within these parallels, and therefore presumably yellow fever could spread there, if once it were introduced. Moreover, the mosquito *Stegomyia fasciata* is present in India along the whole coast line, and Indian ports must in that case be looked upon as potential epidemic areas. During 1914 the Malarial Officer employed by the Government of Madras made a careful investigation into the prevalence of the *Stegomyia fasciata* in the various ports in the Madras Presidency, and he was able to demonstrate that, practically, all along the coastline this mosquito was breeding in large numbers. In Madras City the area of Georgetown in the vicinity of the port was found to be infested with this insect. The *Stegomyia fasciata* is a mosquito which prefers to breed in and around human habitations, no collection of water in the house being too small for its purpose. Its favourite breeding places are the water in flower vases, in the anti-formicas used in kitchens, etc., and the conditions existing at present in Madras City are, in the highest degree, favourable for the multiplication of the *Stegomyia*. If a case of yellow fever were brought into the Port of Madras, and if the case were not suitably protected from the attacks of the mosquitoes breeding in the vicinity, a sudden virulent epidemic could not possibly be prevented, and once introduced, the disease would be very difficult to control.

The question may now be asked, if yellow fever has been known to exist so long in Central America, what reason can be adduced for its possible introduction into India at the present time? This is a very pertinent query, and the answer to it is that, with the opening of the Panama Canal and the direct passage of vessels through that channel to ports in the Far East and to India, the danger of importation of yellow fever into India has been very markedly increased. It has already been stated that the danger to India is remote, but if yellow fever were to appear in ports intermediate between India and the endemic areas, e.g. in Hong-Kong, or in Singapore, or if the disease were carried across Africa from the West Coast to the ports on the east coast which are in constant direct communication with ports in India, then the danger to India would be imminent. It is for this reason

that early steps should be taken to deal with the *Stegomyia fasciata*. If this mosquito could be effectively dealt with and ports rendered as free as possible from its presence, the danger of the introduction of yellow fever would be infinitesimal.


The *Stegomyia* mosquito when it feeds on a yellow fever patient is not immediately capable of transmitting infection. The causal agent—whatever it is—undergoes a cycle of development in the mosquito's body. A ship passing through an infected area like Central America might harbour mosquitoes which had just become infected. Cases of yellow fever might therefore not appear on board the ship up to 18 days after she left the infected port. As a result, under present circumstances, it would be possible for a ship to steam across the Pacific from the Panama Canal to one or other of the ports in the Far East, and not appear infected until after her arrival there. This is the danger now in existence and such an event is by no means improbable.

Measures directed against the *Stegomyia* within the endemic areas in Central America have had the most beneficial results. These measures have not only reduced the incidence of the disease in places which have been almost invariably attacked year by year with yellow fever, but in several cases have totally stamped out the disease. Indeed, it is not too much to say that but for the anti-mosquito measures which were so effectively and enthusiastically carried out by the Americans, before they began the work on the Panama Canal and also during the course of its construction, they would have failed, as the French did previously, in their endeavour to link up the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. What has been done in one part of the world can be done in another. A vigorous and continuous campaign is necessary if anti-*Stegomyia* or any anti-mosquito operations are to be effective, and while such campaigns may not be possible for financial reasons in all of the 104 ports which are to be found dotted along the coast line of the Madras Presidency, yet for the major ports like Madras City, Tuticorin and Vizagapatam such campaigns are urgently necessary. The Municipalities concerned should be made cognisant of the facts so that, in the future, the cry "too late" may not be heard rising from a susceptible population among whom yellow fever with all its ravaging effects has appeared.

IS MODERN CIVILISATION A FAILURE?

BY

MR. S. JACKSON COLEMAN.

 All the questions that have been asked during the past five or six years there is one which is peculiarly striking in character. So long a period of unparalleled slaughter and bloodshed has caused thinking people in almost every clime to enquire: "Is modern civilisation a failure?" Many, indeed, seem clearly of the opinion that modern civilisation has produced nothing more than a cruel, calculating selfishness, encouraging artificiality and hypocrisy of life, and sapping at the very basis of morality itself.

There are some who believe, in fact, that modern progress and enlightenment are full of conceit and that the increase of knowledge has only meant an increase of sorrow, with the consequent result that the burden of the world's grief has grown from year to year with alarming effects. They regard the mere prolonging of human life as a doubtful gain, since it has been counterbalanced in their opinion by the creation of new dangers and disasters.

Let us view the matter carefully. If we do so, there is only one opinion which can be satisfactorily advanced. For he would be blind, after all, who did not recognise the enormous contribution which modern civilisation has made to the health of the human race by the development of the science of medicine and surgery. Civilisation has in fact brought with it the triumph of the healing art, and there are few varieties of pain which cannot now be alleviated.

Civilisation has an irresistible tendency to refine men, beginning with the upper classes and spreading to the lower, and, although it is true that new crimes have been created with modern progress, we cannot overlook the fact that remedial measures are now being attempted which were un contemplated some fifty or sixty years ago.

The morality of the world to-day, too, would appear to be much better than at any previous period. We have only to compare the state of society to-day with that of past ages to observe the progress which has been achieved in this regard. Never, as we can readily see, has the interest in religious matters been more practical and enthusiastic than it is to-day. This is proved by the humanitarian efforts which we have already

considered, by a general increase of charity and tolerance in all lands and by the zeal shown everywhere in missionary endeavour. Far greater thought, too, is now given to the weak and the aged. Hospitals and homes have increased enormously, their administration has steadily improved, and the public in general is liberal in their support.

As civilisation increases, fewer and fewer people live in idleness, with the result that the whole character of life is raised. The wants of the barbarian are few in number, but that means that his pleasures are correspondingly few. Civilisation, without dispute, immensely increases the capacity for enjoyment which the races possess, and the progress of invention makes the world a more comfortable place in which to live.

The ideal state for man, which thinkers of all ages have identically imagined, tends to become more and more a reality, as the social and human instincts develop. It is true that the barbarian enjoys a breadth of freedom altogether unknown to a civilised man, but this conception of freedom is of course an absolutely false one. True freedom is only found in the voluntary submission of one's common interest for the general good, a freedom for which civilisation brings the opportunity. Happiness, in fact, is most surely found by those not seeking it. Fulfilment of the daily duties of life, and a due recognition and cultivation of the social instincts are themselves a substantial happiness, the achievement of which is independent of external conditions.

International morality has made enormous strides since the great European War, despite the wailings of those who would have us believe that modern civilisation is a failure. In place of barbarism and bloodshed, the world now looks to the reign of moral force as an agent for the appeasement of national rancours and rivalries, for the unification of races and for the establishment of a true common partnership in the interests of the world's brotherhood of peoples. Distinctions of class and creed are being rapidly broken down, sex barriers in many climes have almost disappeared, and the time is presumably nearer when "Man to man the world o'er shall brothers be for a' that."

The Last Session of the Viceregal Council. 231

THE cold weather session of the Indian Legislative Council which concluded on the 22nd March last will be remembered as the last meeting at Delhi of the assembly which was constituted eleven years ago, and in the work of which great names held in sacred memory and illustrious men who are fortunately still with us have taken a conspicuous part. Within the limits set for them, non-official members have rendered notable service to the country and nobly and manly acted their part. The reformed Council which, it has been announced, will meet and be opened by the Prince of Wales early in February next, will be quite different in composition, and on that account will have an importance and weight attached to its deliberations and decisions which did not belong, in the same measure, to the present Council. But that circumstance cannot stand in the way of a just and correct estimate of its accomplishments. The session which closed last month was one of the busiest which the Council has had, though the fact that, in the coming year, the sittings will necessarily be more continuous and prolonged does not seem yet to be realised widely.

Before attempting a survey of the business considered by the council, it is necessary to refer to the very solid and substantial work in regard to the Reforms done necessarily behind the screens both by the Government and non-official members. The Secretariats in the Government of India have been kept phenomenally busy during the last year and will continue to be more so till early next year, in connection with the thousand and one details which have to be decided before the new Act can be introduced. Early in the session, the Government appointed an Advisory Committee to help them in drafting rules, regulations and standing orders under the various sections of the measure. Sir William Marris was the President of this informal Committee of which the non-official members were Messrs. S. N. Bannerjee, Sarma, Sastri, Sinha, Crum, Paton, Sir D. E. Wacha, Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia and Khan Bahadur Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer. The drafts prepared by the Government of India were considered by the Committee and were sent to non-official members of the Indian Legislative Council for opinion. Together with the report of the proceedings of the Committee they were sent to the Provinces, and the Committee finally considered the views of Local Governments and non-official committees set up by them.

In all 27 legislative measures were taken up during the session, of which as many as 16 were finally passed, one rejected and the rest postponed. Of the three private bills promoted, the Marriage Bill has been deferred till the reformed Council meets, the Electricity Bill was rejected, while the Outchi Memon's Bill was introduced. The Marriage Bill was referred to a Select Committee consisting of non-official members of the whole Council, but no Mahomedan member consented to serve on it. The Select Committee recommended its postponement for consideration by the New Council.

The Census bill, Indian Steam Vessels Bill, Government Securities Bill, U. P. Town Improvement Act Amendment Bill and Indian Tariff Act Amendment Bill were passed practically without any discussion, being uncontroversial in their nature. The Provincial Insolvency Act was consolidated with a few changes, while the Presidency Towns Insolvency Act was amended in order to bring it into line with the former, in regard to declaring an adjudged insolvent to be unfit to hold the office of a Magistrate or member of a local authority, unless he has obtained a discharge with a certificate that the insolvency was due to misfortune without misconduct. The life of the Import and Export of Goods Act 1916 has been extended up to 31st March next, the understanding being that such restriction would be confined to foodstuffs, gold, silver (exports only) and rouble notes. The Suspension of Sentences by Courts Martials Act has for its object the preservation as a permanent measure of the power taken temporarily in 1917 to suspend the execution of sentences of imprisonment or transportation passed by Courts Martial under the Indian Army Act, because clemency has proved beneficial both to offender and the service. The Red Cross Society Act was intended to give a statutory basis to the activities of this useful organisation.

There were four bills arising out of or in some way connected with the budget. The super-tax bill abolishes the previous super-tax on the undivided profits of companies and ~~and~~ replacing it by a new super-tax at the rate of one anna in the rupee, on the whole income of companies in excess of Rs. 50,000. The Indian Income-tax Bill makes it clearer that agricultural income is exempt from income-tax, removes a hardship suffered by an assessee when his income is just over one of the stages in Schedule I. The Gold Import Bill taking power to continue

restriction on imports was, owing to opposition, postponed till the September session, while the bill to amend the Indian Paper Currency Act 1910, proposing to abolish the existing limitation as to the nature of the securities in which currency reserve may be made, was passed so as to be in force till October next.

The most important and beneficial measures passed by the Council during the last session were three in number. The first is the Bill amending the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act, providing certain safeguards against oppression of labourers by employers by allowing advances to be paid in instalments, by insisting on magisterial inquiries being made beforehand and by reducing the term of imprisonment. The Home Member permitted officials to vote as they liked on the bill, said that the Government of India considered that the Act was bound to disappear before many years elapsed and suggested that any non-official member may bring forward any amending measure in order to render the operation of the Act still more harmless. As a matter of fact the Government would ask Provincial Governments to administer it with as little hardship to labourers as possible. The second important bill was that relating to the administration of religious and charitable endowments. Here too, the power of obtaining information in regard to which increased facilities are provided, the enabling of trustees to obtain directions from courts and the payment of expenses incurred in certain suits against the trustees, are but a modest instalment of reform, but the Government were afraid of going further and left it to the new councils to cover fresh ground. The last, but not the least important measure was that constituting a residential and teaching University at Dacca, the principle of which was widely supported. The Select Committee considerably widened the scope of the bill by allowing medicine and agriculture also to be established from the very commencement. The provisions in the bill, giving separate representation for Mahomedans on the various bodies within the University, formed the subject of keen debates, but they were allowed to remain.

The Lepers Bill, intended to segregate lepers in asylums or special institutions and allowing Local Governments to empower persons, police officers or others to exercise the powers, was introduced, while the bill relating to the amalgamation of the three Presidency banks was, in deference to the opinion expressed, postponed to the September session. Altogether thirty four resolutions were

discussed in the Delhi session. A statistical analysis of the results cannot be depended on to give a correct idea of the results obtained from moving these resolutions, especially because it is found that where a resolution should be withdrawn it is pressed and *vice versa*. Of the 34 resolutions, 9 were adopted, 14 were rejected and 11 withdrawn. In the first of these divisions are included motions relating to the expression of gratitude to His Majesty the King-Emperor for his gracious Proclamation, inquiry into the Colonisation schemes in British Guiana and Fiji by a Committee of the Council which, while recommending the schemes insist on a preliminary inquiry on the spot by a person deputed by the Government of India, consideration of a scheme of Imperial Preference, encouragement of Mahomedan education, deputing Sir B Robertson to inquire into and report on the condition of Indians in British East Africa, appointment of an Indian High Commissioner, clemency to political prisoners, removal of inter-provincial and inter-district control over foodstuffs, and the stoppage of further war contribution by India to the British Government. Very important and useful discussions took place on the policy underlying the sale of Reverse Council bills, the resolutions relating to this subject taking the form of recommendations to reduce the expected deficit and increase the income from interest. Mr. Hailey made a brave defence, basing the action on the recent exchange and currency Committee report which fixed the value of the rupee at 2s and linked the rupee to gold and not to sterling. He also referred to the permanent saving in Home charges which made it possible to reduce the Imperial deficit from 12 crores to 6 crores, a gain which has been criticised to be illusory by the Bombay public, who are waging a strenuous war against the policy of selling reverse councils at a time when the trade balance was in favour of India, and when the exchange did not require to be bolstered up by seriously depreciating the reserves held in England. A resolution advocating the removal of restriction on the import of gold was defeated, the mover not being willing to accept the qualification 'as soon as possible' suggested on behalf of the government. It may be remarked that as many as 15 of the 34 resolutions were on the budget, of which only one was accepted, while 8 were rejected and 6 withdrawn. The Government of India agreed to appoint a committee to inquire into the grievances of postal officials after a good deal of discussion.

The Reconstruction of Indian History

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BY

MR. V. B. METTA

HISTORY is not a mirror but a picture. It does not reflect faithfully the body and spirit of a dead period, or age, or people. It is the creation of the temperament of an individual and of the age in which that individual lives. The individual in most cases is not only the slave of the times in which he lives but of the nation or continent to which he belongs. Take three historians like the English Froude, the French Michelet and the German Trietschke, and you will find them consciously or unconsciously magnifying the greatness of their respective countries in such a way that their compatriots' vanity may be gratified. By being a creative artist, the historian does not merely reflect the facts of the past in his work, but by a clever disposition of facts helps in moulding the future of his country.

From what has been said above, it will be evident that history must be national. Foreigners are often apt to misjudge a people, on account of political, religious or social bias. Especially does this happen in these times, when the history of Asiatic nations is written by Europeans. The facts may be correct, but the interpretation may be wholly false. Facts can also be hidden, overcoloured or thrown in the shade. The utility or the greatness of the institutions of a country may be minimised, especially when, at the time the historian is writing the history of the country, those institutions are in a state of decadence. The present is such an oppressive tyrant that it obscures the glory of the past, and distorts the vistas of the future. To give one example, when Doctor Gustave Le Bon, the eminent French scholar, saw the dawning of modernity in Japan in the eighties of the last century, he thought and wrote that absolutely no good would come out of it. We wonder what the good doctor thought, when in 1904 and 1905 he read of the armies of the Czar, considered till then to be the most powerful in the world, going down like nine pins before the armies of the Mikado!

The history of India has yet to be written. The Ancient Indians were either too transcendental or too fanciful to write history. Except the *Kashmirian Raj Taragini*, we do not yet know of any pure historical work written by them. Then came Islam, bringing with it, a comparatively more secular, a more mundane civilization

than the Hindus possessed. History and biography then flourished abundantly. But the histories and biographies of that period were to a great extent sectarian or provincial. Exquisite as many of them are as works of art, their spirit does not suit these times, for our political and social goals are quite different from their political and social goals. Then came the Europeans on the scene. They have written many histories, but most of them are fundamentally vitiated on account of (1) their prejudices in favour of the Greek and Roman civilizations; (2) their traditional respect or reverence for Christianity; (3) their belief that their political and social institutions are the best and final ones. They often mistake change for progress, and piously believe that an Oriental nation, in order to progress, must evolve on the lines on which the modern European nations have evolved. How the spirit of Time, the Supreme Moulder of this earth and of human life, must be laughing at these ideas, I do not quite know!

There is a conscious or unconscious purpose in histories. The Prussian historians of the last century wrote everything with the conscious purpose of unifying Germany, and of proving that Prussia was naturally fitted to lead the other German States. How do the English historians write? They write as if God had specially made them to rule a great Empire. All Japanese interpretations of their own history prove that the Japanese have always considered themselves as the Chosen Race.—But we, Indians, how are we taught to interpret our past? We are taught to see nothing but error in our long history. It was wrong on our part to have monarchical institutions. Our Monarchy is supposed to resemble the tyranny of the Roman Cæsars. Our caste system is considered to have been productive of nothing but evil. And yet, we ask our wise Western gurus, 'How is it that India, in spite of the inferiority of her political institutions, her social and moral ideals to those of Greece, Rome and of Christian Europe, was able to produce at least as great if not better philosophers, poets and artists than you have produced.' How could so much greatness come out of futile and barbarous institutions? Why were Buddha, Mahavira, Akbar and Shah Jahan not born in Europe? Verily, there is a great mistake of some sort, either of God—in giving so much

wisdom and the sense of beauty to a country which is considered *arriere*, or of European historians in measuring the heights and depths of the Indian civilization!

Our object, when writing our own history, should be to increase our nation's self-respect. I do not mean by this, that we should indulge in rhetorical eulogies of our past. What I mean is that we should see all the events of olden days as magnificent constructive forces, forces that have helped to mould the heart and soul of Hindusthan. There is nothing to regret in the disappearance of the Vedic religion. It was brought here by the Aryan immigrants, and it died, because it did not suit the genius of the country into which it was transplanted. Why did the caste system persist so much longer in this country than in other countries? Because it suited the genius of India. This explains why Islam and Christianity alike have been Indianized in India. And what is the good that such a system has done to the country? Why it prevented all its men from becoming fierce blood-shedders or money-makers! Each new invasion of the country by foreign races was a good thing; for it added one more side to our already many-sided talent. There are no Hindu or Mahomedan, Parsi or Jewish races in India, existing in watertight compartments. There is no pure Aryan, or Semite, or Dravidian, or Mongol in India. We all combine within us the characteristics of all these races, and that is why we produced the cathedral temple of Madura, the shrines of Abu, and the Taj Mahal, all so different and yet all of

them breathing and expressing the same spirit, the same soul!

The arrival of the Europeans in India has not been *useless*, for nothing in life is useless. They have made us more self-conscious. They are unifying us in spite of themselves. They are teaching us political and social ideals, which are respected in countries which are at present the most powerful or the most civilized. They are teaching us how to co-operate. They are showing us the way to power. They have discovered to us new worlds of art, music and literature. By our contact with them, we might be able to give birth to a new star, to a new world of passionate poetry and beauty.

A beginning is now made by Indians in the art of writing their own history. But it is a poor beginning. It is not a beginning full of rich and exultant promises. We are learning to be accurate, precise in the sifting of facts from 'legends.' We are learning to collect details after reading a great number of books, and then patch them up, with the result that we create some sort of picture—poor, passionless picture without a central motive. Our new histories are instructive, but they do not carry the reader away with them. This is due to the fact that we have learnt the scientific method of writing history from the West, but dropped the romantic method of our ancestors. Are the two methods irreconcilable? I think not. They have been combined by Froude, Carlyle and Michelet. Then, why can we not do likewise?

Mr. Findlay Shirras on "Indian Currency"

BY

"ECONOMICUS."

FOR some mysterious reason Mr. Findlay Shirras has called his new book on Indian Currency, by the title "Indian Finance and Banking."* It is a store of useful information with regard to gold, silver, bank notes, and all the forces which have operated to cause the war and post-war fluctuations in the exchange value of the rupee, as seen from a statistical office in the City of Calcutta, in close touch on the one hand with the Government of

India, and on the other hand with the trading and financial interests of Bengal. The whole of India has cause to be grateful to Mr. Shirras for utilising his scanty leisure in preparing and issuing this work; but different parts of India will view it with varying degrees of approval. Probably, Calcutta will regard it as a very adequate and satisfactory exposition of the whole subject; but Bombay will disapprove of the whole attitude of the author, and very likely regard his influence as pernicious. Madras again will see it from yet another point of view. To us it seems to fail to realise Indian life outside the great cities.

* "Indian Finance and Banking" by G. Findlay Shirras, Director of Statistics with the Government of India, Macmillan & Co.

As a frontispiece there is a page of diagrams, representing graphically "The Banking Position of India." This represents the banking development of India as incredibly small, not only as compared with that of the United States or the United Kingdom, but also in comparison with Japan. It may be so. But looking at his figures we see that Mr. Shirras credits India with only 55 banks and 304 branches. Now it is impossible even to discuss the question how many banks India has without first determining what a bank is, and precisely how to draw a line between a true banking business and that of a mere money-lender. Mr. Shirras in his enumeration leaves out on the one hand all the co-operative banks, all banks of the type of the Mylapore Permanent Fund, all businesses of the type of those conducted by the Nattukottai Chetties, who mainly finance the rice production of Burma, as well as so much of the industry of South India, all hoondi merchants, though in many cases the nature of their business, dealing in remittances, receiving deposits, and advancing money on security, is exactly what is declared to be banking under any definition of the word. Nobody familiar with South India would be likely to publish such a diagram without indicating the nature and importance of the institutions excluded from the enumeration. To Mr. Shirras, it seems that India suffers from having scarcely anything in the way of banks; to us in South India, the defect appears to be much more one of quality than quantity. What is wanted is not so much more machinery for lending A's savings to B, but a better balance between savings and borrowings, the lower rates of interest which would come if people saved more readily and borrowed less eagerly, and the productive use of a larger proportion of the borrowed funds.

On the currency question, Mr. Shirras is not always clear or definite in the expression of his views. He argues powerfully and convincingly against the debasing of the rupee and against inconvertible paper currency, but his ideas are not sufficiently clear about the appreciation of silver, which he thought could never rise above 60d. per ounce, and he must now be prepared to admit that his proposal of a 1s. 8d. rupee did not deserve any more consideration than the Smith Committee actually gave it, and that was but little.

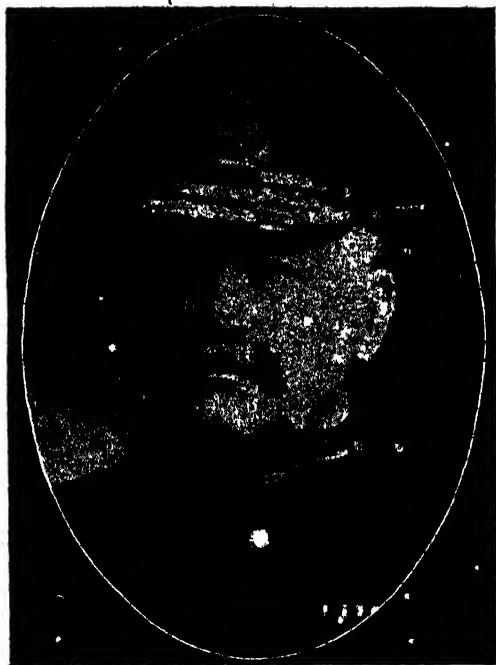
It was perhaps only to be expected that Mr. Shirras should fall a victim to the delusions about gold which are current in banking circles.

The gentlemen whose business it is to deal with metallic and paper money are all convinced that the proper thing to do with gold is to deposit it in cellars, to keep it, so to speak, in cold storage, until it becomes commercially convenient to export it to some foreign country to be kept in cold storage there. Æsop knew better two thousand and odd years ago. He tells how the gods took away a miser's buried gold and gave him stones instead, and when he remonstrated pointed out to him that as he never used the gold, and never meant to, the stones would serve his purpose equally well. The banker considers it waste to use the precious gold as coins in active internal circulation, paper will do just as well; and much more does he consider it wicked waste to use the gold as jewellery. It should be kept unused, unhandled, while its legal representative, the bank note, is to do the business of money. What they completely fail to realise, what Mr. Shirras also fails to realise, is that if everybody did as the bankers want them to do, if nobody wanted to handle the actual gold, or to have it fashioned into ornaments and displayed upon the faces and limbs of his female relatives, gold would lose its value, and all the superstructure of banking credit built upon it as a basis would crumble into ruin, like a factory chimney when a lower ring of bricks is knocked out. It is the fact that the Indian peasant will sell paddy in order to give his daughter a gold nose-ring for her wedding, combined with similar psychological facts within and without India, that gives gold its value to the trader, since it gives him the assurance that in exchange for gold he will be able to secure grain and other commodities. And every weakening of the desire for gold for its traditional use, to beautify ladies and display the wealth of their husbands, every failure of willingness to toil at production in field, mine and factory in order to win gold for that use, can only result in enhancement of prices. It may lead to more gold being stored in the bankers' cellars, and to an ever greater increase in the number of banknotes circulating, but each tola of gold with all the notes based upon it will shrink in purchasing power in the same proportion.

This is the fundamental fact of the currency problem, though generally the people who handle currency ignore it, and a very serious fact it is, too.

THE AFGHAN WAR

THE Despatch of the Commander-in-Chief reviewing in detail the operations against Afghanistan reveals in a striking manner the extremely arduous nature of the campaign, and brings into clear relief the peculiar difficulties under which the campaign was carried out. On previous occasions, the initiative for taking the offensive lay with the Government of India and they had always chosen, after making the



H. E. SIR CHARLES MUNRO.
Commander-in-Chief in India.

necessary military preparations, the coolest part of the year. The present was a war of wanton aggression thrust upon India without sufficient notice and that, too, in the hottest season of the year. Moreover, India had not recovered from the results of the drain on her resources during the Great War and was scarcely prepared to meet the demands of a frontier campaign on such a large scale. Depleted means of communication and deficiency in the personnel of the Army Services, which as a consequence had considerably impaired the efficiency of the forces stationed on the frontier, gave a great deal of anxiety. Internal disturbances, which had necessitated the stationing of troops in areas under Martial Law, had also

dislocated the usual distribution of troops. These disadvantages were greatly intensified by the abnormal climatic conditions and the out-break of the epidemic of cholera of unusual severity.

It is true that the Afghan Regular Army has never been considered formidable, but that the real menace lay in the attitude of the tribesman numbering about 120,000 was always recognised as an outstanding factor in the Afghan Frontier problem. Moreover the extent of front along which operations had to be undertaken was unusually long, covering nearly 1,300 miles. Our main effort was directed to the Khaibar Front, with Dakka as the first objective. This was planned to prevent the combination of the Mohmands and Afridis and cut them off from Afghan support. It was wholly successful though after the capture of Dakka our armies could not proceed further to Jalalabad for shortage of transport. On the Waziristan Front in the Tochi and Derajat areas, it was decided to evacuate temporarily the land which lay between the administrative and political borders with a view to avoiding embarrassing commitments, and concentrating the forces at a decisive point. This was carried out under great difficulties. On the Baluchistan Front the capture of Fort Spin Baldak was of great strategic importance.

It is well to recall the lessons of the campaign with the fond hope that they will not be lost on the Government of India. For a frontier campaign to be successful, a larger provision of mechanical transport is quite necessary. Much has been done in the past to provide good roads, and that policy may have to be continued, knowing as we do now from this war, that mechanical transport is impossible without them. The other lesson to which the Commander in Chief refers is the complete failure of the frontier militia. It is hardly necessary to point out that this is a danger on which we cannot afford to look with equanimity in future. What should be exactly our policy in regard to this, cannot be laid down with certainty. But it is opined that advanced posts may be abandoned and that we should occupy a line from which, if necessity arises, our forces must be able to reach our objectives with the least possible delay and without much difficulty. Transportation facilities must be well provided for and the armies should be equipped with all the modern implements of war. All this will naturally help the forces to strike hard and quickly. The successful advance against Dakka on the Khaibar Front is an instance in point.



H. M. AMIR AMAN ULLAH KHAN.
The Present Ruler of Afghanistan.

THE BRIDE OF DARWAN SING

A STORY OF INDIA

BY

AUGUSTINE D. QHOL

IN Sitapur on the banks of the beautiful Jumna River not far from Delhi, the wedding festivities were in full swing. The merry voices and laughter of two thousand guests were heard often above the music that was being produced on numerous string instruments, drums and trumpets. The air was heavy with the fragrance of flowers and sandal wood perfume. Thousands of lamps were burning in the spacious courtyard and they gave a steady light as they were constantly fed by sweet oil.

It was the marriage of Darwan's younger sister to her second cousin, Bhagwan. They were both extremely shy as they sat on the raised platform under a canopy, and were the center of interest. Jaya often pulled the beautiful, red silk saree over her face, partly to conceal her embarrassment, as it was the first time she was sitting so close to Bhagwan, and partly to laugh at her heart's content, unobserved, as the little jokes were whispered in her ear by her girl friends.

It was now nearly an hour since the Guru had departed after performing the actual marriage ceremony. The guests, dressed in their best garments, displaying a riot of color and wonderful jewellery, gold necklaces, bangles, pearl and diamond ear-rings, large gold and silver anklets, were moving hither and thither offering congratulations to the numerous relatives present. At last the time had come when the bride must be hidden and the bridegroom must prove himself a hero by finding her.

There were several surprises planned and one was to dress up a boy, who was the size of Jaya, in a similar way as she was dressed, and hide him in one of the rooms. The bride, of course, was to be hidden in that part of the house where it would not be so easy to find her. Mumtaj was the leading figure in arranging these farces for it was only last year she and Darwan were married, and had gone through this kind of frolic and fun.

Bhagwan expected some difficulty in finding his bride, but was full of enthusiasm and determined to prove himself a hero immediately. Accordingly he rushed through the house, hither and thither, and at last he saw her in a dark corner seated on a rug behind a stairway leading to the roof of the house. He picked her up in his arms and smilingly brought her in the midst of the guests, who

were waiting for him. He then lifted her veil, and the laughter of the people increased, as the boy, impersonator stood forth elated over his success.

Darwan was happy and pleased about the celebration as it was progressing smoothly. He was seen attending to the guests and taking most of the cares and responsibilities of this day upon himself, relieving his parents. His week's leave from his regiment was almost over and he was expected to report at the Barracks the next day.

The dinner, that was being prepared by a host of men and women, was ready. The aroma of pulav was inviting, and Darwan was on the point of asking the guests to be seated, when there was a great commotion and a sepoy in full uniform rushed close to him and announced that his regiment was leaving for Bombay at midnight, and his superior officer commanded his presence at once.

Darwan had been a soldier in His Majesty's service for five years and was accustomed to being transferred from one military station to another. In these five years he had been stationed in Hyderabad, Agra, Quetta, Poona and several other places, but never in Bombay. There had been a rumour that the Indian regiments may be sent to "Pardesh", a foreign country, but no one ever believed it. Such a thing had never been done in the history of India, and never could be possible.

The European war broke out in August 1914, and all over India talks of the great "Ladhai" war were being heard. The English Raj was at war and his Indian soldiers were expected to be ready for any emergency or call to fight across the seas. The Rajahs, Maharajahs and Princes of India had already offered their aid, and put their palaces, treasuries, horses, camels and soldiers at His Majesty's service. Darwan knew why his regiment was leaving for Bombay at midnight. It was at last going across the "Khala" sea, as his superior English officer once said it might.

When he was alone, dressed in his sepoy's uniform, and all had bid him good bye, Mumtaj slowly entered his room. "Ji," she said, in her soft musical voice, looking so beautiful in her pale blue saree, and her large, dark eyes turned to the floor. "Ji," she repeated, "What does

this mean?" Mumtaj, like a true Indian wife, never called her husband by his first name, but used this polite form in addressing him. "Mumtaj," he said, as he looked at her graceful figure, "it means that my regiment is sailing from Bombay for France."

"To Pardesh, Ji, and for how long?"

"I do not know, Little Flower", the epithet he often used when he felt very tender towards her. "No one knows, we are going to France, those are our orders."

It was time to report at the Barracks, and Darwan, as he hurried down the road lined with tall tamarind and poplar trees, gave a last glance back towards his home where the marriage of his sister was being celebrated.

There were many heavy hearts at his sudden departure, but none was heavier than that of Mumtaj. Darwan, whom she worshipped as a god, was leaving her for the battle field, and although she rejoiced that he was to serve the British Raj, yet at the same time sorrow gripped her little heart, and that night as she lay on her couch, tears, like tiny streams, were running down her cheeks. She tried to sleep, but it would not come. Her mind was too active and as she lay there, she determined to see him again before he left India.

But how to do it was the problem. This marriage in the family had drained their treasury and it had left them poor. The only thing to their credit was the glory they had gained from the surrounding towns and villages that this marriage was celebrated with great pomp and unsurpassed splendor.

The next morning Mumtaj was up early and rather happy for the plans of seeing Darwan had taken shape in her mind. She saw her father Ranjit Lal, who was there for the wedding, and begged him to accompany her to Bombay by that night's Punjab Mail.

"But it will take 200 Rupees," he said, "if we travel by the third class, and the journey will be almost two days and two nights."

"It must be done," said Mumtaj, "we will leave by the Punjab Mail."

She had been wondering how much money it would take, for she had no idea how far Bombay was from Delhi. But now she knew, so she rushed to a Marwadi's shop in Bunder Alley, where the family had had money dealings before.

"Gopalji," she said, "I need two hundred rupees and for security I wish to leave these with you." With that, she took out a little bundle

done up in a white silk cloth from under her arm, and began to untie the knots. She lifted her heavy gold necklace, held it in front of him and laid it aside; next her beautiful hand-wrought gold armlets and anklets were shown to him, then her wedding pendant diamond ear-rings were carefully lifted and putting them in the palm of her left hand, she showed them to him. They glistened and sparkled with ever changing colors. There was a catch at her heart as she looked at them, for they brought to her mind floods of sweet memories and the thought of parting with them, even for a short time, almost made her sick.

Gopalji recognized the ear-rings for they were bought from him for three times the sum she was now asking. "Does Darwan know?" he said, after looking at her jewels.

"It is all right, Gopalji, you can trust me."

The Marwadi, after a moment's pause, opened his cash box and began to count the silver rupees. Each rupee being sounded on a board, and as it gave a clear ringing sound, was considered good and thus added to the pile on his right. The count was kept up till he had reached "Dhon-Shay" two hundred.

Mumtaj pushed the jewels towards him and quickly gathered the money in her silk cloth, tied it up, put it under her arm and with a low bow, saying "Upkar" thanks, started homeward.

The next few hours were spent in the kitchen preparing such food as would be suitable on the journey. Wheat chapaties, dry curries of two or three kinds, fried wadies with mango pickle and guava preserves would last them till they reached their destination. They could buy milk and fruit at the large stations.

Mumtaj's father, who idolized her more than ever after his wife's death, was always ready to do a thing which gave her pleasure.

Ten o'clock came and Mumtaj, with her father seated beside her in a third class compartment, was rapidly moving in a night mail train for Bombay. The scenery was wonderful and ever changing. Some parts of the country were very green, and from the rice fields, near a station, whenever the mail made a stop, voices of men and women were heard singing as they worked. Now and then they passed through fertile fields of wheat and jawari. The jawari in some places was over eight and nine feet high and showed a good prospect of a rich harvest, as the rains that season had been good.

They passed through the Fort Station of Agra, and at a distance on the right they could see the

snow-white Taj Mahal and its graceful minarets towering towards the sky.

On the second day, they had left Itarsi behind and were passing through the Ghats, and densely wooded mountains, where lived tigers and other wild animals unmolested. It was a strange experience for Mumtaj, but all the way on the journey, her thoughts were of Darwan, and now and then she repeated to herself that "he is going across the Kbhala Sea"

On the following day early in the morning, the Punjab Mail pulled into the Victoria Station, Bombay. That beautiful station was crowded as usual with thousands of passengers arriving and departing constantly. The Hindus are a great people for travelling and religious pilgrimages give them an additional inducement to leave their homes for months at a time.

Mumtaj and her father hurried to a near-by Hindu Hotel on Hornby Road. Bombay was crowded and all the Hotels from Taj Mahal to the smallest tea houses around Crawford Market were trying to accommodate more guests than they had rooms for. But Bombay has always had the reputation of housing and feeding thousands and thousands of visitors and tourists within her gates. This time she wished to do her best, for her own soldiers were leaving India to fight in Europe to do their share in preserving the freedom of the world from the forces of the modern Nero.

The Sepoys were received with great hospitality everywhere, and many of the merchants distributed sweetmeats among them and presented them with garlands of marigolds. The Lahore and Meerut Divisions were sailing to-morrow from Bombay and Karachi. Darwan's regiment was leaving on the great P. & O. Ocean dinner at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and they were expected to be on deck by 1.30 P.M.

Mumtaj and her father rose early and after buying some fruit and 'Mithai' for Darwan and a garland of jasmine flowers, hurried to Apollo Bunder. The streets leading to the piers were choked with crowds and towards noon there was one mass of humanity in the boulevards and along the extensive piers.

Ranjit Lal, after inquiries, succeeded in locating the 129th Regiment to which Darwan belonged, and when they approached near, Mumtaj made out his tall figure first, looking so erect in his sepoy's uniform and his khaki colored turban. He was standing apart speaking to one of his comrades.

The father pushed forward, crossed the ropes

that were put to keep people back, and touched him on the shoulder. It was a great surprise to him to see his father-in-law in Bombay, but he was informed in a few words that Mumtaj was waiting for him under that pipal tree, and he pointed out the tree to him.

The next moment Darwan was sitting beside her alone, for the father had wisely left them.

"Ji," she said, "I could not bear the thought of your departure to the far, far away 'Pardesh' without my seeing you again, and so we came."

"Little Flower," he began, "you are always thinking of me and now you have taken this long journey for my sake." She did not allow him to say more, but begged him to eat a little of what she had brought for him. And while he did so, she looked at his fine-shaped head, his hands and face, and his big arms, and said within her heart, "no one could possibly be handsomer than he."

She took the jasmine garland and put it around his neck, and let her hands rest on his shoulders. He loved to have her near him again, and once or twice he whispered in her ear allowing his face to rest against her cheek.

"Little Flower," he said at last in a low voice, "Remember if the 'Bacha' is a boy, he is to bear his father's name, but if Heaven wills it otherwise, then the name of your departed mother Gangu is to be given." He laughed for he was happy and wanted her to smile, but her heart was too full with emotion, and joy, for a moment, seemed to have departed from her.

At one o'clock the bugle sounded a signal for the soldiers to get in line to embark, and no sooner the first notes of it reached Darwan's ear, than he jumped to his feet, ready to go. The father quickly came to them, and Darwan took an affectionate farewell of his father-in-law, and as he started to go took hold of Mumtaj's hand, drew her close and pressed her against his heart, "Good-bye, faithful Little Flower," he said, "I will come back to you again." Tears were falling hot and fast down her cheeks, and her throat was choked, so that she could not speak. She held his hand tight as though she would fain let him go. But he was gone, and the soldiers, in perfect order, were getting aboard the steamer.

Mumtaj and her father moved to a place from which they could have a good view of the ship. Two o'clock came before they realized, that the steamer, with the Union Jack flying from its highest mast, was slowly leaving the shores of India and making for the open waters. Thousands of others, who had come like them to bid

their loved ones farewell, were waving frantically, as the steamer was gradually getting out of sight. The Military Band was still playing and the last strains that reached the shore were:

"Rule, Britannia! Britannia, rule the waves;
Britons never will be slaves."

Mumtaj had stood motionless, during all this time, and when the mist had hidden the ship, which was carrying away her Darwan, she leaned heavily against her father, and finally fainted in his arms.

In a little over two weeks' time the Indian soldiers were on the French soil, and the people of Marseilles gave them a warm and enthusiastic welcome. It was a strange but a glorious sight to the French populace to see these tall handsome Punjabis and Sikhs marching through their streets. They saw immediately that they were indeed "la fleur des troupes." Their coming was a great joy to them. It gave them hope and courage that now their hereditary and lawless enemy, the Germans, will be checked from coming upon them killing and burning, as they have been doing since they devastated Belgium and crossed into French territory. The streets of Marseilles were lined with men, women and children as the Sepoys moved on rapidly towards the railway station, after leaving their ship. The spectators cheered and cheered, they waved their flags, they sang "La Marseillaise" and the women threw flowers at them.

It was a touching but a beautiful sight, and the Indian soldiers were not left in doubt as to the hearty welcome they were receiving. They were determined more than ever to fight, to bleed and die, if need be, till they had done their share in keeping back the legions of demons, which had become a menace to the world.

In a short time other regiments of Sepoys landed in France. They represented different races, Mahrattas, Dogras, Jats, Garhwalis, Mohammedans and the fearless Gurkhas. All the Indian rulers were anxious to do their part, and many of the native Princess and Rajas crossed the seas for the first time, to fight willingly on a foreign soil.

His Highness, Colonel Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur, The Maharajah of Bikanir, General Sir Pratap Singh Bahadur, and others gallantly accompanied their troops. They loved the battlefield no less, when the call came, than the beautiful palaces they lived in, and the Courts through which they majestically moved and took part in the unsurpassed gorgeous Durbars.

As soon as the new regiments landed, they were pushed to the fighting line in the trenches. There was no time to lose, and within two months since the war started, thousands of the sepoy were fighting the Germans desperately to hold them back, as they came upon them like ever rolling waves, when there is a fierce storm out at sea.

They were engaged and valiantly fought in the first battle of Ypres on the Western Front, and perhaps the land between Neuve Chapelle and Givenchy will ever be remembered by the Indian soldiers, as they helped to reconquer it with the free shedding of their blood. The early days of 1914 were disastrous for the Indian soldiers, for they lost heavily. In one battle alone they lost 4,000 men. But the next year was better as they became accustomed to the dreary wastes of Flanders, they made the Germans flee before them, as they forced them to give up the ground they had held for many months. The fearless Gurkhas, the best fighting men to be found anywhere, struck terror into the enemy.

Darwan's regiment was in the thick of the fight, and he saw hundreds of his comrades dead, wounded and many more missing. These were common sights and their only duty was to endure the hardships of the trenches and fight.

During a terrific battle, just after Lord Roberts had paid them a visit, a party from Darwan's regiment was making a dash of 500 yards through an open field and under a deafening fire from the enemy's guns to gain an important position, and at the same time to silence two big guns, which were making havoc of their trenches. Men fell and died like flies under the German fire, as they tried to advance. But the sepoy rushed on; they reached their objective and after a terrible hand to hand conflict, succeeded in silencing the guns. Darwan, the only survivor of the party, finally fell with blood streaming from his head after he had killed the last gunner.

He lay there for hours more dead than alive, but was finally picked up and later on when his bravery was known and he was getting well in a Hospital in London, His Majesty, the King, was pleased to decorate him with a Victoria Cross. The battle was still going on, the Indian soldiers had been fighting for a year and their losses had come up to over 34,000 and the soil in Flanders for miles was drenched with their blood, but Darwan's battle was over; with several wounds in the head, neck and left arm gone, he could no longer return to the front.

The months in London in a Hospital were tiresome and he longed to see the familiar sights of his native land, and the faces he loved. The Queen of England made a visit once to his Hospital, and she passed close by his cot upon which he was lying. He was too weak to move, but he noticed her sympathetic smile and her presence seemed to cheer the wounded soldiers from far across the sea.

A year and a half had passed since Mumtaj parted with Darwan, and as she had received no word from him during all that time, her sorrow and loneliness was more than she cared to analyse. She had, however, written letters to him and sent on to the best addresses she could get from the Military authorities in India. The public letter writers, whose figures are such familiar sights around the Post Offices in different towns and villages, did a big business. Thousands who were not competent to write letters, especially the addresses in English, went to these men. The letter writer in Mumtaj's town, like a shrewd man of his caste, had raised his pride on each letter he wrote. Formerly he had only charged a quarter of an "anna," but now he charged half an "anna" and the reason he gave for this was that the letters were going far away to "Vilayat" Europe.

Mumtaj was a frequent visitor to the public letter writer, and as she dropped the money in his hand, charged him to write well all the news she was giving and had him end the letter with a prayer for Darwan's safe return. Then she took the bamboo reed pen herself and signed "From thy wife, Mumtaj." The English Government was anxious to do well by their Indian soldiers and whenever some had passed the early stage of convalescence, they were sent back to India. One day this pleasant news came to Darwan that he was to return to India by one of the Hospital ships sailing from Tilbury docks on Saturday.

His joy was boundless, for at last he was returning to his beloved native land. He could almost feel the warmth of the Indian sun, and see through the eye of his imagination the little pond near his home, covered with lotus flowers, the cattle returning home as the soft twilight approached; and could almost hear the little bells from the temple of Parvati in the mango grove play their soft chimes, calling the devotees for an evening worship. Yes, he was going to see his own kith and kin and above all the little wife, whom he loved.

On a bright Saturday in June, as officially arranged, the Hospital Ship with hundreds of

wounded Indian soldiers, Darwan among them, was sailing from the Royal Albert docks at noon. A Red Cross delegation from London had arrived in time to bid the Sepoys a "Bon Voyage." Among them were some Parsee women and two of the Maharanees, who had been doing Red Cross work. They presented the soldiers with boxes of cigarettes and flowers. One of the Maharanees gave each soldier a box of "Halwa" Indian sweets, which she had especially ordered to be prepared in Soho Square, London.

The ship, with big red crosses painted on either side, sailed on the appointed hour, and no passengers could be happier than those she was carrying. They were at last on their way to the far East.

The voyage was long and at times life seemed too quiet to them on board, after the din, of the battle, the thundering of the big guns and the nerve wrecking shells as they burst around them with terrific noises. They had indeed passed through hell with all its horror and suffering.

When they were two days out in the Mediterranean, they were, however, much disturbed, and some of the sepoys, whose nerves were still weak, became worse, for a German submarine attempted to attack them. A British cruiser fortunately was not far from them and when the submarine saw that her own life was in danger, she dived and was seen no more.

At Suez they were cheered by British and Indian soldiers as their ship gently sailed through the canal, and when they reached Aden, they received another warm welcome and saw more of their fellow soldiers, who were stationed there.

In three weeks and a half the Hospital Ship reached Bombay, and the emotions of all on board were such that they struggled against shedding tears. The sight of Bombay from a distance, the waving palms and cocoanut trees along the shore, before the steamer docked at Ballard Pier, was enough to put fresh life and vigor into them.

"Hamarah Desh," exclaimed one of the soldiers, "my own native land."

No sooner had the steamer reached Bombay than the Indian Government undertook to inform the friends and relatives of the soldiers about their arrival; and for those, who were well enough to return to their own homes, arrangements were made to send them by the special trains leaving Victoria station as speedily as possible.

Mumtaj received a letter, a long, big envelope with a Government seal and on the left upper corner these words "On His Majesty's Service."

It simply informed her that Havildar Darwan Sing had reached Bombay and would be arriving in Sitapur on Monday morning by the Delhi express. She could hardly believe the message she had received, and was so overcome with joy, that she had to sit down and cry a little.

Sitapur and other towns, in the immediate vicinity of Delhi, had but one topic to discuss, "the return of the sepoys from the great Ladhaj." There was not one person who doubted that the battle was not won with great valor, and the enemy defeated beyond measure. All of the people expected to hear great tales of the war from their returning gallant and brave soldiers.

Preparations were made to meet the Delhi express, arriving Monday morning, and all the relatives and friends of Darwan were expecting to meet him at the station. Mumtaj was the only one who expressed her desire to stay behind at home. For the first time in her life, she felt selfish. She could not endure the thought of all those people claiming his attention and time when he belonged to her more than to anybody else. So she was going to stay behind and then have him all to herself.

At eleven o'clock the express pulled into the station and the returned hero of the war was welcomed with great joy by the hundreds of people, who had been waiting there since eight o'clock in the morning. Darwan was garlanded over and over again, and after greeting many near relatives and friends, anxiously looked around for Mumtaj, but was informed that she was waiting for him at home.

He then immediately made for the "Tonga," which was ready to drive him there. The familiar sights of the streets and the bazaars, through which he passed, were refreshing to him. But when the vehicle reached its destination, he jumped quickly and rushed into the house. Mumtaj had been wondering how he would look, when she heard his footsteps, and the next moment he put his arm around her and drew her close.

Their happiness of seeing each other was too great for words and for some minutes they did not speak. At last he raised her pretty head from his shoulder and looking into her face, said: "Beloved Little Flower, this heart of mine has been aching these many, many months to see you."

There were great watery clouds gathering in his large eyes, but he controlled himself. The suffering and sorrow he had seen on the battle

field had made him very tender, and every joy affected him more than he cared to acknowledge.

Mumtaj read his thoughts quickly, and as she looked at him she saw that he was very thin and pale. But she never loved him more than at this moment. She glanced at his neck and saw two ugly marks as though made by some sharp instruments. She decided not to make any remarks about them. When she removed his turban, she beheld more wounds in his head. This time she put her hand to her heart to ease sudden catches there.

She took hold of his right arm and pressed it against her lips. She noticed something unnatural about his left arm and took hold of it, but there was only an empty sleeve. Her eyes closed and she gave a quick cry of pain.

"What have they done to you?" she asked finally not knowing how terrible is the modern warfare. "It is the way of the great 'Ladhaj,'" he smiled and quickly pulled the Victoria Cross from his pocket and placed it in her hand.

"What is this?" she said, "It is not even gold, it is only bronze!"

"That is of greater value than many Mohors," he replied, "And the King Emperor presented it to me." "The King!" she exclaimed with sudden joy.

IN BAGHDAD TOWN.

BY

THEO. W. LA TOUCHE.

In Baghdad Town, when the fierce Lord of day
Yields to his gentle Lady-Moon the away,
Both old and young—tall youths and maidens fair,
Meet on the house-tops in the cool, sweet air,
Like fairies on the green, to sport and play;
Cast off below's the demon, daily care,
Above—with music, love and laughter gay,
The spirit of Romance twigs everywhere

In Baghdad Town,
Heard 'neath the moon sweet sounds the dulcimer,
And sweeter still the dark-eyed hourie's lay,
But sweetest to the Perie's heart the prayer
Her lover whispers as he smooths her hair:—

The old Arabian Nights still have their way, .

In Baghdad Town,

UMAPATHI SIVACHARIAR

BY

MR. K. V. RAMASWAMI, B.A., B.L.



Of the various religious cults that arose in mediæval India, none is perhaps more interesting or sheds greater light on the yearnings of the mediæval Indian spirit, than the Shaiva Siddhanta school that arose in the Tamil land. Somewhat later to arise in organised shape and teaching than the Vaishnava school of the land, it arose and spread however with equal fervour and rapidity. The Vaishnava cult, through the genius of Ramanuja and his successors, made itself felt throughout India and its doctrines led to the formation of a number of Vaishnava and protestant sects in Northern India and the Deccan. The Tamil Shaiva school, though it could boast of no similar missionary efflux in non-Tamil lands, yet became a provincial school of great vigour and mystical achievement. Sheltered and unambitious, it produced a race of gentle and humane mystics and gave a new cult of love and uplifting faith to vast masses of the Tamil people.

Like the Vaishnava school, the Shaiva school was born of two distinct influences, the poetry and achievements of a race of Tamil bards and mystics, and the classical philosophy of the old Arya-Brahminical cults. The foundation of the school and the first formulation of the cult in a native Tamil form are to be traced to the efforts of two men who flourished in the 'beginning of the thirteenth century A. D.—one, a Brahmin well-versed in the Shaiva Agamas and the other, a Tamil Shudra with a deep philosophic bent of mind, known to religious and literary tradition by the names respectively of Arulandhi and Meykanda Devar. The story of these two men, the early fathers of the Tamil Shaiva church, whose close connection is however evident, is mixed up with a good deal of spurious legend and fiction. The Brahmin at first appears as the family teacher of Meykanda Devar and his parent, but later when the Shudra youth comes out with a Tamil version of an Agama text, the Brahmin is represented as an irate and envious teacher out to discomfit the youth and his theological enterprise; at last, by another strange stroke, the Brahmin guru is made to become a 'disciple' of Meykanda, and his

co-worker in the propagation of the Tamilised cult. Clearing away the incongruity that the distorted admiration of a later-day indigenous Tamil following has wrought into the story, we may affirm that the joint labours of a Brahmin, well versed in the Shaiva Shastras and philosophy and a Tamil Shudra, gifted with a great philosophic mind and desirous of throwing open the treasure of the old Shaiva faith to his vernacular-speaking fellow-men, led to the establishment of the school which was in increasing measure to become the religion of the Tamil people. There is no doubt that a great deal of individual Brahminical effort, love and genius went to the making of the new cult, even as we find it, in the personalities of Manickavachakar, Sambandhar and others in the earlier poetic and mystical revival. A most remarkable instance of a gifted Brahminical soul that threw itself whole heartedly into the new popular cult, and laboured for its propagation, in spite of communal persecution and contempt, is that of Umapathi Sivachariar, fourth in apostolic succession from Meykandar. He wrote a number of beautiful and original mystical treatises which, apart from forming the bulk of the authoritative works of the Tamil Shaiva school, have a great individual value as the work of one of the profoundest and most loveable mystical 'schoolmen' that mediæval Hinduism produced.

Born a Vaidik Brahmin among the strict orthodox community of the Saivite priests of Chidambaram, he threw himself with all his soul into the new stream of popular and mystical Saivism, abjuring alike the formalities of the old Agama cult and the social distinctions of the Brahminical order. His community often persecuted him and even took away from him his right to worship at the temple, a right to which he had a double claim as a hereditary priest and as the greatest mystic of the day, but undaunted he pursued his life of apostolic love and service, singing the story of the temples and bards of the land and composing, by dint of a great life of mystical intuition and effort, some of the greatest treatises on mystical life and philosophy known to any Indian vernacular. We

shall trace the chief events of his life in somewhat fuller detail.

Umapathiar began his life as a priest of the Chidambaram temple. The shrine-city had at this period, through the songs of poets and the munificence of kings, become the greatest Shaiva city of the South, and its priests, Brahmins wedded to orthodox learning and temple-service, lived a worldly and affluent life. They managed the great endowments and gifts of the temple; they went forth to their duties at the shrine in palanquins attended by retinues of servants. Kings and peasants alike bowed at their feet. Umapathiar too lived as one of them. One day, as he was going in his palanquin to the shrine, a Brahmin ascetic passed along; and one of the latter's following, with true ascetic daring and indifference, remarked pointing to the palanquin, "See, here goes one in darkness lost in utter daylight". These words, assailing the ears of Umapathiar, wrought, continues the tradition, a sudden "conversion" in him; and, abjuring his palanquin and retinue, he joined the ascetic band and followed them. Tradition represents the ascetic leader of the band as a Brahmin of Kadanthai, by name Marai Jnanasambandhar, third in apostolic succession from the great Meykandar (the second being the Brahmin Arulnandhi). Umapathiar soon made himself a disciple of the Brahmin ascetic by a curious act, according to the story, of participation in the latter's meal, and chose to abide with him thereafter.

His entry, however, into a popular and mystical fold, roused the anger and persecution of his fellowmen and priests. They drove him from his worship at the shrine, his rightful pursuit, now to him more valuable than ever as an outward expression of the growing love and mysticism of his heart. A number of legends are recorded of the miraculous intervention of the local deity to restore to Umapathiar his right of worship at the shrine; but the truth seems to have been that his community was never reconciled to him and, as the mediæval account quaintly puts it, he thereafter worshipped his God "inwardly." In course of time his guru Marai Jnana Sambandhar died and Umapathi succeeded him as the head of the Saiva Siddhanta church. There is no doubt that he filled the seat long and honourably and the great and beneficent spread of the new-born popular Saivism owed a great deal to his life and work.

A remarkable episode in this period of his life as

the head of the Tamil church deserves to be mentioned. It is dealt with in detail in the current biographies of the Saivite saint, and sheds wonderful light alike on the high mission and purpose of the new-born Saiva cult and the great and loving heart of the priest-born mystic. On the outskirts of Chidambaram lived a pious-hearted Pariah, by name Perian Samban, who worshipped the deity of the place from the city-gates and daily carried thereto a bundle of faggots for the temple's use. The piety and doings of this low-born man reached the ears of Umapathiar—it is said the Pariah performed unawares a similar service to the monastery where Umapathiar and his disciples resided—and the latter decided to admit him into the religious fold. The process seems to have taken the form of a consecration by fire—perhaps a sort of religious *sati* or martyrdom, for, we read, it attracted the attention of the local political chief himself—and roused the anger of the lay and priestly world alike. But Umapathiar nothing daunted carried out the pariah's conversion. The whole story may by some be regarded as exceedingly unhistorical, but the very currency of such a legend may, we think, be taken to attest some basic element of apostolic love and reform in Umapathiar and the new-born Tamil Shaiva school alike.

These episodes apart, Umapathiar mainly devoted himself to inward adoration and culture and its artistic expression in songs and mystical treatises. He first composed a number of narrative treatises, one on the story and grandeur of his native temple (*Koyilpuranam*) and another on the did pious bards who by their poems prepared the ground for the spread of the new creed of love and mystical culture (*Thirumurai-kundapitranam*). Next he composed a number of remarkable poetic treatises on religious life and philosophy—eight of which form part of the authoritative works of the Tamil Shaiva school—with which his name and glory as a great Tamil mystic and philosopher have for ever been associated. Some say that Umapathiar composed the narrative poems in that earlier life of his, when he lived an affluent and youthful priest of the Chidambaram shrine, and the philosophic treatises later when he joined Marai Jnanasambandhar and his church. The latter mystical treatises—great and original presentments of the Shaiva cult—would then appear as a sequel to the new joy and intuition that were born into his later life within the popular church. Whatever be the period in which the narrative treatises—not

without an epic beauty and poetry of their own—were written, whether at the same period as, or earlier than, the mystical treatises, both classes of his works taken together reveal to us a most beautiful religious type—a strange blend of poet, schoolman and mystic—known to any religion. It presents us the spectacle of a great mystic who, along with a deep inward life of mystical culture and devotion, disdained not the uses of poetry or the glories and traditions of popular religion. Indirectly it also attests the many-sidedness of mediæval Hindu culture that it should produce souls which, delighting in the glories of popular religion and poetry,—legends of temples and saints—yet concealed in their depths passionate vision and clear knowledge of the Absolute and the paths thereto.

Of the various mystical and philosophical works above referred to, we have not the space to refer to more than one—the most remarkable and beautiful of all this Brahmin mystic's works. It is a poem of a hundred two-lined stanzas in Tamil, entitled *The Fruit of Divine Love*, its central theme being the nature of the great Divine Love that creates and sustains the universe and how to realise it. Full of a deep exaltation and poetry, of sure philosophic vision, the poem first describes the nature of the great Love-Entity that dwells at the heart of things and then proceeds to describe the various stages of its realisation, with a fullness and vision, for a parallel to which we should go to the great masterpieces of the world mystics, to the works of Jacob Boehme, Jal al-ud-din Rumi and others.

The theme of the following passage is "that the whole universe lives, moves and has its being in Divine Love :

Nature of the Divine Love.

"Love appears as the Sun and sheds very great light for the performance of deeds and their effects. (32)

The flesh knows nothing and the Soul knows nothing. Since they know nothing, who of himself can know ? (33)

Men know not that the earth upholds them as they tread ; so the embodied souls know not the Love that inspires." (36)

(Men who walk on earth say of themselves 'we walk', and think not that it is the earth which upholds them ; so in this world though embodied souls are under the influence of Divine Love, they know not that it is Love that works all in them.)

"From everlasting ages unto this day they have been recipients of this Love, but not in the least have they come, under its influence and are thus souls devoid of good." (40)

"Flash lives through its connection with the living soul ; understanding souls live through union of the embodied soul with Divine Love. (54)

Thus Earth bears the colours of its King !" (55)

"Ponder not !, Think of nothing !, See not thyself in the foreground !, What thou beholdest, let it be That." (58)

(Put not thyself forward as one who sees—*Regard steadily the Living Wisdom that regards thee.* Remaining thus moveless, the vast expanse of mystic knowledge shall be thine).

"Regard that Joy itself as the one object of contemplation and hide thou thyself 'In the mystic light of wisdom." (59)

(Enter thou within *It* and lie hidden *there*).

"See, as thou hast seen ! The unseen, seek not to see ! 'As thou hast been taken, rest !" (60)

(In whatever way the Divine Love hath appeared to thee, even so regard *It* thou ! In whatever way the Divine Love absorbs thee, wholly yield thyself to it).

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THE LAW OF LOVE: SATYAGRAHA 247

BY
MR. M. K. GANDHI.

The Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress contains a special note on Satyagraha from the pen of Mr. M. K. Gandhi. The Commissioners discuss how far Satyagraha was responsible for violent excesses in the Punjab. Mr. Gandhi, as the pioneer and the supreme exponent of the movement, here expounds the methods and the efficacy of "The Law of Love" as the governing law of life, as much in the home as in the broader and more complex relations of national and international affairs—*Ed. L. A.*]

FOR the past thirty years I have been preaching and practising Satyagraha. The principles of "Satyagraha," as I know it to-day, constitute a gradual evolution.

The term 'Satyagraha' was coined by me in South Africa to express the force that the Indians there used for full eight years, and it was coined in order to distinguish it from the movement, then going on in the United Kingdom and South Africa under the name of Passive Resistance.

Its root meaning is 'holding on to truth'; hence, Truth-force. I have also called it Love-force or Soul-force. In the application of "Satyagraha" I discovered in the earliest stages, that pursuit of truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent, but that he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For what appears to be truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but one's own self.

"Satyagraha" differs from Passive Resistance as the North Pole from the South. The latter has been conceived as a weapon of the weak and does not exclude the use of physical force or violence for the purpose of gaining one's end; whereas the former has been conceived as a weapon of the strongest, and excludes the use of violence in any shape or form.

When Daniel disregarded the laws of the Medes and Persians which offended his conscience and nobly suffered the punishment for his disobedience, he offered 'Satyagraha' in its purest form. Socrates would not refrain from preaching what he knew to be the truth to the Athenian youth, and bravely suffered the punishment of death. He was, in this case, a 'Satyagrahi.' Prahlad disregarded the orders of his father, because he considered them to be repugnant to his conscience. He uncomplainingly and cheerfully

bore the tortures, to which he was subjected at the instance of his father Mirabai, who is said to have offended her husband by following her own conscience, was content to live in separation from him and bore with quiet dignity and resignation all the injuries that are said to have been done to her in order to bend her to her husband's will. Both Prahlad and Mirabai practised "Satyagraha." It must be remembered, that neither Daniel nor Socrates, neither Prahlad nor Mirabai had any ill-will towards their persecutors. Daniel and Socrates are regarded as having been model citizens of the States to which they belonged, Prahlad a model son, Mirabai a model wife.

This doctrine of 'Satyagraha' is not new; it is merely an extension of the rule of domestic life to the political. Family disputes and differences are generally settled according to the law of love. The injured member has so much regard for the others that he suffers injury for the sake of his principles without retaliating and without being angry with those who differ from him. And as repression of anger and self-suffering are difficult processes, he does not dignify trifles into principles, but, in all non essentials, readily agrees with the rest of the family, and thus contrives to gain the maximum of peace for himself without disturbing that of the others. Thus his action, whether he resists or resigns, is always calculated to promote the common welfare of the family. It is this law of love which, silently but surely, governs the family for the most part throughout the civilized world.

I feel that nations cannot be one in reality nor can their activities be conducive to the common good of the whole humanity, unless there is this definite recognition and acceptance of the law of the family in national and international affairs, in other words, on the political platform. Nations can be called civilized, only to the extent that they obey this law.

This law of love is nothing but a law of truth. Without truth there is no love; without

truth it may be affection, as for one's country to the injury of others; or infatuation, as of a young man for a girl; or love may be unreasoning and blind, as of ignorant parents for their children. Love transcends all animality and is never partial. 'Satyagraha' has, therefore, been described as a coin, on whose face you read love and on the reverse you read truth. It is a coin current everywhere and has indefinable value.

'Satyagraha' is self dependent. It does not require the assent of the opponent before it can be brought into play. Indeed, it shines out most when the opponent resists. It is, therefore, irresistible. A 'Satyagrahi' does not know what defeat is, for he fights for truth without being exhausted. Death in the fight is a deliverance, and prison, a gateway to liberty.

It is called also soul-force, because a definite recognition of the soul within is a necessity, if a 'Satyagrahi' is to believe that death does not mean cessation of the struggle, but a culmination. The body is merely a vehicle for self-expression; and he gladly gives up the body, when its existence is an obstruction in the way of the opponent seeing the truth, for which the 'Satyagrahi' stands. He gives up the body in the certain faith that if anything would change his opponent's view, a willing sacrifice of his body must do so. And with the knowledge that the soul survives the body, he is not impatient to see the triumph of truth in the present body. Indeed, victory lies in the ability to die in the attempt to make the opponent see the truth, which the 'Satyagrahi' for the time being expresses.

And as a 'Satyagrahi' never injures his opponent and always appeals, either to his reason by gentle argument, or his heart by the sacrifice of self, 'Satyagraha' is twice blessed, it blesses him who practises it, and him against whom it is practised.

It has, however, been objected that 'Satyagraha,' as we conceive it, can be practised only by a select few. My experience proves the contrary. Once its simple principles—adherence to truth and insistence upon it by self-suffering—are understood, anybody can practise it. It is as difficult or as easy to practise as any other virtue. It is as little necessary for its practice that everyone should understand the whole philosophy of it, as it is for the practice of total abstinence.

After all, no one disputes the necessity of insisting on truth as one sees it. And it is easy enough to understand that it is vulgar to attempt to compel the opponent to its acceptance by using

brute force; it is discreditable to submit to error because argument has failed to convince, and that the only true and honourable course is not to submit to it even at the cost of one's life. Then only can the world be purged of error, if it ever can be altogether. There can be no compromise with error where it hurts the vital being.

But, on the political field, the struggle on behalf of the people mostly consists in opposing error in the shape of unjust laws. When you have failed to bring the error home to the law-giver by way of petitions and the like, the only remedy open to you, if you do not wish to submit to it, is to compel him to retrace his steps by suffering in your own person, i.e., that by inviting the penalty for the breach of the law. Hence, 'Satyagraha' largely appears to the public as civil disobedience or civil resistance. It is civil in the sense that it is not criminal.

The criminal, i.e., the ordinary law breaker breaks the law surreptitiously and tries to avoid the penalty; not so the civil resister. He ever obeys the laws of the state to which he belongs, not out of fear of the sanctions, but because he considers them to be good for the welfare of society. But there come occasions, generally rare, when he considers certain laws to be so unjust as to render obedience to them a dishonour, he then openly and civilly breaks them and quietly suffers the penalty for their breach. And in order to register his protest against the action of the law giver, it is open to him to withdraw his co-operation from the State by disobeying such other laws whose breach does not involve moral turpitude. In my opinion, the beauty and efficacy of 'Satyagraha' are so great and the doctrine so simple that it can be preached even to children. It was preached by me to thousands of men, women and children, commonly called indentured Indians, with excellent results.

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THE FUTURE CULTURE OF INDIA

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BY

PROF. BRINDABAN C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., A.R.S. G.S. (EDIN.)

THE problem before us is how to build our future national civilisation. No civilisation comes by itself like the work of a miracle. It has to be built by man by gradual steps, with a will and patient effort to render the materials emerge into the ideal aimed at. We must, therefore, early settle what should be our practical ideal, what should be the central idea which should ever govern all our activities. Experience has furnished us with a firm proof that exclusive and singular pursuit of the European ideal will not suit our Indian life and, if indulged in without rational consideration, will only give a sure death-blow to the Indian culture, which is, doubtless, yet a living thing after many vicissitudes of past centuries. Nor should we believe for a moment that we can attempt to live a life of ancient India twenty centuries far back. Time has varied, conditions have had their inevitable evolutions. But none the less, the country we live in remains the same. These two paramount facts should receive our careful consideration. In other words, it should be idle to imagine that our times should be, by a miraculous process, transplanted back in ancient India. Similarly absurd would it be to conceive that our country should totally lose its geographical position, and from now forward behave like a European country with its indispensable conditions. Thus our position becomes one that is subject to a judicious reconstruction. We cannot, and probably should not, dismiss the tides of civilisations which have reached our doors—the materials which have impressed us by their utility and other values. What we need now is the form in which we ought to receive them. In what form, should we utilise the undeniable importation of international ideas and material objects of other lands. No body can prevent us from accepting them; we are bound by circumstances to entertain them. But we must here observe one fundamental rule as our guiding principle. We should stick as best we can, to the Indian form in adapting ourselves to the flow of new tides of civilisation and should try to bring the old Indian culture in a new form and in a novel material. That is what is meant by *revival* or *renaissance*, that is, living again—bringing back old things in a new form. We can well work out these ideas in connexion with all sciences and arts, and wherever we have to deal

with things that may have a serious bearing upon our life. Thus, we can profit by using new things in an old form and old things in a new form. Thereby, the evils and unsuitabilities of both may be avoided and both will be found to attract our best interests. Take, for example, the art of, our public buildings and town planning. The same principle may be adhered to—*vis*:—the use of new things in an old form and *vice versa*. The official, the educational and other public buildings should have an ancient Indian look—a form of old Indian architecture, but should never be rendered devoid of modern constructive devices for our comfort and health. There should be more doors and windows than they used to be in ancient days and so on. Conversely, how to use an old thing in a new form? In many cases, it has been seen that old ways of working at a subject of study are unsuitable to the present needs, and new methods may be safely and conveniently introduced in such cases. As for example, the studies of Sanskrit Grammar and the Vedas are not easily taken up by the best students owing to the “cram” method and the slow and long process, which are necessarily advocated and followed by the old-type pundits. But how keenly interesting the subjects become, when the modern method of phonetics and comparative philology is once introduced into them? Similarly, it should be as profitable as it should be rational to study the ancient learning of India in the light of the modern day sciences. Thus, we can seek to establish a psychology of the Hindus, a politics, a natural science, an ethics, an aesthetics and so on of the Aryan culture. This will have to be achieved by the same process—to see old things in a new form. The question of our dress has to be similarly considered. The so-called ‘Parsee’ dress of our Indian ladies has found much recognition among the modern educated people. And why so?—Because, it is modern and up to date but essentially Indian in character. Similarly, coats, shirts and collars are probably unavoidable and it would be folly to try to dispense with them whereas the simple addition of a *chapkan* or a turban gives them an Indian life.

What about Indian music? We must not there hastily set our face against the use of European musical instruments, but rather have patience to see that the finest *ragas* could be successfully played on a violin, a mandolin, a harp and

a banjo. The piano-forte and the harmonium have their uses and should be used with perfect caution. It is futile to deny the history which records the steady attempts of man to successfully improve upon old things. Every art and craft has had its evolution. It is really foolish not to utilise the latest improved products of arts. Who will now recklessly use the muzzle-loading guns and old crooked swords, when they have been so deservedly succeeded by the breech-loading guns and straight swords? The answer is always in the negative.

In the field of sculpture and painting, we are faced with two broad facts—the expressiveness of Indian art and the technique and the physiological side of modern European art. It would be a worthless step to overlook one for the other. If European sculpture is denounced as too realistic, why not Indian sculpture as too idealistic? It is practically certain that extremely fine pieces of sculpture as well as painting can be well executed by a desirable harmonising of these two.

Now a word or two about our Indian literature. No body can reasonably expect to revive the Sanskrit language, as it was, as a vehicle of thought in modern India. The vernaculars are, no doubt, the

best media of thought of the cultured as well as the uncultured. The vernaculars are, of course, of modern age and by the application of our principle we can bring classical influence into them. We can introduce Sanskrit works and their combinations and various applications of Sanskrit poetics with a requisite sense of proportion and taste. It will then impart an interest and a practical value. The words of all classics are full of eloquence and are pregnant with deep meanings and implications. Hence the use of their introduction in our modern languages. The technical works of botany and other sciences may illustrate the usefulness of a rich classical language.

To sum up. The University, the library, the museum are all things of the modern age. Now our position certainly demands us to fill them with a store of ancient Indian ideas and antiquarian collections. In other words, we should *Indianise* western things and *Westernise* Indian things. Here, 'Indianise' means to revive only the ancient Indian form. Aloofness, narrowness and 'boycotting' mean only a short-sighted policy. It is by the proper mingling together of the modern Europe with the ancient India that our best future culture can alone come.

The Paraiyas in the Tanjore District

BY MR. D. ARULANANDAM PILLAI, B.A., B.L.,

Deputy Collector on Special duty, Tanjore.

THE Paraiyas in the Tanjore District like their brethren elsewhere are at the bottom of the social scale. Rather they are *outside* the social system of the Hindus which recognizes only four castes. It may be noted here that on the recommendation of the Director of Public Instruction in 1902 the terms Paraiya, low caste and out caste, carrying with them as they do a derogatory meaning, were replaced by the term Panchama, i.e., fifth caste. The term Panchama is practically used as synonymous with the expression 'depressed classes' and includes Chaccadies, Godaries, Pallas, Paraiyas, Totties and Valluvas. The Panchamas in the Tanjore District number 507,642 out of a total population of 2,245,029. If the Valluvas and Chukkiliars are excluded, the Paraiyas and Pallas total 495,866, being more than one-fifth of the population, the Paraiya population being 336,208 and Pallas amounting to 159,658.

That the Panchamas are untouchable is well known; but the Panchama pollutes not merely by contact but by his neighbourhood and his being within the range of vision. He may not enter a Brahmin street and the theoretical distance at which he must hold himself from the Brahmin—a theory which is happily not so strictly carried into practice in the Tanjore District as on the west coast—is 64 feet. In the case of the other castes, Panchamas pollute them by touch or by entering their houses. Of course, Panchamas cannot enter temples. The village barbers and washermen will not serve Panchamas. They have therefore barbers and washermen of their own caste. In places where there is no Panchama barber, they shave one another. They have no access to public wells, drinking water ponds, schools, etc. Theoretically every well, choultry and school established out of public funds is open to all classes, including Panchamas, but as

Government recently admitted in the Legislative Council, there is very severe discrimination even in public institutions, not excepting the great majority of schools, against Panchamas.

The problem of relieving Panchamas in the Tanjore District may be conveniently dealt with under two heads, namely the general problem of relieving the Tanjore Panchamas from hardship which they have in common with their brethren elsewhere, and the special problem of relieving the Tanjore District Panchamas. As it is impossible in the course of a short paper to deal exhaustively with both these problems, I shall content myself with considering only the special problem of relieving Panchamas in the Tanjore District and at most make a few general observations at the end of the paper regarding Panchamas as a whole. I shall also exclude from consideration the coolies and factory hands in towns whose lot is several degrees better, and confine myself to the Panchamas in the Cauvery delta who are mainly connected with the cultivation of the soil.

The most pressing question of relief for the Panchamas in the Cauvery delta is the question of providing them with *manthikats* or house-sites of their own. Unlike their brethren in the other parts of the Presidency, the Tanjore Panchamas do not as a general rule own the site of their houses and are at any moment liable to be turned out of their dwellings by an offended mirasdar. This feeling of helplessness reacts on the Panchama and makes him as a rule reckless of the future and only too ready to find his one comfort in the toddy shop where he may drown his miseries in deep potations. He feels he has nothing to live for. Eviction by the offended mirasdar is not the slow process in the course of which the landlord and tenant are pitted against each other with varying fortunes in the arena of the Civil Court; for, in some cases, the mirasdar takes the law into his own hands by setting fire to the Panchama's hut or covering it with prickly-pear, pitching his moveables into the open air.

Under the pernicious system of *Swanthai* which is prevalent throughout the district and which the mirasdar is anxious to perpetuate, the Panchama receives from his mirasdar (i.e., landlord,) an advance ranging from Rs. 10 to Rs. 100 and binds himself to work for him until the advance is paid off. The advance bears no interest and is seldom expected to be repaid. *The loan is the bait for perpetual service.* The debt continues from father to son, and hangs like a

mill stone round the neck of the Panchama which no effort of his own has hitherto been able to shake off. Generations of thralldom have had the effect of extinguishing in him all sense of independence and self-reliance, and left him no other resource except emigration from the land of his birth. Among the emigrants to the Straits Settlements, to Fiji and the West Indies, the Tanjore Panchamas have always been conspicuous in point of number. Though in a few cases the change may have been from the frying pan to the fire, still the freedom to emigrate has had in the past a very beneficent effect not only in raising wages in the district, but also by ensuring better treatment for the Panchamas as a whole. It is an open secret that the Panchamas are anxious that nothing should be done to restrict free emigration. Of course, the land owning classes are against emigration. Although farm servants and field labourers in the Tanjore District, including caste labourers, form only 17.9 per cent. of the total population against 23.1 per cent. in South Arcot and 20 per cent. in Chingleput, yet it is significant that there is far more emigration from Tanjore than from any other district. No doubt facilities for emigration are greater in Tanjore than in South Arcot; but the root cause of emigration is probably the fact that the general economic condition of the Tanjore Panchama is much worse than that of his fellows in South Arcot. In South Arcot the Panchama who owns his house-site can easily become a small land holder and gradually improve his position. This is scarcely possible in Tanjore. In South Arcot or Chingleput, for instance, a thrifty Panchama can buy some land close to his habitation and slowly emerge from his servile position to that of a petty mirasdar. In Tanjore the Panchama who does not own a house site has no inducement to save and can never hope to become a mirasdar. There are, however, numerous cases of Panchamas in the Tanjore District who own their house sites and then manage to save the wherewithal necessary to purchase some lands. This metamorphosis is absolutely impossible in the case of a Panchama who does not own his house site. The surroundings are too uncongenial for either material or moral development.

If, therefore, the Tanjore Panchama labourer is not to emigrate in future on a scale as large as that hitherto permitted, special means for his relief must be devised at home. It must be conceded that unlimited emigration of labourers

is prejudicial to the agricultural interests of the district, but, if the mirasdar really understand their interest in the long run, they must accept the elementary principle of give and take. Indeed, if there is any one who has to be educated in this matter more than another, I have not the slight hesitation in saying that it is the mirasdar who must be made to understand that for him the elevation of the Panchama is not merely a question of pure altruism, but that his interests demand it. He must remember that it is after all better to have independent, honest, self-relying and self respecting labourers who have a stake in the paracheri than the Panchamas who in many respects are at present little better than animals.

Most of the paracheries in the district are a disgrace to the country and, it is high time something is done to better the housing conditions of these wretched men who form more than one-fifth of the total population of the district. The anxiety of the Panchamas and other labourers, even at the risk of offending their mirasdar, to become owners of house sites can be easily gauged by the fact that in spite of the condition of scarcity prevailing last year more than 2,500 men from 140 villages in the delta taluks have deposited with me, during the last twelve months, the enormous sum of Rs. 40,000 at the rate of Rs. 10, 15 or 20 per head, being one-fifth of the estimated cost of acquisition of each site with a pledge to pay Rs. 2,00,000 in instalments. There has been a steady flow of these deposits in spite of the fact that in a few villages where the Panchamas have applied for house sites, the mirasdar have either boycotted the Panchamas by refusing to give them work or begun to harass them in all sorts of ways. The attitude on the part of mirasdar has no doubt scared away intending applicants in a few cases, but on the whole it has had a most beneficent effect on the character of the Panchamas in their readiness to accept the situation.

That the Panchama is discontented with his lot in the matter of house sites is no secret. If he admits to a casual enquirer that he is happy under existing conditions, it is because he is afraid of the consequences of offending the mirasdar. The iron has entered his soul and no wonder he seeks to hide the clanking fetters which gnaw his very vitals. But the mirasdar does not serve his best interests who persists in throwing a veil over the festering sore, instead of co-operating with the Government in effecting a

solution of the Panchama housing problem. The mirasdar's real fear appears to be that, if the Panchamas become the owner of his house site, he may not work for him. That this fear is groundless will be evident from the fact that in the Tanjore District there are hundreds of villages where the Panchamas do own their house sites, and still work for the mirasdar, and in those villages where house sites have been acquired for Panchamas under the scheme recently sanctioned by Government, the relationship between the mirasdar and the Panchama has not materially changed to the detriment of the mirasdar. This statement is true of the thirty villages except two where house sites have been acquired, and of the 28 villages except three where acquisition proceedings are in several stages of progress. Granting that the Panchamas, in their bid for freedom, have to run the gauntlet of a certain amount of resentment on the part of the mirasdar, it is undeniable that the moral and the material advantages accruing to them from the changed outlook infinitely outweigh the disadvantages. Drink has been completely given up in three villages operated on by the special staff; in some the Panchamas have given up eating carrion. There is no doubt that the Panchama who has become the owner of his house site has learned to be self-reliant, self-respectful, neat and thrifty. The mirasdar's nervous anxiety that once the Panchama gets a house site of his own, he was going to lose all his labourers is not well founded. The traditional idea of the mutual dependence of the landlord and labourer is fast disappearing in England and our country is progressing so fast that this old idea is also bound to disappear from India. The effect of the policy of the Government in respect of acquisition of house sites has not so far been to send away the labourers from their villages. If the Panchamas are made the owners of their house sites, they will certainly be happier and in a more hopeful frame of mind and we may be certain they will produce more wealth for the country. I may say in one word, the mirasdar's fears are rather exaggerated. Enough has been said on the problem of *manaikats*.

Next to the problem of *manaikats* or house sites is the problem of approach roads to paracheries and pallacheries which are almost invariably in the midst of wet fields. The only way to and out of these cheries is by means of the small ridges scarcely two feet wide between the wet fields. The absence of roads connecting para-

cheries with public thoroughfares, and the entire dependence of the Panchamas on the good will of the mirasdar even for the use of the customary field path are weapons which an anscurpulous mirasdar is not slow to wield.

But there are many other hardships which the Tanjore Panchama shares in common with his brethren elsewhere. Even if the Panchama is made the owner of his house site, and roads are constructed to afford the Panchamas both living and dead an exit from the paracheries and pallacheries, this will scarcely elevate this class unless it is educated and some system is devised for the sanitary improvement of the surroundings of paracheries and pallacheries. In most cases these cheries are very damp and their level requires to be raised. Unless this is attended to promptly, the agricultural labour of the district is bound to suffer. What with the drainage caused by emigration and what with the periodical toll levied by epidemics, the agricultural labour of the district which is not over plentiful at the present moment will become daily thinner and thinner, and the best interests of the district will suffer if the mirasdars do not rise to the occasion, enter more fully into the feelings of the Panchamas and do everything in their power to raise their status. Quite recently, there has been a healthy public move in the capital of the Presidency for the uplift of the Panchamas, and a number of public spirited men have in the face of difficulties begun to work in earnest to procure the amelioration of these classes. My hope is that this movement will shortly filter down to the Tanjore district.

A good deal can be done by popularizing co-operative ideals among Panchamas not only to procure them cheap credit, but to help them in procuring the necessaries of life which in their case were procurable only at war prices long before the war was in sight, and which now that the dire effects of the war weigh heavily on all people threaten to make life impossible for the Panchamas at present. They are cheated not only over the quality and quantity of their purchases in buying the necessaries of life but also over their sales of agricultural produce. If by means of co-operation the Panchamas can be rescued from the clutches of the petty bazaar man, the 'Gombe'en' man of the Indian village, and if we can arrange to bulk the surplus produce of the Panchamas and sell it wholesale to respectable merchants, a very large profit can be ensured for the Panchamas. No good will result if this profit is to

go to the toddy shop; methods will have to be devised to make this saving a real asset by introducing home safes and other co-operative saving appliances and the Panchamas must be trained in principles of thrift and economy. As observed by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Mr. Hemingway, 'men of this class if given a chance and properly looked after will make excellent co-operators.' 'While Government may' as remarked by His Excellency Lord Willingdon quite recently in a memorable speech, 'do their best by legislation, by grant in aid and by encouraging the co-operating spirit to improve the present condition of our workers, we can do really little unless we can create and stimulate an active public opinion on this subject, a readiness on the part of all communities to help to solve the problem.' The task is tremendous but I for one do not despair.

Experiments have actually been made in a few villages in the directions just indicated. Household stuff is purchased in bulk, according to estimates furnished by the Panchamas themselves, and the result of selling the articles so purchased to the members of Co-operative Societies at co-operative prices is a saving of 30 per cent. Homesafes of the homeliest description, in fact made of clay, have been distributed among members of Co-operative Societies and the savings are periodically taken in deposit to the credit of the members in accordance with well-known co-operative methods. Cornbins of country make have been provided for Panchama villages, where the paddy to be sold by producers is collected and the stock will be disposed of to respectable merchants instead of being bartered in small dribbles, which afford the buyer a ready means of swindling the Panchama. The time at the disposal of the special staff in the Tanjore district, which I have the pleasure of supervising has not permitted of any serious attempt being made to impart even a rudimentary literary education to the Panchamas; but these and kindred measures of reformation are no doubt in the womb of, let us hope, a not very distant future.—[A paper prepared for the Indian Economic Conference.]

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SOME ASPECTS OF JOURNALISM

BY

MR. N. SUBRAMANIA IYER, B.A.

PROGRESS is the order of the day. It is the ideal of politicians, the dream of visionaries. No question has agitated, so deeply, the minds of statesmen and taxed the intellectuality of nation-builders more than that of the attainment of progress. Mazzini's advocacy of "the incarnation in action of a declared principle," tantamounts to a poetical rendering of the same idea. In our own day, the cardinal basis, of the much-talked of League of Nations and the establishment of a tribunal of International justice, is the undoubted advancement of international relations along progressive lines. Progress, itself, is of late associated in western countries with the transference, by slow degrees, of the vestige of political power from the few to the many. When the cloak of 'shams is torn down by the rude hand of public opinion we have the manifestation of these ideals. It was a Frenchman who said with deep insight,

"Suffer yourself to be blamed, imprisoned, condemned, suffer yourself to be even hanged, but publish your opinions. It is not a right, it is a duty."

The significance of publicity of views and their bearing upon common interests cannot be illustrated better. The formation of a common platform of interests, is, in the main, to be attributed to the cementing influence of the press and the platform. They constitute a force which, while it tempers social acerbities, promotes, a feeling of co-operation between the Government and governed and establishes with faith and conviction the sanctity of good-feeling.

Forming, as they do, the offshoots of a force, the Press and the Platform differ mutually in the influence they exercise on the public mind. In the trend of evolution each has its place. But of late it is found that the influence exercised by the Press is more substantial. It is vested with more of responsibility. It deals in facts, not in abstractions. The platform, on the other hand, echoes grievances but rarely formulates policies. It constructs little. The temerity of the platform is proverbial. Its interest again begins as it ends with the present, but its importance ought not to be underrated, for, it must be remembered, the present has its place as well as the future. The Press on the other hand has multiform interests.

Taken in a general sense the Press corresponds to what is, in popular language, known as journalism. Journalism is the name given to the "intel-

lectual work comprised in the production of a newspaper." The importance of journalism in the maintenance of a balance of communal relations was realised only by the end of the 19th century in the western countries. As a matter of fact, the value of journalism is being slowly realised by us in India, only since the time of Lord Morley's Secretaryship. This is to be attributed to the fact that, with increasing education which brings with it increasing self-reliance of the individual and consciousness of responsibility, journalism gains rather than loses its hold on the responsible public.

The secret of this influence is to be sought in the ideals which a Journalist labours to follow. These have been very clearly summarized for us by Captain Flanagan. He was drawing up the prospectus of the *Pall Mall Gazette* when he said that it would be written by "Gentlemen for gentlemen." So then in sound journalism there is no scope for what Carlyle called, "Shams and windy sentimentalities." "The written page has to stand the cold analysis of the eye" as an eminent English Journalist once remarked. As such, a journal has to maintain a high level of efficiency so as to appeal to the sense of reason of the responsible public. It is not airy electrifying, nor even statistical permutations that are required. Hard, naked reality combined with sober and responsible statement with an antiquated respect for truth counts more than anything else. But when, when passion gets mastery over a wounded sense of national self-respect, it is difficult to check the course of the pen. The stamina of the journalist consists in giving strong expression at the coolest moments and curbing the unbridled pen during a time of stress and strain.

There have been numerous instances in the history of Western Europe, when, caught in the rush for power and the anguish of disappointment, journalistic tone decayed to low depths. The condition of the pro-Irish papers during the strenuous years of 1882 and 1883, when the Irish Land League was formed, is cited as a standing example. Again the state of Public feeling in England during the years 1909 and 1910 led to the decay of journalistic moderation. In India, to-day we find a similar state of affairs. The recent disturbances in the Punjab consequent on the passing of the Rowlatt Acts have resulted in a high tension of public feeling. When the public

conscience grows restive, it is rather hard to fathom to what depths expressions would intensify. But then it is gratifying to find that the most cavilling critics are not so intense in their condemnation, as have been the most ardent advocates of the present state of affairs in their approbation.

Another marked function of journalism is to present a certain view of public policy. A journalist should not have exclusions; but he may have preferences when they do not mar the vision of statesmanship and fairplay. It is of course not possible for the journalist, endowed with human sympathies, to treat his subjects with the proverbial coldness of a stoic, to whom life has lost all its charms and death its fears. But certainly he can avoid his view of public policy being adversely affected or influenced by personal or partisan motives. Party spirit has been the crying evil of Western journalism. The organization along party lines is so perfect, in the west, that divergence from hackneyed grooves of thought, enthusiastic support or automatic condemnation, is construed as a sin against God and man. It is not rarely that we come across cases in which a certain act of a certain partyman however irrelevant and unreasonable is apotheosised by "Organs of public opinion." The spirit displayed, though probably intended to stand in good stead for the hour, is sure to be productive of immense harm in the long run. Conviction follows hard on the lines of policy advocated and approved. This in turn deepens into fanaticism and fanaticism is not always the necessary adjunct of a bettering state. The rational cause for this state of things, is to be attributed to opinion running along party lines. The parties themselves are to use the words of James Bryce "intelligently selfish" and so are the journals which follow the footsteps of the respective parties. This is "the lynch-pin of the whole situation."

The case is different in India. The constitution of parties is partly to account. There is no definiteness about their programme and no fixity as to their policy; every new event brings to the forefront in the political arena numerous organizations. Schools of opinion grow up. True, it is that in an age of awakening it is hard to trace any lurking sense of uniformity. However much uniformity may be denounced as a lack of pre-visionary consciousness, it is unfortunate that every new page that we turn in the

Golden Book of progress, should be associated with an ever-increasing exhibition of imbibed hatred between one section and another. The root cause of this phenomenon is to be sought in sectarianism and preferential treatment. In a land so curiously constituted and so differently peopled as India, it is hard to find equal advancement and equality of opportunities for all. The increase in the adaptability of certain sections of the people, aggravates discontent and leads to heart burnings and jealousies. Hence the journalistic tone runs along these narrow channels. The presentation of a certain view of public policy doubtless exists among all sections of the press. But the view presented, instead of being one which the journal believes to be for the good of the state, is often times a game of fast and loose. A clear perspective in matters of general interest ought to guide the policy of the paper. Therein lies its ethical intent.

The moral function of journalism is one which most of all gives it the truth and potency of its influence. Its business is to provide laws uncoloured by any motive, untrammelled by any corruption of expediency or fatuous vanity. The lesser interest of the individual has to be merged into the higher needs of the society and country. Thus an ability to suppress has to be instilled into the minds of the people. This can be achieved only through the agency of the newspaper. "There are no short cuts to improvement" as the *Nation* so happily pointed out. A degree of assertiveness such as is necessary to carry conviction, to impress indelibly the mark of sincerity with which views are presented, is of course essential. But then the smirks and affectations of an off-hand publicist have to be avoided. The moral function of journalism consists, not in condoning foibles, much less in moral obliquities, but in publicity of fact and honest commentary. In criticism honesty is a rare virtue. Opportunism clouds the honesty of motive and well-bred incivility passes for sympathy. This might seem trite to us. But in an age like ours, when doubters and destroyers divide between them all admiration, it is better to ride on rough-and-ready justice.

"Journalism" says the *Times* in the course of an eminently thoughtful article "like every other profession has its ethical standards. Every reputable newspaper is exact to keep faith with its readers. When it offers them news, it is anxious, as far as proper care can go, to ensure that the news is genuine. When it offers them opinions on current political or social or industrial topics, it tacitly guarantees the honesty of these opinions. They may be and usually are colour-

ed by the known views of the particular paper; but they must not be paid advertisements masquerading as opinion."

Consistency of view does not amount to passivity and stagnation. Journalism does not best flourish in a static society. "Change with the changing spirit" would be quite an admirable motto for the journalist. But here again, to follow this may be a constitutional impossibility for some. "Conviction and an over-powering sense of public interest" said Gladstone once, "induced him to conform to the Spirit of the Age." In a land like ours, wherein the lack of that full degree of political schooling has led to sentiment and enthusiasm over-powering considered evolution, it will be a Herculean task for the Journalist to keep pace with the changing spirit. From this point of view those who counsel moderation are practical and reasonable. "Enthusiasm itself, carries a whip; it is content to drive," as Woodrow Wilson remarks in one of his books. So then when one cannot be convinced of the utility of change, at a time ablaze with political controversy, one cannot be expected to bind himself under the spell of artificial conformity. Sincerity and conviction may then be said to lead progressively to consistency of view. "The way in which an attack is made must be at the discretion of each paper" says the "*Times*." We can say with equal truth the way in which a policy is followed must be at the discretion of each paper. But here again one may not be well-advised in riding rough-shod over interests except when time and policy necessitate such a course.

The language of journalism has come to be viewed with dislike, nay disapprobation. Journalists may fall within the purview of literature, when we but view it from the point of view suggested by Lord Morley.

"Literature," says he, "is essentially an art of form as distinguished from those exercises of intellectual energy which bring new stores of matter to the stock of common knowledge."

Journalism is not a thing of the hour, whose evanescent interest vanishes with the age in which it appears. It is something which survives and improves. As such, dissemination of views and comment on passing questions of the day form but the least important part of the Journalist's work. Lofty comments from an Olympian height, which sometimes threaten even the Secretary of State and imperil his security in the British cabinet, often rouses one from a stupor. One is not rarely reminded, while face to face with such situations, of the philosophy of Mephi-

tophilis over the dictation of the Holy Ghost. A sense of superior wisdom, a consciousness of influence, a feeling of the effectiveness of a Laputan touch, need to be considered only as the vapourings of 'presumptuous ignoramuses' as 'Rousseau somewhere calls them.' 'Language is but the dress of thought.' But, then, the affectations of expression, the categorical assertions, overwrought rhetoric, not to say of slang and cant, are fallacies, excessive indulgence in which lowers the acumen of journalism. To fiery penmen and authors of charming pieces of acidulous sarcasm, the advice of Walter Pater could well be tendered. "Sweetness and strength are the essentials of art."

It is only, with a corroding sense of our own inability to attain the ideals of journalism, that we view the journalist who was but now the Apostle of right fast turning into an ally of the expedient. It is a sad fact that loud-shouting but feeble-footed enthusiasm is fast replacing statesmanship and conviction. The evil expands gradually. The journalist is found to hold a brief for a cause. He least concerns himself with what is beneficial and there it is that the cause for evil lies. "From a profession journalism is fast becoming a trade" said Mr. A. G. Gardiner once. This statement is as true of India, as it is in the western countries. Though journalism in India is comparatively of recent growth, the rapidity of its development surpasses expectation. This is due to collective enterprise. But here again the inevitable evil creeps in and rival phalanxes of opposing views array themselves against each other and rush at each other's throats, no matter how thin their differences. Such a state of affairs appals sanity of judgment. News gives way to sensations.

This is baneful in its effects. In India to-day it is even more so, for the dissemination of views is effected mainly through the agency of the newspaper, but this is not all. Political education is largely conducted through its medium. If there is anything common, either in the interests or ideals of the Bengalee and Madrassite to-day, this is the direct outcome of the exchange of views through the media of journalism.

The very first impulses of the human mind, psychologists tell us are those of curiosity and self-expression. They form the warp and woof of sober journalism. But when the commercial conception of journalism catches us in its iron claws, then, the "axe is verily laid at the root of the tree."

The Khilafat question has stimulated an enquiry into the history and civilisation of the Islamic world, and a number of articles have appeared in contemporary periodicals discussing various aspects of Muslim polity and culture. Attempts have been made by several writers to estimate the nature and value of the contribution of Islam to the thought of humanity in general, and to the art and culture of India in particular. Students of European history are fairly familiar with the renaissance wrought by the introduction of Islamic learning and science in Mediæval times. In India the influence of Muslim culture has been manifold. It permeated the deeper currents of national life as in the teachings of Nanak and Kabir; it embodied itself in the art and architecture of Moghul India; it coloured the sentiments, and fashioned the aristocracy in matters of tone and taste; and it evolved a polity and administration suited to the requirements of Hindu-Muslim India. In the following pages we give some select excerpts estimating the claims of Islamic thought and tracing its evolution.—[E.C.I.A.]

I. THE CULTURE OF ISLAM

BY

MR. T. L. VASWANI.

IN the midst of much that is depressing in our public life, my thoughts have gone back to the days when the Hindu Raja of Umerkot sheltered the Muslim Humayun, when the Muslim King Akbar built a statue to the memory of the Hindu Rana Pratap Singh, when the Khalifa of Bagdad invited Hindu scholars of Sind to his court, when Hindu Kings had Muslim ministers and Muslim generals. And I have seen in villages Muslims and Hindus sitting together after the day's work, on a simple carpet, singing together the simple old kasis of Sindhi Poets—singing them under the open skies, forgetting for the time being their differences, feeling only their unity as children of a common soil, as worshippers of the One Beauty and the One Love. When the feeling grows—out of the knowledge and sympathy—the Hindus and Muslims will be friends for ever. And if I seek to-day to interpret the values of Islam, it is with a view to indicate the higher basis of that Hindu-Muslim unity which is the promise of a better Sind and the hope of a mighty Indian Nation in the coming days.

My appreciation of Hindu-Muslim unity is not that of political opportunism; it grows out of a recognition of the vital values of the faith, the culture, the civilization of the Moslems. I salute Mohamad as one of the world's mighty heroes. Mohamad has been a world-force, a mighty power for the uplift of many peoples. Read the old records, and you will have a glimpse of the grace and beauty of his life. A king and a spiritual leader; he yet mends his clothes, visits the sick, loves little children in the streets, lives on simple food—sometimes taking only dates

and water—milks his cattle, accepts invitations from slaves, mixes with the peoples as their comrades. 'I sit at meals as a servant,' he says 'for I am really a servant.' 'Show us the way that is established—the way of those on whom is Peace'—this is his constant prayer. For this word Islam means Peace. He hearkens to the Call of the Unseen:—"O, though enwrapped in thy mantle, arise and preach!" They persecute him; his very life is in danger; but he is loyal to his 'Call'; he moves about preaching the Way of Peace. Again and again, he has the 'fits'; the pressure of the Unseen is upon him; and his trembling lips utter the eloquent wisdom recorded in the Koran. Yet one European critic—Sprenger—speaks of Mohamad's 'fits' as 'epilepsy'! Carlyle has better understanding of Mohamad, when he speaks of him as the type of the Heroic Prophet. Mohamad was indeed a hero and a Prophet.

And consider for a moment what the Faith he preached has achieved. Islam has given the world a religion without priests; Islam abolished infanticide in Arabia; Islam enjoined, on the Faithful, total abstinence from drink; Islam emphasised the great qualities of faith, courage, endurance and self-sacrifice; Islam introduced a rigorous puritanism into Asia and Europe, deprecating even dancing and card-playing. 'Whoso is a Muslim' says the Koran, 'he seeketh after the right way.' Islam moved out with its great message of "Allah the Rahman, the Merciful," and became the torch bearer of culture and civilisation in Africa, in China, in Central Asia, in Europe, in Persia, in India. The Chinese Muslims are still known to be stately, strong and brave. Of the achievements of Islam in the days of the Bagdad Khilafat, every Muslim may well be proud; and every Sindhi too;—for Sindhis had their share in the

intellectual life of the Bagdad Court. There is no time to speak of that to-day. Of the achievements of Islam in Europe, less is known to the Muslims and Hindus in Sind; yet even a rapid sketch will show how much Islam did for Europe in the Middle Ages. Islam founded the great University of Cordova which attracted Christian scholars from different parts of Europe. One of these scholars became, in due course, the Pope of Rome.

At a time when Europe was in darkness, the Muslim scholars of Spain held high the torch of Science and Literature. They taught Medicine and Mathematics, Chemistry and Natural History, Philosophy and Fine Arts. Arabian scholars translated some of the Hindu books; and helped by these translations, Hindu wisdom travelled to some of the seats of learning in Europe. In the days of the Muslim king of Spain, Al Hakeem, great irrigation systems were developed in Granada, Valencia and Aragon; the Muslims also built hospitals and asylums for the poor in several cities in Spain. Many were the industries developed under Islam. Shipbuilding, horticulture, candied fruits, glass, iron and copper utensils, brocade, tankards, silver mines, cotton manufactures, woollen carpets, handwoven woollen cloth, linen manufacture and linen paper, mining of *lapis lazuli*, silks and inlaid metal work are some of the industries of Muslim Spain mentioned by Arabic writers.

And it is no exaggeration to say that Islam has made several contributions to the thought and life of India. Islam has enriched the art and architecture, the poetry and philosophy of India. The Taj is, perhaps, the most imaginative architecture in the world. Islam carried in its heart a Vision of Manhood and Democracy to which, however, the Moslems were not always loyal in India and other countries; but it must be remembered that the first blow at slavery was struck when Omar set all slaves at liberty after his conquest of Jerusalem. And the ideal of Akbar, the ideal of an Indian nation, a Great India, a Maha Bharata, has not yet been assimilated by India's English rulers. The Reform Movements of the 15th and 16th centuries—the movements of Nanak, Kabir and Dadu—felt the influence of Islam; and Muslim saints like Pir Tabriz of Multan and Lal Shabaz of Sehwan have still a hold on Hindu hearts. Muslim poetry and literature, Muslim architecture and decorative painting made Spain famous at a time when Europe was submerged in

barbarism. The Muslim Universities of Seville, Cordova and Barcelona taught sciences and philosophy in that free liberal spirit for lack of which the Christian Church burnt Bruno and persecuted Galileo; Muslim kings opened free libraries, established observatories and endowed laboratories for chemical experiments; Muslim singers introduced a new note of chivalry and romance into the life and literature of Europe and Muslim philosophers translated, interpreted and corrected the systems and speculations of great thinkers.

Two of these philosophers who greatly influenced European thought are known as Avicenna and Averroes. 'Avicenna' is a Latin corruption of Arabic-Ibn Sinna.

This man showed the greatness of his soul when he renounced the honoured post of the Vazir in order to devote his time to philosophy; and his name is celebrated in several Turkish tales. He wrote on Logic, on Psychology, on Physics and Metaphysics and Ethics. He speaks of three kinds of mind—vegetative, animal and human; his view of the 'vegetative mind' reminds one of modern studies in what Sir J. C. Bose has called the 'response of plants'. He speaks of 'active' and 'speculative' intelligence, reminding one of what, over eight centuries later, Kant called 'Practical' and 'Pure' Reason. He speaks of 'three kinds of evil' and its 'accidental' place in the Universe, reminding one of the theories of Leibnitz. Another Muslim philosopher who influenced the thought of the Middle Ages was Averroes (a corruption of the Arabic name Ibn Rushid.)

He speaks of the 'evolution' of matter in a way which reminds us of the idea developed in Spencer's Synthetic Philosophy; he speaks of a soul diffused in heavens and the earth—an idea which reminds us of what to-day is called panpsychism; he interprets 'soul' in terms of 'energy'; he recognises the unity of philosophy and religion. His commentaries on Aristotle and Plato have been translated in some of the European languages, and at one time influenced Christian and Jewish thought, and some of the non-Muslim centres of European culture.

The Sufi singers and thinkers of Islam have enriched the poetry and philosophy of religion. One of the world's greatest mystical thinkers was the Muslim Mubiy-al-din-ibn-al-Arabi; and in the whole range of literature there are not many mystical books so profound, so suggestive as the four volumes of his Futuhat-al-Makkuja.

II. ISLAMIC LITERATURE

BY

MR. S. KHUDA BUKHSH, M.A., B.C.L. (OXON).

I propose to discuss what our duties and obligations are to our own learning—Arabic, Persian and Hindustani—; how far we have discharged those obligations; and what must needs be done in future. Great admirer as I am of European culture, I set our own learning first and foremost in the curriculum of our studies. And this for obvious reasons; our own learning is the embodiment of our hopes, traditions, aspirations. It is the reflection of our civilisation, the mirror of our character. It is the monument of our achievements. It is our glory, our very own heritage from the past. I have called it, you will notice, our own learning. Though Arabic and Persian are not our own languages yet they are the two languages in which the highest achievements of Islam lie enshrined. And to us Muslims they have a priceless value; an invaluable interest; an interest which binds us to them for evermore; an interest which transcends the barriers of race and nationality. The tie is religion—the unbreakable tie. Arabic is the language of the Koran. Besides, it contains a literature worthy of a great nation. The heralds and pioneers of the Middle Ages, it was left to the Muslims—amid the tumult of fallen and falling things—to carry on the traditions of learning, to uphold the torch of culture. We may find in Von Kremer, Bebel and Dierds (to mention only a few) some acknowledgment of the great debt, which Europe owes to Muslim civilisation.

If Arabic is the language of the Koran and of a vast, informing, inspiring literature, no less is the claim of Persian. It is the language of culture and refinement; and who can be insensible to its ineffable charms? I have always held that a Mohamedan's education is one-sided and incomplete without it. It has a wealth of thought and ideas, and a literature second to none in the world. To Persian, we owe allegiance as much as we do to Arabic. It too, like Arabic, embodies the culture and civilisation of Islam.

Learning, in the hey-day of Islam, was, so to speak, in the air, and learned men were held in high esteem. We may read in Dr. Wustenfeld's "Academien der Araber" of the number of universities that sprang up in Islamic countries—

universities, largely and lavishly endowed, not by Government, but by private donations. These far-famed seats of learning attracted scholars and students from all parts of the world. Learning was not sold, but given, and learned men lived and studied and wrote, free from the sordid cares of life. The Biographical Dictionary of Ibn Khallikan is instructive reading; for it is a noble testimony to the Islamic love and devotion to learning. *

If Arabic and Persian have not had their due, no more has Hindustani had its due. The necessity for English education has completely thrown these languages into the back ground, and this fact is all the more to be regretted, as the ignorance in this connection has stood in the way of the real and genuine progress of the Mohamedans. No one will deny for one moment the educative value or the expansive force of European culture and civilisation, but is European culture to be acquired only at the expense and sacrifice of Eastern culture? There can be no two opinions on this subject, and yet while the one sphere of activity is coming more and more to the front, the other is steadily on the decline. Orientals we are, and Orientals we must remain, and European culture can never be for the majority of us more than an incidental and subsidiary acquisition. It is therefore to Eastern culture that we must pre-eminently turn. Let us take all we can from the West. Let us study its languages and literatures, its history and civilisation; let us assimilate and absorb all that is worth assimilating and absorbing, but let us not play the sedulous ape to the West, nor lose our distinctive stamp and individuality. Otherwise we shall lose all that is ours, without making our own that which really does not and cannot belong to us.

To Hindustani we must turn. It is the "lingua franca" of nearly all India. It has a fine literature, and a bright future lies before it. It needs care, cultivation. Do we bestow upon it the solicitude that it justly deserves? I am afraid the answer must be in the negative. Have we done anything in the way of making this literature accessible in decent editions? Ghalib has been published at Cawnpore, and the edition is certainly a credit to its publishers. But where can we look for and find decent editions of Mir Taqi, Sawda, Zawq, Momin, and others of the Immortals? Are they not worthy of remembrance, respect, veneration? Are they not the great intellectual giants of Muslim India? [*Calcutta Review*.]

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

BY MR. D. B. DESAI.

THE connection of Indians with East Africa dates back more than three hundred years ago, and it has been stated with authority that they "came long before the Europeans"; but to-day by an irony of fate steps are being taken for their total exclusion.

Amongst the principal Indian questions of B. E. A. are: franchise, land question, racial disqualification, Asiatic exclusion and rights of free British citizenship.

The total population of that country is about 2,783,925 of which there are 35,000 Indians and about 11,000 Europeans of all nationalities. It has been officially stated that most of the trading wealth of the country is in the hands of the Indians. Nearly seventy per cent of the subordinate staff are Indians, and according to the commissioners of the Civil Service Commission "every department of the Government and particularly the Railway is dependent on their services." It must be stated here that, under the Colonial Office Regulations, no one who is not of European descent can rise above a clerkship, no matter what his merits are or his knowledge of local customs and languages. The general range of pay for them is said to be from £40 to £240 per year. Even there is the restriction for professional men who possess Indian degrees. It may be mentioned that the whole of the artisan class is Indian and it is a matter of pride that in B.E.A. there are no Indian coolies.

There is demanded a special tax called the non-Native Poll tax from all non-native male adults. The amount payable is Rs. 15 per year. Besides this tax, the ordinary Government taxes are being taken from the public. Over and above the aforesaid, a further special tax has been imposed on tradesmen, that they should pay every year to the Government a trade tax of Rs. 150 for every business place. The rules under the Trade Tax Ordinance are very strict and the said ordinance in short is just like an open sword hanging on the heads of merchants, particularly Indian merchants, as the officers will be Europeans who desire to exclude Indians from B.E.A. by hook or by crook.

Besides the Governments' taxes, the Nairobi Municipality, which is the only Municipality in B.E.A., is taking a licensing fee of Rs. 30 per year from every business man for each of his business places, in addition to which there are conservancy, vehicle etc. taxes.

Looking to the population, one finds that the Government receive the lion's share in taxes from the Indian community and yet Indians have no voice in the determination of the tax they have to pay.

Let us see how the three public bodies in the state, viz, the Executive Council, the Legislative Council, and the Nairobi Municipal Committee are constituted. In the Executive Council, there are 7 Members including the Governor, of whom 5 are Government Officials and 2 non-official, nominated Europeans. In the Legislative Council, by the 1919 Legislative Council Ordinance, there will be elected by the European Community of that country, educated or illiterate, male or female all alike, 11 European members; in addition to these there will be 11 Government officials plus 1 nominated Arab official plus 2 nominated Indian representatives. As the Government and the Governor had made a breach in their respective promise regarding Indian representation, the mass meeting of the Indians of Nairobi condemned the action of the Government for nominating 2 Indians, and they also condemned the action of the 2 nominees for accepting the seats, without any mandate from their community. In spite of their censure, they accepted the nomination. The meeting was justified in doing this in as much as Lt.-Col. Amery had promised effective representation to the Indian Community. Mr. H. S. L. Polak was in correspondence with the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu with a view to secure electoral representation to Indians and H. E. the Viceroy had also forwarded, with sympathetic recommendation, the E. A. Indians' memorial to the Secretary of State for India.

If we view this point justly, it must be stated that proportionate franchise should be given in these two Councils to the Indian community.

Now taking the Nairobi Municipal Committee, the public is informed that out of 19 seats 15 seats are offered to Europeans elected by Europeans and one seat is reserved for the Government officials; so there are 16 seats for Europeans and 2 for nominated Indians and 1 for the Goanese. In this case, too, the remark regarding the representation on the Executive and Legislative Councils applies.

The total area of the Protectorate is 245,000 sq. miles, of which less than 3,000, according to the best official estimate, are under cultivation. Nearly half of the Protectorate has a low rainfall, but underground water has been found in this

area, which water might be utilised by boring and pumping. The Protectorate has two rainy seasons and two summers. The land level ranges from sea level to over 10,000 feet. The Protectorate is divided into the highlands (uplands) and lowlands. The highlands, which are very healthy produce coffee, flax, wattle bark, wheat, potatoes and peas; whereas the lowlands which are generally unhealthy produce maize, sisal, oilseed, citrus and other fruits.

The land trouble began in the year 1907 when the Land Board of that Protectorate requested the B.E.A. Government to discourage Indian immigration and not to grant any Crown lands to Indians. Land in B.E.A. is always granted on leases. The then Commissioner of Land no doubt forwarded the recommendation to the Home Government, but he added that the Indians were in the country long before Europeans settled there, that but for the Indian labour, the Uganda Railway would never have been constructed, that "most of the trading wealth of the country is in the hands of Indians" and finally "that Indians are British subjects." These strong considerations, unhappily, were not kept in view by the then Colonial Secretary, Lord Elgin to the degree they merited. In a despatch to the Governor of E.A.P. (19th March 1908) his Lordship said: "With regard to the granting of land to Indians, it is not consonant with the views of His Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions on any particular section of the community. But as a matter of administrative convenience grants should not be made to Indians in the upland areas." By the reservation thus made, the whole of the highlands, which are fertile, and have an area estimated at from 25,000 to 30,000 sq. miles, are 'out of bounds' for Indians. In these highlands foreigners may take up leases, a German, a Levantine, a French, an Italian, a Swiss is free to settle on the land. A subject of H. M. King George V, if he be of Indian origin, is debarred. Such is Imperialism in practice. Gradually, the trouble began to increase. In 1912, by passing the Mining Ordinance, the Government prohibited any Indian to acquire any rights in the mining lands. In 1914, the War broke out and B. E. A. was put under martial law which was removed in February, 1919; and under which regime many innocent (as supposed by Indian public) Indians have suffered and many were sentenced severely. In the year 1915, when the Indians were fully terror-stricken by martial law the E. A. P. Government passed

unopposed the "Crown Lands Ordinance," under which the Governor was empowered to veto land transactions between persons of different races, and this power was chiefly exercised where persons to be benefited were Indians. It was stated that the authorities desired to keep the houses of white residents away from those of the Indian residents on the ground of danger from plague. The rules of the "Segregation of Races" were passed in 1918, by which no Indian can live in the location reserved for Europeans, even if he possesses a plot or a building which has not been occupied by any one from his race before the passing of the said rules. A person committing a breach of the rules was to be punished criminally! A domestic Indian servant can reside in European quarters, but an honourable and worthy Indian gentleman cannot do so! In the year 1919, the B. E. A. Government passed the Town Planning Scheme Ordinance, the objects of which, as stated by the Government, are sanitation, amenity and convenience. The said Ordinance states that no compensation shall be paid: (1) if the property to be effected by the Town Planning Scheme is not injuriously affected, (2) if the said scheme has not been sufficiently carried through, and (3) if the application for compensation is not made as shown in the Rules. The Ordinance further mentions: if the property affected by the T. P. S. is increased in value, the Government will share half the increase! Further on, in the same ordinance, it is stated: if the parties, i.e., the owner and the Government authorities, cannot come to any decision as regards the compensation for the increase the Governor shall order the arbitration of one arbitrator and his decision shall be final. Now it is left to the readers to judge the consequences of this Ordinance.

Speaking for the racial disqualification, it must be said that not only in the official ranks is the disqualification shown, but also in the Railways on the recommendation of the Economic Commissioners who stated: "The Railway and Government departments should as quickly as possible replace Indian employees by Europeans in the higher grades and Africans in the lower." The Indians are made neither J. P.s nor visiting Justices of Prisons and Asylums. The treatment accorded to Indians in prisons is on the lines given to the Natives while the Whites are enjoying the best of life. In dress and in food too, and in the general living there is a vast difference between the two non-native races. The Portuguese Indian subjects

(i.e., the Goanese) get what Europeans generally get in Jails but Indian subjects are not allowed those privileges. In asylums the European lunatics are sent to South Africa whereas the Indian lunatics have to pass a miserable life in the East African asylums. There are no public (i.e., maintained solely by Government). Indian hospitals and in educational matters the Government has not given any facilities to Indian students—there being two Government schools accommodating about 800 students in all. The annual sum spent on education by the Government is about £10,000, most of which goes to European schools which are always in need of funds! In short, in all public places such as theatres, turf grounds, banks, post offices, judicial courts, hotels, etc., the racial distinction is shown.

After the war the trouble began to increase. In 1918, the settlers organised the European National Congress and named it the Convention of Associations. This body's aims are Asiatic exclusion from B.E.A. and denial of franchise to them. Every European from the Governor downwards is holding the Convention's views. When the Convention could not get their desires fulfilled, they got the B. E. A. Government which is just like a cat's paw in their hands to pass the strictest rules against Indians and the Government did accordingly. His Excellency supporting the views of the Convention passed not less than four deadliest Ordinances in his short regime of about ten months beginning from February 1919. An Economic Commission was appointed by the Governor under the powers conferred upon him and bears the signature of the "Governor and Commander-in-chief." The president of this Commission was the Honourable the Chief of Customs and the majority of the members were members of the Legislative Council.

The chief reasons given against Indians by the White Community are: (1) Indians absorb most of the occasions of personal contact with the Africans. (2) Indian influence upon Africans is predominant. (3) The part played by the Indians is such that the African is capable, with training, of performing. (4) The presence of Indians deprives the African of all incentives to ambition and opportunities of advancement. (5) The sphere of the Indian in B.E.A. is not complimentary to but competitive with those of the European and the African. (6) The Indians do not submit to the civic, moral and commercial obligations current in European society. (7) Indians are a

crafty race. (8) Indians keep the African race mere as hewers of wood and drawers of water. (9) Physically, the Indian is not of wholesome influence, because of his incurable repugnance to sanitation and hygiene. (10) Plague has certainly been imported from Bombay. (11) The Indian is a menace not only to himself but also to the natives of E. A. (12) The moral depravity of the Indian is bad. (13) The Indian is the inciter to crime as well as vice. (14) The presence of the Indian in E. A. P. is quite obviously inimical to the moral and physical welfare and the economic advancement of the native. (15) The welfare of the African is subordinated in Africa to political considerations and the pretensions of the more restless elements of India. (16) Upon the decision as to East Africa, the future of the whole continent will largely depend, for if Indians are to be allowed to stream in at any one entrance in unlimited numbers, it will scarcely be possible to localise them definitely in any particular territory. (17) The Imperial principle which is to control the migration within the Empire of different peoples as laid down by the Imperial Conference in July 1918. (18) The principle of self determination. (19) The intention of the Whites to adapt the native to the European civilization. (20) By exposing the African to the antagonistic influence of Asiatic, as distinct from European, philosophy, the European community becomes guilty of a breach of trust.

When representations are made to the East African Government as regards the redress of the grievances, the Indians are informed that the matter is one for the Imperial Government to decide and they in their turn; if approached state that it is in the hands of the Governor of the Protectorate; hence the position of the Indians is awkward.

It is known here and it has been admitted officially that the Government of India sent money, men, munitions etc. etc. to help the E. A. Government to fight the East African campaigns, but soon after the termination of the hostilities the Government passed the Ex-soldier Settlement Scheme Ordinance debarring the Indian ex-soldiers from taking any benefit under the said Ordinance, while giving preference to Europeans who not only would not have fought in the East African campaign, but would not have even seen E. A., although the Indian blood and money won the East African war. This is self-determination and justice!

East Africa, as regards the Indian question, stands on a different level, from that of South Africa, in as much as: (1) South Africa is self-governing whereas East Africa is a Crown Colony, the Governor of which is directly responsible to the Colonial Office. (2) Whoever might have made South Africa, East Africa has been entirely made by the Indians. An English journal once wrote: "In South Africa and the Transvaal in particular, there are certain uncontrollable circumstances which make it necessary to put a limit on Asiatic immigration. These circumstances do not exist in Equatorial Africa, which, in the opinion of the most experienced authorities, is an ideal country for the settlement of a large portion of the overwhelming population of our Indian Empire. With some exceptions, British East Africa and Uganda are not entitled to the description of white men's countries."

Now, looking at the present state of things, it must be brought to the notice of the public in this country that the present Governor of E. A. Maj. Gen. Sir Edward Northey, K.C.M.G., C.B., became the Administrative Officer of E. A. from the military field. He is not reputed to possess much administrative talents. When he came to E. A. in Feb. 1919, he stated that he was neither anti-nor pro-Indian, but a welcome dinner was given by the White Settlers' Convention of Association, where its president Major E. S. Grogan delivered a fiery speech and gave Sir Northey several ultimatums in which he stated that he (Sir Northey) should not surrender to any of the requests of the Indians. Sir Northey in the 1919 sessions of the Convention of Associations stated that he was one with the Convention of Associations in its views.

Sir Northey went in November last to England to discuss with the Colonial Secretary the Indian question of B. E. A. and ultimately to decide in England the fate of B. E. A. Indians. Major E. S. Grogan and Mr. E. Powys Cobb, (the Major was once the president of the convention of Associations and is the strongest anti-Indian settler) two of the principal signatories of the Report of the Economic Commission are also in England; and Grogan Cobb and Co. will be the chief advisors in England of Sir Northey. Lord Milner has also now gone to England and he will now hold the long expected discussion.

In the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi, it was stated that the Secretary of State for India will defend the Indian cause at the forthcoming

Milner-Northey discussion, but it is very surprising not to see any member of Parliament enquiring whether the Secretary of State for India is in possession of some authentic and impartial information to rebut the Governor of E. A. It cannot be forgotten, however, that on many occasions the Government of India, who are the principal intermediaries, have stated that they have got no information whatsoever of the difficulties etc. of E. A. Indians, and whatever information the Secretary of State for India would be supplied by the Colonial Secretary would be that supplied by the E. A. Government to the latter; hence it would be quite impossible to expect any substantial defence from the Secretary of State for India.

Further it has been stated by the Government of India and H. E. the Viceroy that nothing could be done by them, till they got a report from Sir Benjamin Robertson who is to visit East Africa and Uganda on his return to India from South Africa. Here too, no member in the Council questioned whether Sir Benjamin was going to visit East Africa as a Government representative or as a private traveller or visitor. This doubt has now arisen as Sir B. Robertson, on the 11th Feb. last, is said to have stated to the Zanzibar Association that he was going to E. A. as a traveller. Even if we suppose that Sir B. Robertson is a Government Representative, it cannot be agreed that this matter should be postponed till then, as his report in any case will not be ready either for the public to comment on or for the Government to consider before the end of May, at the earliest, during which time the fate of E. A. Indians will be decided in England, and the report then will not be of any use, as it would be very difficult to re-open the question for amicable adjustment.


Hence it behoves us:

(1) To protest against all the anti Asiatic legislation of the E. A. Government, to request the Home Government to repeal them all and to veto any such legislation in future.

(2) To request the Imperial Government to cause, (a) a Royal Commission to be appointed to enquire into the E. A. Indian question and (b) to delay the final decision which is to be arrived at in England as regards the B. E. A. Indians till the impartial Official Report is before (i) the public and (ii) the Government.

No stone should be left unturned to solve the East African Indian question.

THE KHILAFAT CONFERENCES

E make no apology for reverting to the Khilafat question again. The agitation is now entering an acute phase and is causing grave concern to all who have the welfare of the country at heart. During the past some weeks, there have been innumerable demonstrations and meetings all over India, and it behoves us to pause and consider the resolutions that have been passed at such conferences. Whether the Muslim demands are based on religious or racial sentiments, Hindus have wholeheartedly joined hands with their fellow-subjects in pressing the claims of Turkey for the maintenance of her integrity. As Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar pointed out in a recent communication: "The Hindus have fully appreciated the feelings of the Mahomedans on this question and have extended their sympathy and support so far."

But there are always a group of extremists who threaten to undo the efforts of sane counsellors. Witness the Resolutions passed at the recent Conferences. Some of them sound like threats of severance from allegiance to the British Government. The Bombay Resolution reads:

The meeting further records its deep conviction that any other solution of the question must eventually result in the complete withdrawal of co-operation from Government, and therefore appeals to all statesmen of the Empire to prevent such a severe strain being put upon Indian loyalty.

The Madras Resolution is even more decisive:—

In consonance with the spirit of the resolution adopted by the All-India Committee, this Conference, in the event of the present agitation proving futile and ineffective, calls upon all Indians to resort to progressive abstention from co-operation with Government in the following manner:—firstly, to renounce all honorary posts, titles and membership of Legislative Councils; secondly, to give up all remunerative posts under Government service; thirdly, to give up all appointments in the Police and Military forces; and fourthly, to refuse to pay taxes to Government."

We deeply regret that Mr. Gandhi should countenance such advice.

Now, it looks strange how the Government of India could help in a matter which is entirely in the hands of the Peace Conference. It is now well-known that the Government of India and the Secretary of State represented the Muslim view with great warmth at the Peace Table.

Mr. Lloyd George himself is not altogether vindictive in the matter of the Turkish settlement. If, in spite of the benevolent efforts of the British delegates, the result should go against Turkey, we are at a loss to conceive how it would help, to embarrass the Government of this country. Asks Sir Sivaswami Aiyar very pertinently:

What is the specific course of action that Mr. Gandhi would desire the Government of India to take? Are they to go to war against the United Kingdom or against the Allies and if they are to be driven to any such extraordinarily absurd course, does anybody dream for a moment that the Mussalmans of India or even all the populations of India are prepared or able to carry on a successful war against the Empire or the Allies, not to speak of America. Mr. Gandhi himself perceives the barbarousness and futility of any resort to violence by the people against the Government. Is not a resort to arms against the Empire and the Allies and in fact the whole of Christendom still more ludicrous? England will or may respond to appeals to her sense of honour and chivalry, but to suppose that she will be cowed down by threats or can be beaten is childish.

What after all does the appeal for non-co-operation lead to? It is in essence no less than "an exhortation to all officers in the civil employ of Government to strike work and do so for political reasons." It would include all Judges, Magistrates, all members of the Police force, all gaol officials and, in fact, officials in every department and every grade." Certainly such a course must sooner or later lead to the negation of ordered Government!

This, we repeat, is a perilous course to take. Strikes in any form are always infectious. And in a country like India, there are inflammable materials all around which at any moment may break the bounds of law and throw the whole country into chaos. Mr. Gandhi himself should have learnt from experience the danger of playing with fire. The tragedy of the Punjab is yet fresh in our memory. Shall we have a repetition of those horrors again?

Our own reading of the situation is that there are still a good number of Mahomedan and Hindu leaders who realise the futility of extreme actions. We earnestly hope that saner counsels will prevail and that all level headed men will promptly dis-countenance extravagances.

The Calcutta University Report

Mr. J. D. Anderson, writing in the current number of *The Asiatic Review*, declares that the critics of the Calcutta University have been too ready to assume that there is something very rotten in the state of higher education in Bengal, and says that we need not despair if we are to judge the Calcutta University by its fruits and best results. It has not wholly failed in the promotion of sound learning and its teaching of English has had wonderful results in the evolution of Bengali literature. In Bengal there has been no mere imping of the English style and, in the case of almost every good Bengali author, there has been an individual style, which is unmistakably Bengali. "So far as the elite is concerned, Calcutta has been justified by the literary exploits of her children."

Stringent control by government and poverty which means a deficiency of libraries, laboratories etc., the frugality and simplicity of student life which is not without its agreeable humours and compensations, the unwieldy number of its undergraduates, the very small proportion of women students and Mussulmans and the lower indigenous castes among the students, the large proportion of the undergraduates to the literate population of the province, the difficulty of students taking up technical training for professions learned or other, a portentous Matriculation examination which was subject to paternal cries of dismay, new-paper agitation, social appeals, the terribly destructive Intermediate Examination, the curricula which demanded a retentive memory rather than an ingenious and healthily developed intelligence—these were the chief features of university life and activity.

The writer hopes to have future provincial Universities in Assam, Rajshahi and Chittagong—the latter especially with its nobly situated *Madrasah* has long been marked out as a fit town for a University, standing as it does where Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism meet. Calcutta may before long provide courses of learning for its own young orientalists as well as for English students and become so efficient as to draw students from Paris, Berlin and London. Calcutta with the help of adjacent Nawadvi, one of the most ancient seats of Sanskrit learning, may, under proper auspices become a world-centre of Oriental learning.

Christian Nationalism

The Young Men of India publishes a paper prepared by Mr. K. T. Paul on Christian Nationalism. Mr. Paul argues that no nationalism could be counted as Christian, which would be so self-centred as to want isolation, so self-seeking as to exploit other nations and so self-willed as to refuse others' counsels. Christian nationalism should profit by all that was worth while anywhere in the world, and more especially by British culture with which our contact is so intimate and extensive. The task of the Christian nationalist is doubly onerous. He has to bring, out of the stores of God, things both old and new. The old he has to bring out of India and the new from the West. To select with faith in both places, to denounce with courage in regard to both traditions, to be single-minded for the purity of the ideals of Christ, that is the responsibility of the Christian nationalist.

Speaking of the civilization of India, Mr. Paul says that India presented the unique phenomenon of a great oriental culture which had braved the confusions of political vicissitudes. Her strength lay not in physical power or material pelf but in the abiding vitality of the inner light which secured high intellectual achievement, profound spiritual aspiration and a master-piece of social organisation, at once adaptable to the demands of changing conditions and tenaciously conserving the heritage of art and culture, as each generation carried them a stage further towards perfection.

The following para of the lecture is worth quoting:

"The sterling success of Indian culture to subsist, to progress and to dominate for centuries many more millions than ever came under the heel of the Kaiser, all without any political power and authority, has demonstrated once for all to the world the truth of the dictum, 'Blessed are the Meek for they shall inherit the Earth.' The rest of the world went on the idea that political power is indispensable for a chance in the world. This fallacy worked itself out into the absurdity which Europe had to undergo during the last five years. India has stood on a pedestal above material and political power, and her exalted throne has weathered all storms, and the nations of the world might turn to her wistfully for the demonstration of the truth uttered in all its simplicity on the shores of Galilee."

Modern Japan

The newly-started *Asian Review* (Tokyo) has an interesting article on the above subject from the pen of Marquis Okuma. The Marquis says that, having come in touch with European civilization, Japan has harmonised it with her own civilization and created, nay, is now creating a new civilization and hence in this respect she may be said to be an extremely young nation.

The writer describes at some length the state of affairs in Japan, when the country was disturbed by civil wars, when many officials met their death at the hands of assassins, when there were more than two hundred Daimyos or noblemen who acted as if they were sovereigns of independent states, and when Japan was, at the beginning of her intercourse with Europe, pestered with ex-territoriality, i.e., the carrying into force in certain parts of the country where foreigners dwelt in large numbers the laws of foreign countries.

He then says that the condition of Japan was in many respects similar to that of India before the British conquered it and significantly points out that such a big country as India, which, if united, could never be vanquished by the whole of Europe allied, was conquered by England alone owing to the dissensions among the native princes. In Japan however the hatred of the foreigner was so great that the people desirous of avoiding foreign domination rallied round their Emperor, and the movement resulted in the restoration of the Imperial Rule and the disappearance of feudalism with its hosts of independent Daimyos. The people at the same time adopted the policy of "*Saichohotan*" or "making good one's deficiency by learning the superior points of others." At the same time, with the disappearance of feudalism, a democratic form of Government was established in the country.

The reformation was so complete that the sons of princes and nobles are now, with the sons of workmen, taught the same lessons in the same schoolroom. The writer points out that neither in England, nor in France or Germany is education so democratic. The laws of Japan were re-modelled by the incorporation of all the good points of European legislation such as the independence of the judge from the interference of the executive and this induced the European nations to assent to the abolition of ex-territoriality in Japan.

The Japanese who are capable of effecting such a great reformation can assimilate any civilization they

come in contact with and they are endowed with faculties for learning and utilizing without difficulty any science, philosophy or law which never before existed in their own country; and can also correct their errors the moment that they discover them. Of all the nations of a lower standard of civilization that have come in contact with European culture since the beginning of the history of Europe, the Japanese are perhaps the only nation endowed with the faculties referred to above.

In Africa, Asia, North and South America there were many different peoples some of whom were quite advanced but when they came in contact with European civilization, their own civilization was overwhelmed by it and finally dwindled away. On the contrary the civilization of Japan, reflecting the light of European civilization, has shone with redoubled brightness and splendour, as the morning sun rises from the eastern horizon.

What then will be the future of Japan who has made such wonderful progress? I have no doubt that she will propagate to China and other countries in the Orient, whose standard of civilization is low, her new civilization which is a product of harmonising Japanese and European civilizations. In a sense Japan may be said to have the mission of harmonising Eastern and Western civilization, and of propagating the new civilization; nay, I do not hesitate to declare that this is her mission. That this is not vain boasting is proved by facts.

That which has made Japan what she is now is the fruit of the effort of her people, noblemen and common citizens, government officials and private individuals alike, who have assimilated and utilised European civilization.

Self-Government & Self-Determination

Mr. Sri Prakasa, B.A., LL.B. writes an article on the above subject in the *Hindustan Review* for February. He defines self-government as the government of a people by the people themselves, i.e., a democratic form of polity wherein all government rests ultimately on the people themselves, and where the day-to-day administration is carried on, as far as possible, by the duly elected representatives of that people, there being no bar by reason of poverty or other causes, against any one, however humble, getting into any office, however exalted, if certain specific conditions physical, moral, or intellectual are fulfilled. Self-determination means that the government of a country should be carried on by persons and in a manner that the people of that country determine as most suitable for themselves. The form of government that a particular race may determine as most wholesome for it, in the particular circumstances that it finds itself in, may not be the form connoted by the word "self-government." For instance, a particular race may honestly feel

that an extreme form of self-government is not suited for it, that it should have a form corresponding to monarchy limited or absolute; or it should have an aristocracy, oligarchy or bureaucracy; or it may even prefer to have sacerdotalism or feudalism: but the condition precedent is that the people themselves must have a chance to have their say in the matter. They must be the ultimate arbiters of their own destiny. They must choose what form of government they prefer for themselves above every other.

The writer says that he prefers self-determination to self-government in India. He has his own doubts whether the form of self-government found in some countries in the west is the best form of government suited for India. He says that enforced self or responsible government only means a persistent and undesirable attempt to drag India, bound in intellectual chains, behind the triumphant car of European political science and philosophy, and force us, as a partaker in that triumphant progress, to follow suit. It is an attempt to bind India's soul, even if it loses her body.

The writer says that the Indian Reforms are not going to lessen the expenditure; on the contrary they will add to it. Nor are they going to give us an inexpensive and simplified system of law which is another crying need of the country. Nor will adequate money be available for industrial, agricultural, commercial, educational and all other forms of social and economic improvement—so much more important than mere forms of government—for these requirements will under the Reform Act rank after the purely administrative requirements, which with their rubber-like capacity for infinite expansion will eat up all—and more than all—the available money.

The writer pleads eloquently for 'self-determination thus:

I, therefore, stand for self-determination. I do not want the gradual attainment of self or responsible government under the aegis or guidance of the British Indian Government. I desire that the people should have a chance to say what they actually want; what their political ideals are; by what methods do they want to be governed; whom do they wish to put in positions of power and authority; etc., etc.

I therefore plead for self-determination. Let our people be asked as to what they want. Let the consultation be held sympathetically in mansion and in hamlet. Let us then find out what are the shortcomings of the existing administrative system. And instead of adding to the shortcomings by complicating the machinery of Government, let us meet the requirements of the people and launch on reforms accordingly.

Indian Womanhood in the Epics

Mr. Maganlal A. Buch, writing in the newly started periodical of Baroda, *The Indian Journal of Sociology* (edited by Prof. A. Widgery), considers the earlier Indian attitude towards womanhood as revealed in ancient Indian literature. In the Epics, woman is seen gradually sinking to a position of pronounced subordination and in some pictures she is regarded as being full of all sorts of faults and blemishes and as having an inordinate fondness for sexual pleasures. "The destroyer, the deity of wind, death, the nether regions, the equine mouth that roves through the ocean, vomiting ceaseless flames of fire, the sharpness of the razor, virulent poison, the snake and fire—all these exist in a state of union in woman." But in some passages we find delineations of the highest traits of human character in women. Rites and ceremonies, penances and Yoga were part of woman's privileges; and even the doors of paradise were open to her. In the Bhagavad-Gita the highest feminine qualities are described as glory, magnificence, refinement of speech, memory, intellect, fortitude and forbearance.

The seclusion of women of the highest castes had begun; but it had not yet become a rigid institution. Marriage was regarded as an indispensable duty for woman; and to aid in the marriage of girls was an act of positive charity; girls had little or no initiative in marriage; they were dependent upon their guardians. Many types of marriage were recognised, by capture, by purchase, by choice. Marriage by force is clearly and highly approved of. Marriage by mutual choice is that specially recommended for Kshatriyas (Gandharva and Swayamvara).

Marriage by purchase was mostly condemned; and all gifts to the father are to be regarded as price paid for the girl. Parents were not allowed to be arbitrary in the marriage affairs of their children. Girls were mostly full-grown before they were wedded; and early marriages had not generally come into vogue. Polygamy was prevalent at least in the royal families. "In women it is very sinful to take a second husband after the first." The marriage of only one wife is regarded as an act of merit. Vyasa says that polyandry had become obsolete and Draupada is made to say that the practice is sinful. Though exceptional, polyandry was known in the time of the *Mahabharata*.

The Future of Parties

The *Round Table* for March has an instructive article on the future of parties in England. The article was written at the time of the Paisley by-election when the result of Mr. Asquith's great campaign was yet undecided. The writer sums up the situation, in the following review of the parties as they stood in February last :—

A series of by-elections have greatly reduced the majority of every Coalition candidate and gone decisively against the Liberal remnant who stand aloof from the Coalition. In all of them the Labour Party have made solid progress: in one case, that of Spen Valley, Labour has won the seat in a three-cornered fight. Meanwhile events in the House of Commons have exposed the growing incoherence of the Coalition wherever the new situation touches on ancient party controversies—as, for example, in the so-called Anti-dumping Bill, introduced before Christmas, to govern the resumption of trade with enemy countries. There are renewed signs of an attempt to consolidate the Coalition from within by creating from it a "Centre Party"; but its authors are still at variance about the purpose and composition of such a body. The Lord Chancellor describes the Coalition, of which he is a member, as "an invertebrate and undefined body" and regards the formation of a National Party as "indispensable." Mr. Churchill describes the Labour Party as "still quite unfitted for the responsibility of government." Lord Haldane, on the other hand, abandoning his old Liberalism, finds his "faith in the future of Labour growing deeper" and founds on it his hopes for to-morrow. Lord Salisbury, writing in the press, seems to suggest a break-away in the direction of the old Conservatism; while his brother, Lord Robert Cecil, equally critical of the present Government, has set out his views on current problems in a volume of somewhat nebulous idealism which commits him to no particular line of cleavage. And the party newspapers, rushing to over-emphasise every symptom that suits their own attitude, have contrived to render the apparent confusion far greater than it really is.

In this contentious atmosphere the Coalition Government has been sustaining itself. Various causes have contributed to the sustenance of the coalition in office. Firstly, the indisputable factor of Mr. Lloyd George's personality and tactics, secondly the absence of any formidable rival to the premier and thirdly the weakness of other parties and the adaptability of the coalition for the situation as it is.

But how long can such a Coalition last? In the face of the growing influence of Labour and the return of Mr. Asquith at the head of the Independent Liberals what is the scope of the Coalition's future?

The *Round Table* writer does not expect the Independent Liberals will make much headway.

In the future as in the past there will be two dominant parties, the Coalition and Labour, and the contest between them for power will become more and more keen. Says the writer :—

Broadly speaking, events in Great Britain point to a revival of the old two-party system, which in theory finds general support. As Labour tends more and more to attract to its ranks an element of the workers by brain as well as by hand, it gradually assumes the position on the Left, though by no means the principles, of the old Liberal Party. In opposition to it at present stands the Coalition—consisting of a majority of the old Liberals and practically the whole of the Unionist forces, by no means unsympathetic with Labour as such, but tending more and more to assume the position of the old Conservatives as the party of the Right. The fact that the Coalition is on the whole more hostile to the dissentient Liberals than to Labour, and that it contains an active element which would like to work with the moderate Labour leaders, can hardly affect the general tendency. The process towards a two-party system may conceivably be delayed by a temporary revival of the "wee free" Liberals under Mr. Asquith, whose candidature at Paisley is deliberately directed towards this object. His return to the House of Commons as an Opposition leader is advocated by numbers of people far outside his own political following, who dislike both the weakness of the present Parliamentary critics and the alternative of a Labour Government in the immediate future. But sooner or later—and probably sooner than later—practical questions will arise to define a single broad line of cleavage, Nationalisation of the mines, the railways, and the land is likely to be one of them. The project of a general levy on capital may be another. It is questions like these, and not mere abstract appeals for new parties, that will give fresh reality to the traditional system of Government and Opposition and carve out of the Coalition, and out of some of its critics as well, a coherent body of thought on urgent problems.

In this connection it is interesting to read Mr. J. B. Firth's views in the *Fortnightly Review*. Writing on the future of the Conservative party, Mr. Firth says :—

"The most urgent need is a speedy return to the old two-party system. But that is only possible by the fusion of the great mass of Liberals and Conservatives into one party. The extreme Conservative Right, the remnants of Toryism, have nowhere to go if they quit the main body. Therefore, they will stay. The Radical element of Liberalism, which has more sympathy with Labour than with the Liberal Centre, will break away and join the Labour Party, which itself is a mass of discordant elements and warring sections. So long as the Coalition is in power, the disintegrating tendencies will probably remain in the ascendant."

Absenteeism in Labour

Mr. P. H. Douglas, in the course of an article in *the Political Science Quarterly* (Dec. 19), writes about the losses which absenteeism of labour entails to production. The amount of absenteeism that now exists in labour is far in excess of that which is necessary to maintain the worker in the highest efficiency. It is this unnecessary absenteeism that brings with it a loss to the employer, to the consumer and even to the employee himself.

The cost of absenteeism to the employer may be described as follows:

(1) Machinery or equipment is rendered less efficient by the absence of the worker; (2) extra administrative and clerical force is required to record and handle the absence; (3) lessened productivity of the absentee's associates; and (4) loss of profit upon the labour of the workman himself.

The workman's loss is also great. The absentee loses his pay for the period of absence and this is a large item. Not only does absenteeism cause a money loss to the workman, but it is also a demoralising influence. Continual absence tends to make a man more foot-loose and less anxious to work steadily or stay at one job for any length of time.

The causes of absenteeism are manifold and not susceptible of precise measurement. They are rarely separated and so closely interwoven with one another that the absentee himself can seldom tell which is predominant. The more important causes may be listed as follows:

(a) Sickness and ill-health; (b) accidents; (c) long hours, since a protracted working day means in the end increased absenteeism; (d) the greater susceptibility of women in industry to illness and the pressure of home ties compel them to be absent from or be tardy at their work; (e) nature of the employment; (f) prevalence of other work; (g) payment of overtime hours; (h) lack of materials; (i) climatic conditions, distance of the place of work etc; (k) inadequate transportation facilities; (l) liquor; (m) wage-income higher than standard of living. If real wages increase faster than the standard of living, absenteeism necessarily results. This is the situation created in war industries. A higher standard of living decreases absenteeism, as indeed does a rise in prices; and (n) separation of interests between workman and employer.

The following methods of reducing absenteeism are suggested:

(a) Establishment of an efficient employment department which will discover the causes of

absenteeism and act as a central agency in applying remedies.

(b) Investigation of absences.

(c) Imposition of fines for tardiness and absence. These may be deductions of pay for time lost or of deductions of more than this.

(d) Bonuses for attendance aiming to reduce tardiness as well as absenteeism.

(e) Competitive devices to stimulate interest.

(f) A shorter working day with the omission of overtime bonus.

(g) Improvement of working conditions.

(h) Prohibition of intoxicating liquors.

(i) Cultivation of the co-operative spirit between employers and workmen.

(j) Improvement of certain social conditions, especially, avoidance of low wages, poor housing and inadequate sanitation.

The Factors of Infant Mortality

Mr. C. N. Saleeby, writing in *the Theosophist* for April, says that babies are killed not only by poverty, but also by prosperity, since, in areas where most wealth is made, infant mortality is also bad. Infant mortality at the root is not a medical problem of infancy; it is a social problem of motherhood; and the causes are mainly maternal and anti-natal. The curve of mortality at birth and immediately after is very high, but drops with great rapidity at the end of the first year of the baby's life. *Neo-natal* mortality is largely the result of mortal injury effected in the ante-natal period leading to a fatal issue sometime after birth. *Neo-natal* mortality curve is only the second half of a curve which was going on before it and which was higher still.

The writer concludes significantly thus:

I think I have now proved my case. For practical purposes we may say that, other things being equal, or unequal, according to the maternal environment, ante- and post-natal, so is the infant's chance of life. But you may say that this is to omit the father. This is not to omit the father, because the father can determine the maternal environment. Thus, if he goes away from the home and brings back syphilis, and ruins the maternal environment, the child will very likely die. The paternal environment conditions, in large degree, the maternal environment. The determining, immediate factor of infant life or death, compared with which all others are relatively trivial, is the maternal factor. Hence the paradox that poverty kills babies and prosperity kills babies. If poverty is going to damage the maternal environment because, for instance, the mother is starved, then the baby is starved. If the mother is prosperous, *per contra*, because she leaves the home, cannot be bothered with the baby, and abandons it to the "care" of others, who feed it on "humanised" milk, whilst she makes plenty of money, as in Bradford, then prosperity is going to kill babies. And the moral is: "Whom Nature hath joined together, let no man put asunder."

The Arya Samaj

In the course of an article on "The Arya Samaj" in the *Vedic Magazine*, Mr. N. C. Kelkar writes that the Sanatanists as well as the Arya Samajists have discovered that narrowness of vision is a national sin, and that there is a wider field and more useful ambition to attract our animal spirits and our pugnacity of temper.

Mr. Kelkar says that the Arya Samaj movement spread chiefly in the Punjab and the United Provinces, as these provinces were the earliest to come and the longest to remain under the domination of the Mohammedans. The Arya Samaj did not receive much attention in Madras because the influence of Mahomedanism was the least felt in that far-off province.

Speaking of Swami Dayananda Sarasvathi, Mr. Kelkar says that his magnetic personality and eloquence could not be without their effect. Himself a Brahmin, he did not stand up for Brahminism, but for Hinduism in its widest sense. He protested against a narrow interpretation of caste and founded his vindication of the religion of the Aryans upon the widest basis. Unification was the dominant note in his teaching. There was but one community, the Aryas or the Hindus, and there was but one bond to tie them all together, the Vedas.

The Arya Samaj was a kind of a protestant church. It denounced idolatry and aimed at establishing the Aryan or the Vedic faith in the purest theological form that was discoverable in the Vedic Scriptures. But it was not eclectic like the Bramha Samaj, and consequently it appealed more to the human mind of the Hindus. The human mind not only wants a religious label, but also a label that would proclaim the continuity of culture and tradition in which its own ancestors for thousands of years were brought up before. The pride of ancestral culture and tradition is the greatest factor in the scheme of Nationality, and the belief or even the pretence that all that is worth knowing or having has been recorded in the Vedic Scriptures was calculated to take the roots of nationality to depths from which it would be impossible to take it out.

My estimate of the success of the Arya Samaj in the Punjab may be right or wrong. But I do know why we in the other provinces too admire the Arya Samaj. We do so for its work in connection with its educational and philanthropic propaganda and especially in connection with the Shuddi movement. The example set by the Samaj in the last respect has been imitated in Bombay, even by people who are not Arya Samajists themselves, and in course of time that work will atone for the ravages that are being made in the ranks of the Hindu community by conversion. In conclusion let me express my sense of admiration for the Arya Samaj for its social work in so many directions, a work which is on right lines, when we take into account the new spirit that is dawning upon the land.

Missionary Educationists

Mr. Garfield Williams, writing in the *International Review of Missions*, remarks that the Calcutta University Commission have attached great weight to the evidence of the missionary educationists and were greatly impressed by the efficiency of missionary education, and practically suggest to the missionaries to give a lead in the carrying out of the suggested changes.

Attaching the highest importance to the right kind of secondary and pre-university education, he says as follows :

Now we believe that the members of the Calcutta University Commission have grasped the problem here and have really found a solution. We are strongly of opinion that their intermediate college should also contain the last two classes of the high school as well as the first two classes of the old university system. We do not believe that a two years' course covers a sufficient period of time to produce an institution which is of real educative value from the point of view of character formation. We are glad to see that the members of the Commission have in some measure realized this. They do not see their way to make their intermediate college compulsorily a four years' course, but they do say that in any future regulations that are laid down this should be permitted. And there can not be the slightest doubt that, from a missionary point of view, the four years' intermediate college will be the only one worth running.

Further on, the writer holds up a warning finger to the missionary institutions and asks them to rise up to the high standard of efficiency and scholarship which the new changes may demand from the leaders of the university.

There will be college lectures for which there will be a limit of numbers. A great problem, which does not seem to have occurred to the Commission, is that the most learned men are usually the worst possible orators, and one wonders how the Calcutta University professor of the future (let us hope a man of the splendid ability of a Gwatkin or a Jebb) is going to hold the attention of 700 or 1,000 Bengali students at his lectures. It will be a new thing to insist that a university professor should also be a master of rhetoric. Yet this is what the Calcutta University professor of the future will have to be.

In the future there will be many kinds of teachers in the University. There will be teachers wholly paid by the University and appointed solely by it. This category will include some of the professors, readers, lecturers and assistants. Then there will be teachers paid partly by the University and partly by the colleges, either appointed under the terms of a joint agreement between the University and the college, or appointed in the first instance by a college as ordinary college teachers and afterwards appointed by the University, by arrangement with the college, to give lectures which would be open to all students in constituent colleges.

The Home of the Andhra Kings

The discovery in certain Brahmi inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era of the names of some kings who had their analogues in the names of certain other kings who, in the Puranic genealogies, are called Andhras and the identity of the names in the inscriptions with those discovered in certain coins have been the basis of the connection of the Satavahanas with the Andhras and the construction of a rather dogmatic version of the Andhra history by Mr. V. A. Smith in his *Early History of India*. Mr. V. S. Sukthankar raises, in the first number of the recently published *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, the question whether the facts of the Satavahana history necessarily demanded that the home of the Satavahanas should be placed, as has been hitherto done, in the Andhradesa. In the Hirehadagalli plates issued by the Pallava Siva-Skandavarman, there is an interesting place-name—the *Satahani-rattha* which is said to include the settlement of *Cillareka*. An inscription of the reign of Sri Pulumavi Vasishtiputra (one of the Satavahana Kings) contains another place name having identical affinities with the former. The name is Satavahani—Hara, a point which roughly corresponds to modern Adoni and the inscription is known as the Myokadoni inscription. Satahani and Satavahani mean one and the same thing; in fact the former is a corruption of the latter.

This is undoubtedly a proof of the existence of a province called after the Satavahanas and it may be that the Satavahanas were natives of this tract or conquered it very early and gave it their own name. Mr. Sukthankar contends that the home of the early Satavahana kings like Simuka and Krishna was not the Andhradesa. Outside the Puranic literature, no independent authority asserts this relation between the Andhras and the Satavahanas. Greek authors who explicitly mention the Andhra country and the Andhra people do not make any reference to the Satavahanas. The Andhras themselves have preserved no memory of their illustrious Satavahanas whose dominions stretched right across India. The Puranic material confuses the Andhras with the Andhrabhrityas, but state that the latter succeeded the former. And there is hopeless confusion among scholars like Bhandarkar, Smith and Rapson on the point whether the Satavahanas were Andhras or Andhrabhrityas. If the term Andhrabhrityas should mean feudatories or dependents of the Andhras, the latter, i.e., the Andhrabhrityas need not necessarily be Andhras. Thus

the theory of the Andhra connection of the Satavahanas rests upon the uncorroborated, and at the same time, equivocal statements of the Puranas.

The inscriptions of the Satavahana kings contain no reference to their alleged affinity with the Andhras; in these records the kings are invariably referred to by their Kula-nama, i.e., Satavahana or a variant of it. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela, the Girnar inscription of Rudradaman and the Talgunda inscription of the Kadamba Kakusthavarman, which are among the contemporary records mentioning various Satavahana kings, never refer to them as Andhras. In the Hathigumpha inscription, Kharavela is said to have sent an army due west against the Satakarni, and in his time the Satavahana kingdom lay entirely to the west of the Kalinga country, not south in the Andhradesa. There are only four Satavahana inscriptions from Andhradesa, only 4 out of 24, and according to the topographical distribution of the inscriptions, the centre of gravity of the Satavahanas lay in the West of India. The earliest of these inscriptions are all from Western India; and it is not until the time of Sri-Pulumavi that we meet with any Satavahana inscription from the Andhradesa. The Satavahanas had undoubtedly overrun the Andhra country, but their earliest possessions were in Western India. They first made themselves masters of the northern portions of the Western Ghats and even subdued some parts of Malwa before they conquered Andhradesa. Their inscriptions are either in Sanskrit or in some form of Prakrit, and the earliest known Telugu record is that of the Eastern Chalukya King Jayasinha. The earliest coins of the Satavahanas were all picked up in Western India.

The Jains have preserved a clear recollection of the connection of the early Satavahanas with Western India—that Paichan was the capital of Satavahana. The connection of the Satavahanas with the Andhradesa has been considerably antedated; properly regarded, it is a result of immigration from the West to the East. The home of the Satavahanas has to be placed in the South-western parts of the Deccan plateau.

Vemana: The Telugu Saint. A Sketch of his Life and Teachings. (The Saints of India Series.) Price Annas 4.

G.A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

Statistics and National Destiny

Mr. G. H. Knibbs, whose speech before the Royal Colonial Institute is printed in the January number of *The United Empire*, explains the real and fundamental relation that statistics bears to national destiny; because the systematic compiling of information can enable the arts of control to be guided rationally instead of empirically and can be of almost incalculable value as regards the future. With an adequate record the various activities of the people can be better co-ordinated and be given efficient Government.

Eugenics, in the wider sense, has become international. Trade and financial developments are world-wide. The rights of individuals infringe upon another, and the clash of individual interests is not always in the interest of the people as a whole. More and more has State interference become essential: it is as necessary as it is inevitable.

So also do the rights of nations come into conflict: and the rights of mankind, as a solidarity, "limit the rights of nations, as the rights of a people limit the right of the individuals composing it. National eudæmonism may involve the development of national hygiene and of national eugenics. The co-ordination of national industry may similarly demand a large measure of State interference, and it is self-evident that such interference cannot, in the nature of the case, be appropriately directed without adequate knowledge of the general drift of affairs. Just as a manufacturer needs to co-ordinate the various parts of his business, to consider its existing and future supplies, and to anticipate the measure of its development, so must a wise nation forecast its wants in respect of the things which demand national action. It is self-evident that to do this it must have a knowledge of the trend and rapidity of the developments affecting the matters at issue. It is only when one realises this that the inadequacy of our present position can be properly gauged." Some parts of the Empire have attempted a fairly comprehensive survey of their activities, and this movement is spreading. Other parts, however, lag behind, and hence the survey of the whole either falls short, or is impossible. And to make the whole satisfactory, the advance must be considerable.

Recapitulating his main conclusions, the writer says as follows.

A Department of Census and Statistics, properly equipped and directed, in charge of a statistician of adequate powers, supported by an appropriate organisation of all data derived from departmental sources, can compile and analyse the statistics of a nation. It can do this in such a manner as to render criticism of the national drift possible, it can make the place of the nation in world affairs intelligible, it can reveal the movements of the nation in such a manner that these movements can be facilitated if advantageous, or be inhibited if detrimental. Thus, rightly used, statistics can powerfully contribute to a favourable issue, and enable a great people to take its appropriate place in the affairs of that larger world of which it forms a unit.

The Tiruvoymoli

Mr. R. S. Iyengar, writing in *The Indian Philosophical Review* (January, 1920), explains how Sri Ramanuja's *Sri Bhashya*, though professing only to be an abridgment of the *Brahma Sutras* of Baudhayana who himself interpreted the *Vedānta Sūtras* of Badrayana and while mentioning the names of Tanka, Dramida and Guhadeva among other teachers of the Visishtadvaitam Philosophy, has not mentioned the great Nammalwar from whose Tamil work, the *Tiruvoymoli*, he derived immense advantage. Nammalwar has been followed not only by Ramanuja, but by all later writers on Visishtadvaitam, he is highly honoured in the Tamil land. He is a hidden treasure unseen by Indian scholars and much more by the scholars of the West. If the work should be printed in Devanagari and there should be made a translation into English it would be an enormous help to the furtherance of the study of Hindu philosophy.

The original name of Nammalwar was Sadagopa. He was born at Alwartirunagari, Tinnevely district. The original name of the place was Kurugur. When he became an object of worship the place also was named after him. *Tiruvoymoli* consists of one thousand stanzas composed in sweet Tamil poetry and expounds even the intricate subtleties of Visishtadvaita philosophy in a very easy way that may impress the mind of any lay reader. The method adopted in handling such a difficult subject is very unique. If we compare this work with Sri Bhashya we find that several passages in the latter are but paraphrases of the several portions of *Tiruvoymoli*. Sir Bhashya closely follows the views expounded in *Tiruvoymoli*. The author is called the maker of the Tamil Vedas and the work is known as Tamil Vedam. Visishtadvaites call these as Ubhaya Vedāntam. Sri Ramanuja has not mentioned this important work in his Bhashya. The omission may have been due to two causes: firstly, the *Tiruvoymoli* was composed in Tamil and Ramanuja might have thought it inappropriate to mention a Tamil work in a Sanskrit work; secondly, he might have left it as his Acharya Alavandar has acknowledged the deep debt of gratitude he owed to Nammalwar. He worships him and says he was all in all for him.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

THE MESSAGE OF ROBERT BURNS TO INDIA. By Francis Watt, Bar-at-Law. ["East and West, March, 1920."]

PROGRESS OF CO-OPERATION IN INDIA. By the Editor. ["The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly, March, 1920."]

INDIAN ART IN AMERICA. By Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswami, D.Sc. ["The Modern Review, April, 1920."]

THE INDIAN STUDENT AND ENGLISH LITERATURE. By Rajniha D. Paul, M.A. ["The Madras Christian College Magazine, February 1920."]



INDIAN DELEGATES VISIT MR. ASQUITH.

Members of the Indian Khilafat Delegation visited Mr. Asquith. The photograph, taken outside Mr. Asquith's house in Cavendish Square, shows H. M. Hayat, Secretary on the left side, Mohammed Ali, head of the delegation, next.

The Khilafat Deputation

Last month we referred to the interview which the Indian Khilafat deputation had with Mr. Lloyd George. Since then the Deputation waited on Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons and presented the claims of Islam for fair treatment.

Mr. Asquith wished to ascertain whether they said that the retention of Constantinople was specifically laid down by Islam as a *sine quo non* in this connection; it was explained to him that although Constantinople did not stand in the same position as Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem or Jazeerat ul Arab which included Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, it was the most important part of the Dar-ul-Islam and the tradition of five centuries has endeared it so much that no Mussalman could ever be expected to acquiesce in the

loss of the sacred seat of the Khilafat, and of the Khilafat Dominions in Europe. No matter on what grounds such a policy was sought to be explained, Islam regarded it as Asiatic domination in part of Europe and as a direct consequence of this, the question would arise whether non Christian and eastern communities should tolerate any longer the domination of Christians and Europeans in any part of the eastern world. That would prove a source of great reaction against the British Empire itself and the delegation begged Mr. Asquith not to belittle that danger.

We are able to print here, by the courtesy of *The Madras Times* a picture of the Deputation whose efforts on behalf of the Khalifa have aroused much interest,

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Mr. Lloyd George on Turkey

Speaking in the House of Commons on the 26th February, Mr. Lloyd George referred thus to the Indian influence on the Turkish question:—"My noble friend rather borrowed here from other sources, when he suggested that the influences which have determined some members of the House to decide in favour of the retention of the Turks were financial influence in France and elsewhere. As a matter of fact the influences have been in the main, as far as we are concerned, influences which came direct from India. We had two delegates at the Peace Conference, both of them representative, able and very influential Indians. One is the Maharaja of Bikanir, who helped us very greatly in the war; the other is Lord Sinha, neither of them Mahomedans. But at every meeting of the British Delegation in Paris they were insistent that unless we retained the Turk in Constantinople, it would be regarded as a gross breach of faith on the part of the British Empire. (Cheers.) I have repeatedly heard the Aga Khan, who represents millions of Mahomedans, a singularly able man, on the same subject, and the idea which has been suggested that it is foolish finance by some egregious hebromaniacs is perfect folly. (Laughter) The influences have been influences which were bound to make impressions in our counsels.

Just think what the conquest of Turkey meant. India voluntarily sent to our aid 1,160,000 men who enlisted during the war, and taking those who enlisted during the war and before it, very nearly a million and-a-half. We could not have conquered Turkey without their help. We had not the necessary troops. There were Mahomedan divisions that fought brilliantly throughout the whole of that Turkish campaign. Without their aid we should not have conquered Turkey at all. Were we to have broken faith with them in the hour of victory? That is what we were confronted with. We might go to them and say, 'Circumstances have changed. We gave you this promise in January, 1918. The Turk never gave in until November, 1918.' You might have said so, but I will tell you what they would have said. Whenever the British word was given again in the East they would have said, 'Yes, you mean to keep faith but you will always somehow or other find an unanswerable reason when the time comes for breaking it.' There is nothing which would damage British power in Asia more than the feeling that you could not keep the British word. (Cheers.) That is the danger."

Mr. Asquith on Liberalism

Mr. Asquith said in a recent speech:—

"We had to choose between Liberalism as we have always understood it, as we have practised it, as we have fought for it, and as we must practise and fight for it in the future,—we had to choose between that and what was in effect, whatever it may have been in intention, an organised and, as it turned out for the moment—but only for the moment—a successful attempt to stifle its voice, paralyse its authority, and neutralise its effective force. What is the result? Look around and you will see it. Cabinet Government superseded, Parliamentary authority a cipher, the House of Commons itself a caricature of the real opinion of the nation. We live politically from day to day, I might say, from hand to mouth. We live upon what? Upon phrases, upon expediency, and upon improvisations. There never was a clearer or more urgent call to all that is best and most vital in the Liberalism of the country to take up and pursue with renewed faith and with re-doubled ardour its great task."

Mr. Fazlul Huq on the Reforms

In the course of his presidential address to the Midnapur Conference Mr. Fazlul Huq said:—

Whether the reforms are disappointing or unsatisfactory, or both, or neither, they are undoubtedly a great improvement on existing conditions, and whether they do or do not constitute a definite step towards responsible government, they do certainly constitute a step, albeit a first step, on the road towards the attainment of responsible government in this country. And we have all to remember that these first steps are always the most important of all, and if you stumble at the very first step, your further efforts towards progress must be foredoomed to failure.

Let me remind you that you owe it to your own country so to utilise the opportunities that have been offered to you, as to lead to further future progress and the development of a future social and political life. If you are apathetic or do not wisely exercise the privileges now given to you, you will show to the world that you are unfit for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.

'Violent speeches, and strongly worded resolutions are good enough to raise plaudits from admiring thousands, but the resolutions and the speeches die away with the echoes, they raise, like many a sound and fury which portend much but signify nothing.'

Gwalior.

United India, Mrs. Besant's London weekly, writes:—

H. H. The Scindia gave a glowing account of the progress of the State during the past twenty five years he has been at the head of its administration. Exports and imports have risen from 208 lakhs and 160 lakhs ten years ago to 440 lakhs and 519 lakhs of rupees respectively last year. The area under cultivation has increased from 32 lakhs of acres to 46 lakhs, the increase having been made possible by irrigation schemes which have cost the State 187 lakhs. Over 1,000 miles of pucca roads and 400 miles of new railway lines have been opened. The number of factories has gone up from 9 to 131. Funds amounting to over eight crores of rupees have been set apart for improving the State. During His Highness's regime, the annual income of the State has more than doubled itself from 117 lakhs to 240 lakhs. Encouraged by the example of Mysore, Gwalior has just inaugurated a Board of Economic Development whose progress, we hope, will be as rapid and as smooth as that of the Mysore Economic Conference.

H. E. H. the Nizam on the Khilafat.

The following *firman* has been issued by H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad:—My attention has been drawn to the public meetings that have been held in some places in my Dominions with reference to the Khilafat question. I have no desire to apply methods of repression to prevent the public expression of the sentiments of my people, particularly when they are in any way associated with religion, but in the interest of good Government it is necessary to guard against any movement developing into irresponsible action. I note with gratification that the organisers of the Khilafat meeting of my Dominions have acted with sobriety and restraint, but on principle I consider it necessary to insist upon the observance of certain safeguards so as to prevent the possibility of public meetings degenerating into unconstitutional agitation, which must necessarily inflict much suffering on any people that have departed from the path of ordered and disciplined advance. It is common knowledge that repression on the one hand produces unrest. Unrestrained and ill-advised public movements put a premium on dangerous incitement to crime, disturbance and violence. The feeling of the public is entitled to respect, so long as in its own turn it recognised the obligations it owes to society for the maintenance of public

peace, and in the manner of its expression refrains from lending itself to an unwholesome excitement. To save my beloved subjects from this peril, I direct the following procedure to be adopted whenever the organisers of public meetings with reference to the Khilafat desire to call one:—(1) Copies of the proposed resolutions must be submitted to the Government and orders thereupon obtained before they are moved; (2) Notice of the date and place of the meeting must be given to the District Magistrate or the Chief Magistrate as the case may be, seven clear days before it is held. (3) A true and faithful record of the proceedings of the meeting held must be promptly submitted to the District Magistrate or the Chief Magistrate, as the case may be, for the information of the Government. Disobedience of these directions will be taken serious notice of and severely dealt with.

Progress in Cochin

The *Times of India* writes:—

The Dewan of Cochin, in a note appended to the last administration report of the State, observes that Cochin is playing a worthy part in the re-construction of a new world after the Peace. The State rightly claims to be one of the most educationally advanced areas in Southern India, for 77 per cent. of the boys, and 36 per cent. of girls of school going age are in school. Unfortunately, education is still in a backward state among Mahomedans and the traditionally depressed classes of the West Coast. The Dewan strikes a firm note when he declares, "In the new era, no class can be allowed to lag behind, and it will be the duty of the State to provide a system of free and compulsory education."

Salaries in the Nizam's State

Pending the report of the Salaries Commission, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government have accorded sanction to interim increases in the salaries of their employees amounting to Rs. 19 lakhs, in which all salary-holders up to Rs. 150, per mensem, participate. Increases are given according to a sliding scale from 50 to 15 per cent.

H. H. The Maharaja of Morvi.

His Highness the Maharaja Thakore Sahab of Morvi (Kathiawar) has placed an order with the Handley-Page Co. for a two-engined aeroplane similar to the one now in Bombay. His Highness is preparing an aerodrome at his estate in Kathiawar, and will, whenever necessary, be able to make a nonstop flight of four hours between Morvi and Bombay—a distance of 300 miles.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Mauritius under the British Flag.

With reference to the note published in the November issue of the "*Indian Review*," Mr. Budhrunrain Ganesh writes from Mauritius that shortly after the movement tending to the retrocession of Mauritius to France was set on foot, he in the name of the Indian community of that Island, addressed, in February of last year, a petition to the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies pointing out the reason why Mauritius should *not* be given back to France. He ended the petition in some such terms as these: "Mauritius must be looked upon as a little India beyond the seas: not only because two-thirds of the inhabitants are Indians, but because these Indians have Indian feelings and they love and reverence India as much as they love and reverence England." He continues:—

"About four months after this, I received a letter from the Colonial Secretary of Mauritius in which I was informed that the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies had been pleased to acknowledge the receipt of my petition and that His Lordship thanked me for the information that was given. A few days after, the Mauritius Government Council met, and to a question put to him by a Member of the Council, His Honour the Officer administering the Government replied as follows: 'I can assure you, gentlemen, that Mauritius will ever remain an integral part of the British Empire'.—

As you may probably imagine, the movement was started, not by the bulk of the white population, but by a handful of Creoles and semi-whites who are eager to join hands with the oligarchic element in order to crush down the Indians.

They organised a public meeting which was attended only by the lower classes of the peoples with the exception of a few whites, who were not leaders of the political parties. At this meeting puppet-like delegates were appointed to approach the Prime Ministers of England and France with a view to cause the transfer of the Island to France. In spite of certain articles, which have been published in foreign papers on this question, I desire to call your reader's attention to the declaration made by Mr. Harmsworth in the House of Commons in December last. The declaration was made in some such words as these: 'The question of the retrocession of Mauritius to France must not be taken seriously; it is a movement organised by a few capitalists who are eager to monopolise all power to themselves, and the Indians are opposed to it.' Mr. A. F. Foker a young

Indian writer, in his booklet, 'Real Facts concerning the Reform Movement in Mauritius' has lengthily demonstrated the evil that would arise, if the Island were retroceded to France without the consent of the Indian element. Not a single local paper contradicted him; on the contrary, they observed a contemptuous silence on the statements published by him and they altogether ignored the existence of the booklet although a copy was duly sent to all the members of the Press.

I sincerely hope that you will not fail to publish for the interest of our brethren in India that the Indians of Mauritius are hostile to the retrocession and that, if ever a change of government is made, they would prefer to become a dependency of India rather than find shelter under the French flag."

Indians in Tanganyika.

Mr. O. F. Andrews has given to the representative of the Associated Press a copy of the Deportation Proclamation of the Administrator of Tanganyika territory (late German East Africa) which runs as follows: "The Administrator may by notice under his hand require and order that any person shall within the time limited by such notice leave and be expelled from the occupied territory of German East Africa for such period as he may direct, and any person upon whom such notice shall have been served, who neglects or refuses to leave the territory as aforesaid or having left the territory returns thereto before the expiration of the said period shall be guilty of an offence, and shall be punishable with imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding six months or with a fine not exceeding Rs. 3,000 or with both, and shall also be liable to be deported. Should the Administrator deem it to be conducive to public good that any person should be deported from the said territory, he may by order under his hand order that person to be deported from the said territory to such place and for such period, as he shall direct. No appeal shall lie from any order of deportation made under this proclamation. The person to be deported may, by warrant of the Administrator under his hand, be detained in custody until a fit opportunity for his deportation occurs." Mr. Andrews states that this Deportation Proclamation without any right of appeal will strike at the root of the freedom, and is parallel in form to the Undesirables Ordinance of British East Africa which is even more autocratic in its terms.

Industrial Développement

* In an article in the *Young Men of India* for February 1920, a brief resume is given of a lecture delivered by Dr. Gilbert Slater on the industrial development of South India.

With regard to the scheme of the launching of a Madras Ship-building company and establishing a vernacular school of navigation, the Doctor warns Indians against hastily putting their moneys into companies for the above purpose at present. He says that established lines have an awkward habit of resenting the coming of a new competitor, and, if that new comer is not very strong, of endeavouring to crush it out of existence. He therefore advocates further expansion of the building of sailing-ships. Somewhat bigger ships, equipped with auxiliary motors, either petrol or Diesel oil engines, which could make way in a calm or against moderate head-wind, should, in his opinion, be the next step in expanding the Indian ship-building industry.

The Doctor speaks approvingly of the Ramachandra water-lift and of the duty on imported cotton goods, since a tax on imported cotton-cloths is a tax on those who are able to pay, as most poor people go in for cheap but coarse Indian mill or handloom cloths. The Doctor says that further enhancement of the tax might induce foreign cloth manufacturers to set up their factories here, and that this difficulty can only be met by developing indigenous capacities.

The V. P. P. System

The Master of the Bombay Presidency Trades' Association, in a speech at the annual dinner of that body on Feb 21, pooh-poohed the proposal that Government should establish between England and India a Value Payable Post, similar to that already working between the Indian cities and country districts. He suggested that, as the Post Office has already experienced difficulty in handling the number of parcels coming from England, it is likely to find itself in serious trouble, if steps certain to increase the quantity are taken. The answer is provided, says the *Times of India*, in the letter from the Bengal Chamber to the Government of India, in reply to the latter's enquiries on the subject. The Calcutta Chamber have hitherto refrained, through regard for the prosperity of the retail trade in India, from recommending the introduction of V. P. P. from England, but they now "urge its introduction," because of the high prices being charged for English goods in Calcutta retail shops,

Industries and Munitions

It is understood that the formalities have been completed for starting the new organisation of Government under the title of the "Board of Industries and Munitions." Under new conditions, the Ordnance Factories and possibly Army Clothing, which are at present under the control of the Munitions Board, will be transferred to the Army Department. The new Board, which will consist at present of one President, and two members, will start work without any further delay with Sir Thomas Holland as President. Mr. T. Ryan as member, and it is quite likely that Mr. A. C. Chatterji, F.C.S. (United Provinces) will join the Board as a member. The programme of work with which the Board will start has been clearly chalked out, and will be on the lines of the recommendations of the Industrial Commission and principles formulated by Government of India in their despatch to the Secretary of State. Sir Thomas Holland is now busily engaged in putting the final touches to launch the new scheme on its career.

Prizes for New Industries

The Editor of *Industry*, a monthly journal of technology and trade published in Calcutta, invites the readers to compete for the following prizes in the coming year.

Ten prizes of Rs. 5 each for ideas which can be successfully adopted by a young man with capital up to Rs. 500 in his pocket to earn a living for himself.

Five prizes of Rs. 10 each for best suggestions of industries suitable for adoption with indigenous raw materials as far as possible and with a capital of over Rs. 500. Completeness of the scheme specially in regard to raw materials, mechanical appliances with sketches, process of preparation and market will be taken into consideration in awarding the prizes.

Five prizes of Rs. 20 each for the best articles on our village industries. These articles should give complete synopsis of all existing village industries, their present condition of development, raw materials used, market, names and addresses of persons engaged, their conditions, ideas for their improvement as suggested by them; sketches and photos of their implements.

Ten prizes of Rs. 5 each for details of industries that can be started at home giving occupation to ladies during spare hours.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Cane Planting

The Agricultural Journal of India for March 1920 contains among many important articles one that is of particular interest to the people of this Presidency namely, "The Development of cane-planting by the East India Distilleries and Sugar Factories Ltd."

It gives briefly an account of the progress and experiences of the Company, and gives us generally an idea of the various difficulties that are to be met with in cultivating sugarcane on a large scale in a country like ours. The East India Distilleries and Sugar Factories Ltd. carry on their business at Nellikuppam, South Arcot District. In the beginning, the Company had to struggle very much for a continuous supply of cane, for the ryots grew cane only when it sold better than the other crops. Secondly, they had to contend against the difficulty of finding out a suitable cane to withstand the dry and hot climate of Nellikuppam, as well as its heavy rains during the North-East monsoon. The Agricultural Department of Madras helped the Company in finding out that Ashy and Red Mauritius best suited the Cuddalore requirements. The initial difficulties were thus overcome in a way, but the Company had to fight against the greatest of all the difficulties in an enterprise like this, namely, the problem of labour, for a long time, they found a satisfactory solution for this in Fowler's Double Engine Steam Tackle which served very well to plough trench and cultivate. Once the Company began to show progress, the ryots became encouraged and supplied them cane continuously.

The Company in their turn helped the ryots by supplying them with seedlings, oil engines and pumps on easy payment terms. The transport difficulty was overcome by the Company by laying a tramway across the fields up to the road, whence they were carried to the factory in country carts. The average figure of put turn that has been reached up-to-date is 25 tons. per acre, but it is hoped that by careful manuring the figure may be raised to 30 tons. 'Fiji B' has been found to yield comparatively the largest quantity of sugar and to resist fungoid diseases best. On the whole, the factory has been a success and were it not for the climatic obstacles, the Company would have shown a grander progress.

Agricultural improvements.

Reviewing the Progress Report for the year 1918-19, the *Pioneer* writes:—

1918-19 was a bad year for India agriculturally, probably the worst the country has seen since 1878. The failure of the monsoon and the winter rains was bad enough, but more disastrous still was the influenza epidemic which took terrible toll of the agricultural labour supply. And yet there was no thronging of famine works, no rush for gratuitous relief. There can be no doubt that the work of the Agricultural Department has contributed in no small measure to the vastly increased powers of resistance to famine, which are now being displayed by the people of India. That it can do much more in this direction will be evident from the important series of resolutions passed at the meeting of the Board of Agriculture last year and quoted at length in the Report. One of the most interesting of these is the recommendation that, as the success of relief operations has tended to obliterate the motives which formerly created local stores of grain, a strong Famine Commission should be appointed to enquire into the means whereby a sufficiency of foodstuffs can be secured, even in the event of two monsoon failures in succession.

The Motor Tractor.

In the current issue of the Agricultural Journal of India, there is an instructive paper on the Motor Tractor in Agriculture by T. F. Main, B.Sc., Deputy Director of Agriculture, Sind. Everyone knows very well that the Motor Tractor has come to be recognised as one of the useful and paying instruments of the farmer, both in England and in America. What it is doing is seen in the remarkably large agricultural produce that is now being sent out to the market, both in America and in England.

The Motor Tractor is the kind of instrument that India needs. There is a vast deal of land that now lies uncultivated for want of sufficient oxen to till them. And even the area of land that is now under cultivation is not utilised to the best advantage of the grower, on account of improper tillage. The Agricultural Department of India could help the farmers very well by first getting a few tractors and finding out which suits the Indian soil best, and then by demonstrating their work and advantages to the great number of illiterate agriculturists of this country. It would not at all be an impossible task to make the Indian soil yield as much, as the American or the English.

SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.

Britain Victorious? A Plea for Sacrifice By Mr. M. de P. Webb. pp. 132, London, 1919 P. S. King and Son., Ltd.

Mr. Webb, the well known writer on economic subjects and the author of *India and the Empire* (a Consideration of the Tariff Problem), pleads here for a great act of national sacrifice by which alone Britain could avert the social eruption and economic collapse that stare her in the face. Britain's national debt now stands at something over £8,000 millions and the annual interest on it alone amounts to about £350 millions, a sum as large as and possibly greater than the whole of the country's yearly savings from all sources in pre war times. The huge mass of interest bearing war-bonds is, according to our author, nothing but mere paper-wealth, which gives "a sense of of false security, and encourages idleness, extravagance and indifference to general welfare." This wealth accruing to the bond holders can easily produce danger, but if they should voluntarily sacrifice their bonds, or even one-half of them, the economic effects of such an act would be of great and far-reaching benefit "A strong incentive to fruitful work would be created in those who had sacrificed a portion of their income and also in producers, manufacturers and traders who had hitherto worked to satisfy merely home demands." Reduced taxation and reduced home demands would tend to lower the general level of prices in a perfectly natural and legitimate way and would advance (1) the real wages of the poor and of all fixed wage earners; (2) increase the probability of British products being able to compete successfully with overseas markets and (3) thus assure a continuance of adequate importations of food and raw materials.

Mr. Webb asserts that the foregoing solution, though drastic, is the only way out of the difficulty and the real remedy lies only in the reduction of the burden of the national debt. If sacrifice by voluntary effort be not forth coming, then sacrifice by compulsory monetary service or forced levy must be resorted to by Government; This sacrifice, he pleads, must be voluntary in order to be noble and of maximum utility, and should vie in excellence with the sacrifice in 1871, by the Japanese *daimios* (nobles), of their estates and privileged positions at a single word from their Mikado. Mr Webb also pleads for a policy of ruthless economy in the matter of Government's expenditure, for additional taxation to

meet current expenses and to pay off some of the nation's liabilities and for a rapidly increased production and sale abroad of British products, necessitating immediate State supervision, control and guidance of all imports into the country and of all producing industries. This is the real and the greatest sacrifice that England should make and this would constitute the greatest victory of Britons.

Modern Indian Worthies. By N. Narayanan, B.A., B.L., L.T. Macmillan & Co., Madras.

This is a collection of short biographical essays. There are fifteen sketches in all describing the lives and careers of representative Indians of the Nineteenth Century like Sir Syed Ahmed, Dada-bhai Nowroji, Gokhale and other leaders.

The Mahabharata. By Channing Arnold, B.A. (Oxon.) Longmans Green & Co., Bombay.

It is a happy idea to bring out a series of Indian classics. In the volume under notice the story of the great epic is told in simple English for the benefit of the young. We await with interest Mr. Arnold's version of the other great Epic, the Ramayana, and his selections from the Hitopadesa.

National Liberal Federation. The Liberal Publication Department, London.

We have received a copy of the proceedings in connection with the thirtysixth annual meeting of the Federation held at Birmingham. It contains besides the annual report, the complete text of the speeches of Mr. Asquith and Sir Donald Maclean, who have outlined the principles of Liberalism and have given a fresh lead to Liberals in England.

Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.

We have received the following booklets from the Christian Literature Society: 1. "The Manhood of the Master" by Rev. H. E. Fosdick D.D., translated into Telugu by Rev. Canon D. Anantan; 2. "Introduction to the Hebrew Prophets" (in Telugu) by Rev. Joseph John; 3. "Al Ghazali" (The Islam Series) by Rev. W. R. W. Gardner, M.A.; 4. "Bible Study for Everyday Life" by Mrs. Sherwood Eddy; 5. "Why and How to Preach from the Bible" by W. D. McLaren, M.A.; and 6. "Christianity the Final Religion."

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Mar. 18. Lord Meston's award regarding the reservation of seats for the non-Brahmins is published to-day.
- Mar. 19. The Khilafat day.
- Mar. 20. A band of armed and masked men shot the Lord Mayor of Cork dead to-day. The American Senate to-day rejected the Treaty Ratification resolution.
- Mar. 21. The labourers in the Sholapur mills have again struck work.
- Mar. 22. Mr. Asquith addressed the National Liberal Club to-day in reply to Mr. Lloyd George's speech advocating a Permanent Coalition.
- Mar. 23. A deputation to represent the grievances of Indian railway passengers waited on Sir George Barnes to-day.
- Mar. 24. The English Miners' Federation has rejected the Government's offer of increased wages.
- Mar. 25. Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons opposed the retention of Constantinople by the Turks and recommended the Vaticanisation of the Sultan in Constantinople.
- Mar. 26. Congress Sub Committee's Reports on the Punjab disorders is published to-day.
- Mar. 27. H. E. The Viceroy paid his first official visit to Bombay after his assumption of Viceroyalty.
- The *Citizen*, the liberal weekly of Madras, made its first appearance to-day.
- Mar. 28. The Rajputana and Central India Indian States Subjects' Conference began its sittings to-day.
- Mar. 29. The Government of India affirm that the holy places of Hedjaj will remain under independent Moslem control.
- Mar. 30. Seventy Sinn Feiners living near Londonderry were arrested and sent to goal.
- Mar. 31. Sir William Robertson has been made Marshall.
- The Supreme Council has offered the mandate for Armenia to the League of Nations.
- April. 1. Mr. Macpherson resigns his place as Chief Secretary for Ireland.
- April. 2. The Bombay Provincial Conference commenced its sittings at Sholapur to-day under the presidency of Mr. N. O. Kelkar.
- April. 3. The Bombay Provincial Conference demands the impeachment of Sir Michael O'dwyer and others and their trial and punishment by a judicial tribunal.
- April. 4. Lively debate in the Bombay and Bengal Provincial Conferences on the Reforms resolution, Mr. Tilak, Mr. Patel, Mr. Chukurbutty and others taking one side, while Mrs. Besant, Prof. Paranjypte, J. N. Rby and others took up the moderate attitude.
- April. 5. The Government of India have appointed a committee to enquire into the question of salaries, pensions etc. of the Subordinate Postal Service.
- April. 6. Hostilities have commenced between the Japanese and Russians at Nikolsk and Habarovsk.
- April. 7. A new Cabinet has been formed in Turkey with Damad Ferid, Grand Vizir, Reschib Bey, Minister of Interior, and Mohmed Vid, Minister of Marine and War, *ad interim*. The first meeting of the Travancore Reformed Council was held to-day.
- The French have occupied Hamburg.
- April. 8. A deputation of the G. I. P. Railway employees waits on the agent.
- April. 9. An authoritative statement of the attitude of the British Cabinet on France's action in the Ruhr crisis is published to-day.
- April. 10. The Government of India's despatch on the Burma Reforms is published.
- April. 11. Notes of a conciliatory character were exchanged regarding the Ruhr crisis between the British and French Governments.
- April. 12. Discussion in the House of Commons on the Ruhr misunderstanding between the English and the French.
- April. 13. The last meeting in celebration of the National week was held in Bombay to-day. Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore sent a message to it. The Calcutta Rent Bill was passed to-day.
- April. 14. Mr. Montagu resumes his work in the House of Commons.
- April. 15. The Reforms Committee has commenced sitting at Simla.
- April. 16. The Hyderabad High Court was opened to-day by H. E. H. the Nizam.
- April. 17. The Madras Khilafat Conference commenced its sittings to-day under the presidency of Maulana Shaikut Ali.
- April. 18. Most of the representatives of the Allies have arrived at San Remo for an important Conference on the Ruhr crisis.
- April. 19. Mr. Chamberlain in his Budget speech in the House of Commons proposed some fresh taxes to-day.
- April. 20. Sir Auckland Geddes arrived at New York.
- April. 21. The National Conference of Labour Women opened in London to-day.

Literary

Nineteenth Century Masters

Miss M. P. Willcocks, the novelist, has in the *Nation*, a very notable analysis, full of insight, of the mind of Thomas Carlyle. She writes:

"Absorption in form gives to the creative and critical work of the nineteenth-century masters a power and trenchancy which nothing in our time can equal. In the tragedy of wealth as drawn by Balzac, the tragedy of history by Carlyle, in the comedy of society given by Thackeray, of the people by Dickens, the scenes are in the light and shadow of broad daylight, and the personalities which move across the foreground make our analytic creations seem like figures of the moonlight, born of dream. Everything in that age was rounded and complete. You could draw lines round events and people, while between right and wrong folk thought there was a great gulf."

"The Citizen"

We cordially welcome *The Citizen*—the new weekly journal published under the auspices of leading Liberals in Madras like Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, Mr. C. P. Ramaswami, G. A. Natesan and others. It is to be the exponent of Liberal ideas in Indian politics and we are told in the first Editorial:—

"The Reforms Act, which might easily have given us more, but which is the utmost that India could have obtained at the present time, is a substantial and satisfactory measure, and it deserves the most loyal and hearty co-operation that Indians can give it. It should be the constant endeavour of leaders of opinion and of the Press to divert, as far as possible, energies that were hitherto directed to wresting power from the bureaucracy, to the consolidation of public opinion and the promotion of common welfare."

The *Citizen* will devote special attention to constructive programmes in connection with the working of the Reforms and we read that it "will not flinch from criticising the actions and policy of the Government or of parties when it is called for, and it will not hesitate to condemn inroads on liberty of the person or the Press."

The journal is edited by Mr. V. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L., brother of the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

The Late Mr. S. A. Raja

We regret to record the death of Mr. S. A. Raja at Bombay on the 18th of last month. This sudden death removes one of the brightest men from the field of Indian journalism. Mr. Raja, after some training under the late Mr. G. Parameswaram Pillai of the "Madras Standard," went to Calcutta and joined the staff of the "Indian Daily News" as an acting Editor and latterly was on the staff of the "Bombay Chronicle" at the call of the late Sir P. M. Mehta, the founder of the paper, as one of the Editors. From Bombay he shifted to Behar as the Editor of the "Express." We offer our condolence to the members of the bereaved family.

The Modern Novel

"Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch is right," says the *Outlook*. "The trait of propaganda is over almost all modern literary art. Our writers preach; they satisfy the standard of that other Cambridge Professor who complained of 'Paradise Lost' that it did not prove anything. The modern novelist is out to prove something, be it his own cleverness or the weakness of society. He is not content to tell a story for the love of the story and of the characters in it."

"Creative art is very intolerant."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND HUNTER COMMITTEE DISCLOSURES. By Alfred Nundy, Bar-at-Law.

Published by S. K. Roy, M.A., Calcutta.

THE PRINCIPLES OF EFFICIENCY. By H. N. Pherwani, L.M.E., Rookly Cottage, Karachi.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY. 1918-19. Government Central Press, Bombay.

REPORT OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEE OF THE IMPERIAL INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION. For 1915-1918.

INDIAN NATIONALITY. By Mr. R. N. Gilchrist, M.A., with an introduction by Professor Ramsay Muir. Longmans Green and Co.

THE PRIVATE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI. Edited by H. Dodwell, M.A. Government Press, Madras.

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES. By Maximo M. Kalaw. The Century Co., New York.

INDIA AT THE DEATH OF AKBAR. By W. H. Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E. Macmillan & Co., London.

Educational

Indian Women's Education

Lala Lajpat Rai, writing in the *Modern Review* on "Social Reconstruction in India," deals with the question of the position of women in India. He condemns the view that woman's education should be differentiated from man's. He writes: "I see no justification for the belief that the educational needs of men and women are so radically different as to require two entirely different kinds of education. It may be that the education of our boys is proceeding on erroneous lines and we are anxious to avoid the mistakes of which we have been guilty in the case of our boys. If so, we should be equally solicitous to educate our boys also on right lines. Our ideas of the educational requirements of our women should not be based on what we would like them to be—affectionate wives and good mothers only. We certainly want affectionate wives and good mothers, but women are more than that, just as men are more than affectionate husbands and good fathers. Just as a boy needs an education which will help his complete development to manhood, so a girl needs education which would help her complete evolution to womanhood. The same principle must guide the education of both, may be, with minor differences in details. But to say that the two systems should be radically different is to display either prejudice or ignorance or both. What, however, is wrong with us, is that our ideas of education are not sound. The woman has as much need of individuality, freedom, resourcefulness, initiative, courage, economic independence and intellectual growth as man has. The needs of the Indian woman in this respect are exactly the same as those of the western woman."

A Journal for Scouts

We congratulate the young men of the Madras Boy Scouts Association on their enterprise in launching a weekly journal—*Honour*—devoted to the cause of Scouting. The first number contains a number of brightly written notes and articles, and we trust it would prove a useful paper for boys. The subscription is only Rs. 2-8 per annum.

Dr. Fisher on Teachers

Dr. Fisher said in the course of a recent speech:—"The whole secret of education depends on the teacher. We have to work through human instruments and no nation is well advised to allow its teaching profession to become discontented or unattractive to talent and devotion. The teaching profession is a disinterested profession, and there must always be a missionary spirit in the profession. I do not want it to be highly paid, but I want it to be adequately paid. There is no calling which makes such a constant and continuous demand upon high spirits as the calling of the teacher. *A good teacher should flood a class room with his vitality.*"

Medical College for Bombay

At a meeting of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay held on the 12th instant, the following letter from Dr. D. D. Sathaye and Dr. Abraham S. Erulkar, was considered:—

"We beg to draw your attention to the urgent necessity of expediting the scheme of a new Medical College and the King Edward Memorial Hospital undertaken by the Corporation some years ago, details of which have already been worked out. In connection with this we beg to bring to your notice the fact that a large number of students was refused admission in the Grant Medical College, the only institution of its kind in the Presidency, for want of sufficient accommodation. You may also be aware that admission of Indian students in the medical colleges in England is not as easy, as it formerly used to be. Also the present hospital accommodation in Bombay is not sufficient to meet the demands of the ever increasing population even in normal times, much less so in large epidemics. We therefore request you in the interest of medical education and the suffering humanity to expedite the above-mentioned schemes."

Dr. A. G. Viegas' motion that the letter be forwarded to the Commissioner with a request that the scheme be expedited was adopted.

The Municipal Commissioner said he was doing his best to expedite matters, and he hoped when the Prince of Wales came to Bombay he would be able to lay the foundation stone of the hospital building.

Legal

The First Indian Chief Justice

Mr. Shadi Lal, Bar-at-Law, and Puisne Judge of the Punjab High Court, has been appointed Chief Justice of the High Court of the Punjab.



This is the first time in the history of British Rule in India, writes the *Bengalee*, in the course of a leading article, when an Indian has been appointed a permanent Chief Justice of an Indian High Court. "It was only last year that the Punjab Chief Court was raised to the status of a High Court; and within twelve months, an Indian has been made the permanent Chief Justice of the High Court and the head of the judicial administration of the Province. It is a significant and welcome indication of a real change in the angle of vision of the Government, and the steadily progressive character of British Rule." This appointment, as the *Indian Social Reformer* points out, is "the pulling down of one other invidious distinction in Indian Administration."

Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee

Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee took his seat on the bench as Acting Chief Justice of Bengal on March 24, when the members of the legal profession congratulated his Lordship. This is the fourth occasion in which an Indian Vakil Judge has acted as Chief Justice of Bengal, Sir Romesh Mitter having acted twice and Sir Chander Madhab Ghose once. The Advocate-General and others having addressed, His Lordship Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee in reply said:—"Since 1904 when I was invited to accept a seat on the Bench of this Court, I may say conscientiously I have never spared myself in the discharge of my judicial duties, and it is a source of genuine satisfaction to me to find that I enjoy the confidence of all branches of the profession. I wish I could persuade myself that I possess all the good things which you so generously attributed to me, but I realise that, whatever success I may have achieved in the discharge of my judicial duties, that success is in a very large measure due to the assistance which I have received from the members of the profession who have appeared before me, and who have assisted me with their great talent and learning. The value of that assistance is not probably always realised or acknowledged. I venture to express the hope that, during the short time that I may have to preside over the deliberations of this Court, I may continue to receive that assistance, so that the great traditions of this Court may remain unbroken."

• The Virtue of Law •

In the course of a thoughtful and suggestive article in a recent number of *Everyman* on the League of Nations, the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock insists that what is needed above all is the clear and lively sense of honour, justice and fair dealing, as due in equal measure to all members in the Commonwealth of Nations: to the weaker not less than to the stronger, but more. "Many years ago," he writes, "I heard a speech at Calcutta which assumed from beginning to end, quite innocently, that the purpose of the British Empire in India was to enable Scottish merchants to make their fortunes in the jute trade. We are not all tradesmen, neither are all tradesmen narrow-minded, but we all have our jute somewhere trying to warp our sense of justice. Let us beware of it, and remember that the virtue of law is to do justice truly, that is, for the common good, and indifferently, that is, rendering even to the unjust no less than their due, and giving no more to ourselves and our friends."

Medical

Tropical Diseases

Speaking on tropical and sub-tropical diseases, under the auspices of the Royal Colonial Institute, Dr. Louis W. Sambon, referring to plague and rat extermination, said that he had little faith in the general crusade against the rat. Experience had shown, says a contemporary, that it was practically impossible to exterminate rats, the more that are killed, the faster the remainder breed in the better and freer conditions of life that were thus opened to them. He does believe though to a certain extent, in making buildings and dwelling houses "rat-proof," because rats, like many other animals, are susceptible to a change in environment, and this could best be secured by a change in architecture, making it impossible for the rat to secure a home in buildings. Sir Patrick Manson, himself a recognised authority on tropical diseases, presided at the lecture and described the lecturer as one who possessed a faculty for forming theories and hypotheses and collecting facts to fit them. It is not a scientific method of investigation, but there is no doubt that it has been fruitful of results in the investigation of tropical diseases.

The Ten Commandments

Sir George Newman, Chief Medical Officer to the Boards of Health and of Education in England, lays down ten commandments of preventive medicine, which deserve careful study. They are:

- i. Eugenics and the principles of sound breeding
- ii. Maternity, and the care, protection and encouragement of the function of Motherhood.
- iii. Infant welfare and the reduction of infant mortality.
- iv. The health and physique of the school child and adolescent.
- v. Sanitation and an improved personal and domestic environment.
- vi. Industrial hygiene, the health of the worker in the workshop.
- vii. The prevention and treatment of infectious disease.
- viii. The prevention and treatment of non-infectious disease.
- ix. The education of the people in hygiene.
- x. Research, inquiry and investigation.

Slumber Malady

Cases of lethargic encephalitis, a form of sleeping sickness, are reported in London, in New York and in France.

Mrs. Dora Muntz, twenty-nine, a New York resident, slept 102 days, and it was decided to endeavour to awaken her by music.

A young violinist named Hoffman was engaged to play by the bedside of the sick woman. After playing a Hungarian rhapsody without effect, the musician changed to Schubert's "Serenade." After a few minutes the patient opened her eyes and nodded her head, and after nearly an hour of the music the woman was fully awake.

In the London Hospital there are seven cases.

Lethargic encephalitis has been spreading in France for some time past, cases having been reported from all parts of the country.

Snake Bites

Colonel F. Wall, I. M. S., an authority on snakes and their poisons, does not believe in the efficiency of snake stones. He is at present in Ceylon, and interviewed by the *Times of Ceylon*, he pointed out that what had to be remembered in connection with snake stones and other alleged cures was that between 30 and 50 per cent. of persons bitten by cobras did not die for the simple reason that the venom injected did not amount to a fatal dose. If, in such cases, snake stones or any other kind of so-called remedy were applied, that particular remedy naturally got the credit for the recovery.

Colonel Wall said that the extraordinary discrepancies found in connection with snake bite cases had been proved by very careful and most interesting experiments which had been carried out by Messrs. Acton and Knowles of the Indian Medical Service. Their laboratory experiment corroborated clinical experience. A large cobra, it was found, will often inject a very much smaller dose of venom than a very small cobra. They have reduced the matter to a scientific certainty and have proved that this applies not only to cobras but also to other poisonous snakes. They have also found that snakes will often bite one dog and not kill and almost immediately afterwards bite another and kill. A most ingenious method is adopted of arriving at the dose which has been injected into the tissues, and some amazingly contradictory results have been obtained.

Science

Super-Man in the Moon

Professor William H. Pickering, the eminent Harvard Astronomer, who recently made a study of the Moon from an observatory at Kingston, Jamaica, declares that there are evidences of the existence of a race of superior beings on the earth's satellite, which has till now been regarded as barren and devoid of all forms of life, both vegetable and animal.

Professor Pickering asserts that a careful study of the surface of the Moon through a telescope lens unquestionably reveals vegetation in spots on the Moon's surface, particularly in and round the craters of some of the extinct volcanoes.

The astronomer states that in only a single spot on the Moon is the appearance of this vegetation green: otherwise, so far as it has been observed, it is like sagebrush or some of the cacti, or black-like lichens.

At the height of the summer solstice, on the Moon this vegetation is even purplish black near the equator.

The most fascinating result of the vegetation discoveries, however, is that of the vegetation's spreading along the course of what look exactly like twin artificial canals—similar in character and appearance to those called man-made on Mars.

These Moon canals, Professor Pickering points out, are no less artificial in appearance than those on Mars.

Thus the man in the Moon becomes a distinct and real possibility as a being, and a superior being, at that, perhaps the peer of the lords of the earth.

A New Rocket

Prof. R. H. Goddard has devised a rocket which he believes will be capable of carrying recording instruments through the 200 miles of the earth's atmosphere. It will be capable of reaching an altitude of 230 miles in $6\frac{1}{2}$ minutes. A parachute will slow down its descent so that the recording instruments can do their work. The rocket will derive its energy from a series of explosive charges. Prof. Goddard believes that the work of the rocket can be extended to greater flights than that now suggested—even to the Moon, 240,000 miles!

A Record in Brilliance

The most intensely brilliant light in the world is that produced by the flow of electric current between two pencils of carbon. The supremacy of this light—the carbon "arc" lamp, discovered by Humphry Davy about one hundred years ago is threatened by a new type of lamp, in which an arc is "struck," as the phrase goes between two minute globules of tungsten in a vacuum bulb similar to that of an ordinary electric lamp. Just before the war, British research had produced a lamp of this type with 100 candle power, and the resumption of the investigation after the stress of war has enabled a means to be discovered of producing larger globules, so that lamps of much higher candle-power have been made. At an early date one with 4,000 candle-power will make its appearance. As the source of light is practically a point, the lamp is very suitable for cinematograph work and for various microscopic and surgical purposes. Being rich in the actinic rays which act on sensitive plates, it has also a wide scope in photography. Its efficiency is very high, though not quite so high as that of the latest types of arc lamp, and its simplicity, its convenience, its long life and the absence of flickering in its light are likely to make this British invention very popular, wherever a concentrated light is required.

The Sun's Heat

About 39 per cent of our share of the Sun's Heat is reflected from clouds back into space without ever reaching the earth's land or water surface, according to a member of the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory. Observations from a military balloon were made over the San Gabriel valley, California, with an instrument recording the heat radiation from the whole sky or from the Sun or sky separately, and were undertaken above a layer of fog or low cloud. Repeated measurements were made from 7 to 10 A.M., with exposures both to the Sun and sky combined, and to the layer of cloud below. The results agree fairly well in showing that 78 per cent. of the radiation reaching the upper surface of the cloud sheet was reflected, and it seemed evident that only about 22 per cent. of the Sun's rays could reach the body of a planet completely encased in a sheath of smooth cloud. The mean cloudiness of the earth being about 50 per cent., it appears that about 39 per cent. of the Sun's Heat is rejected or thrown back without opportunity to render useful service.

Popular Science Siftings.

Personal

M. Clemenceau

M. Clemenceau, the ex-Premier of France, has decided to go on a hunting tour to Africa, a characteristic recreation for the energetic "Tiger." He writes to a New York newspaper:—

"My pleasurable trip to Egypt has mitigated the necessity for careful diet, for I have fourteen infirmities—one for each of President Wilson's points. I am tired of politics, and intend to follow Roosevelt's example by going far into the heart of the desert for big-game hunting and, incidentally, to seek a fortune in rubber.

An adventurous French business man and eminent chemist, who is accompanying me, has discovered a new process of refining, and we expect to start a new enterprise, using the gum of the eucalyptus.

The excitement of the pursuit of wealth will, I hope, compensate for the activity of political life. A man is a fool to devote his young years to political squabbles, which look both mean and petty compared with the wonders of Nature."

Mrs. Fawcett

We have pleasure in reproducing the following paragraph from the *British Weekly*:—

Mrs. Fawcett's many friends and admirers were anxious that the great year 1919 should not close without a personal tribute being presented to her to mark the triumph of the suffrage cause, to which she has given all the best years of her life. They therefore presented her, with a cheque on New Year's Day, with the hope that it might be used entirely for her own comfort and pleasure. She has sent the following letter of acknowledgment and thanks;—"The letter and the wonderful present did indeed give me a keen pang of pleasure, and I do bless and thank all the donors for the love which prompted it, and especially for all the strong backing they have given me in my work. What I accomplished is really due to this: without it, I could have done nothing."

Hon. Ambika Charan Mazumdar

The *Bengalee* writes:—

We are sorry to learn that, owing to protracted ill-health the Hon'ble Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar, the grand old man of East Bengal, has been compelled to resign his seat in the Bengal Legislative Council. We are on the threshold of a new era when the country requires, more than ever, the ripe experience, mellow judgment and consummate ability of veterans like

Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar to lead her to the destined goal. He is one of those staunch patriots whose lifelong devotion and services to the Motherland have helped, in a great measure, the inauguration of the new state of things brought about by the Reforms Act. Through good report and evil, undaunted by trials and tribulations, he has stuck to his self-imposed patriotic duties for well-nigh half a century. His services to the country both in or outside the Council form a glorious chapter in her history.

Rai Sitanath Ray

We regret to announce the death of the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sitanath Ray, Member of the Imperial Legislative Council, on the 12th



instant from pneumonia. The deceased was a rich banker, and was noted for some prominent war-gifts. Since 1903 he had been continuously connected with either the Provincial Council or with the Imperial Legislative Council. He represented the non-official members of the Bengal Council in the Imperial Legislative Council. In 1916 Rai Sitanath Ray presided over the Industrial Conference at Lucknow.

Political

Lord Sinha and his Critics.

Speaking on the "Coming Elections," at the Calcutta University Institute, Mr. D. C. Ghose said:—"The two outstanding exponents in politics recently have been Lord Sinha's speech at the Indian Association and the protest meeting at Patna, which has denounced that speech. I have read very carefully Lord Sinha's speech and the proceedings of the meeting at Patna, and I confess that I am amazed at the resolution which was passed at the Patna meeting. There was only one topic in Lord Sinha's speech, and that was the question whether the two greater parties in politics in this country, viz, the Extremists and the Moderates, could coalesce. Now Lord Sinha never said that the two parties should in no circumstances co-operate. What he said was that, having regard to the difference in ideals and especially in methods, the two parties should not coalesce. No doubt you can say and I am not sure that it would not be a legitimate criticism of the speech that Lord Sinha might have made it clear, as Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu did, that he was in favour of co-operation with the extremist party when it was necessary and desirable, and when the interest of the country demanded it. Now, what is the record of men belonging to the party, which organised the Patna meeting, in the matter of promoting strife and disunion? Who was it that called Mr Surendra Nath Bannerjee, who has spent his life in devoted service to his motherland, an impostor? Who are the people again who have called men, who have honestly differed from them on the question of Reforms, office-hunters, office-seekers, traitors and flunkies? Who was it also that fought tooth and nail for the exclusion of Lord Sinha's name from the Congress Resolution offering thanks to those, by whose efforts the Reform proposals have materialised into law? Who is it further that has proclaimed that no man, unwilling to subscribe to the Congress Resolution on the Reform Act, should be allowed to enter the Councils? All these, we suppose, do not create division and discord. Is it any wonder that our people are becoming sick of these methods of party warfare? Consider this hypocrisy, the insincerity of the whole proceeding. I will now refer to one or two speeches that were delivered at the Patna meeting. Pundit Moti Lal Nehru was good enough to say that "on close analysis it seems to him that the Government party included the Moderates." This dictum

comes from a man who not long ago was all for "British Character" in connection with the important question of simultaneous examination. In giving evidence before the Public Services Commission, he dissociated himself from the United Provinces Congress Committee of which he was the President and said thus:—"The almost universal desire of the educated community for simultaneous examination in India and in England is, in the circumstances, very natural. Indeed, the strict justice of the case requires that the examination for the Indian Civil Service should be held only in India. But there are practical difficulties in the way, and these cannot in my opinion be surmounted by merely holding the examination in both countries, etc., etc." Again it is a fact that when in December 1915 Mrs Besant came to Allahabad to obtain signatures to a notice calling a Conference at Bombay to consider the question of a Home Rule League, Mr. Nehru declined to sign it on the ground that even a discussion was premature, and it was madness to think of Home Rule for India. This is the record of the stern patriot, the unbending nationalist, Pundit Moti Lal Nehru, who now accuses men who differ from him as having sold their souls to Government. Consider also the speech of Mr. C. R. Das. Mr. Das has levelled a gibe at Lord Sinha for having said at the Bombay Congress in 1915 that the time was not yet for complete Self Government in India, and for his speech in London in support of the Reform proposals formulated by Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu. Lord Sinha had said in London that it was no use saying that the time was ripe for substantial advance in the road to Self Government, and that the time would never arrive in the eyes of those, whose self interest and timidity urged continuance of the existing order of things. The point of the gibe is that Lord Sinha turns and twists and charges his opinions at official inspiration. This is a libel. It can easily be demonstrated that Lord Sinha has been consistent throughout. What he said at the Bombay Congress, he reiterated on the occasion of moving the second reading of the Reform Act in the House of Lords.

Imperial Conference Report

The Report of the Imperial Conference, issued on April 7, recommends the early formation of an Empire Bureau of Statistics. It suggests that the money necessary for the maintenance of the Bureau should be provided by joint contributions from the various countries concerned, in proportions agreed upon.

General

The New Europe

The Right Rev. Dr. Nicholas Velimirovic in a striking article in the *New Europe* for January writes :—

A re born Europe will be a really new Europe. But a Europe merely set free geographically, politically, and economically, without a spiritual re-birth, will be a technical delusion, a castle in the air, as she was before. Freedom has been a sacred notion, closely connected with religion and mysticism, in every civilisation but the modern European. This sacred word has been the very watchword of the highest religions, of the hardest spiritual training. If religion be put aside, what then is freedom but a *mirage*, a tyranny in disguise? Materialism in science, epicureanism in conduct and freedom—these three cannot be blended into one, no, by no alchemy in all the universe. And yet this is the hopeless undertaking of the continent which guides mankind and means to guide it!

The Turkish Peace

Referring to the problems facing the new Peace Conference in London, Mr. Wilson Harris who represented the *Daily News* at the Peace Conference in Paris states that there is a substantial agreement between the Allies on the main points of the Turkish settlement. The Sultan will be left at Constantinople while the Gallipoli Peninsula, with the opposite coast, will be occupied, like the shore of the Bosphorus, by an Inter-Allied Force. Smyrna is likely to go to Greece. Armenia will be given independence, but the actual frontiers are yet to be defined. The amount of control to be exercised over the Turks in Europe promises to provoke contention and delicate problems— are likely to arise with regard to Syria, Palestine and Arabia.

M. Millerand, in the course of a statement before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber, said with regard to the Turkish question that two solutions were under consideration; first, depriving the Turks of Constantinople and second, leaving the city in the hands of the Turks with certain international guarantees. M. Millerand said that France favoured the second solution.

The Japanese Press

The democratic movement in Japan, of which the demand for universal suffrage is a sure symptom, is not likely to leave the Press unaffected. Japan is still in the clutches of clan administration and forward looking Japanese are busy devising methods to bring the administration in line with the machinery of the enlightened countries of the West. The freedom of the Press is a point on which Young Japan is insistent. The Japanese Press seems to be suffering a great deal from bureaucratic intolerance and a correspondent's account of it in a contemporary has to us in India a somewhat familiar ring about it.

"The police have the authority to suppress any edition of any paper without giving any adequate reason beyond that it violates their regulations; and they can make the paper pay a fine of 200 yen or have the editor go to prison. Japanese editors and publishers have to submit to these disabilities, without redress, being unable even to know before hand how to avoid offending the police, since the offence for which they suffer is not definitely pointed out and they are unable to avoid a repetition of the offence. Thus, the police can at any time come down on a paper for 200 yen, and there is no escape. In the same way, Japanese citizens may be arrested without any warrant charging them with offence, and undergo imprisonment and long examination with no way of defence. Recently, a Young Professor at the Imperial University, Tokio, was dismissed from that Institution and prosecuted by the police for publishing comments on a book of Kuropatkin's. The comments contained nothing to which any one could see any possible objection. To make the matter worse, the trial was carried on in secret; and still worse, the agitation against the young scholar was alleged to be in the protection of the Imperial House. This custom of dragging in the interests of the Imperial House as an excuse for suppression of modern ideas is sure to lead to the very dangers that the authorities are trying to avoid. Moreover, it is a libel on the Japanese people, who are among the most loyal subjects in the world and need no coddling to protect their age long loyalty. These prosecutions for "lese majesty," where none was intended or even exists, are naturally resented by most Japanese."

It is expected that such anachronisms will be got rid of by the energy and persistence of the New Democratic Movement.

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THE TURKISH TREATY

BY THE EDITOR.

ON Tuesday, the 11th May at 10.25 P.M. the terms of the Turkish treaty were handed over to the Turkish delegation, with the information that they were granted a month to deposit observations. Reuter has cabled that Tawfik Pasha received the document with trembling hands and briefly acknowledged it in a voice shaken with emotion. This is no surprise; for according to the proposal Turkey is to be ruthlessly dismembered and that means the passing away of the great Ottoman Empire. It is no exaggeration to state that to all intents and purposes the Turk is to be turned out of Europe. In the future Turkey in Asia will consist of Asia Minor only. "The fringe of territory conceded to him (the Sultan) represents the barest necessity for the defence of his capital" and Constantinople alone has been saved for the Turks.

The message of H. E. the Viceroy to the Muslim people is in itself an admission of the tremendous wrong proposed to be inflicted on the Muslim world. While we appreciate the fine sentiment that has prompted the Viceroy to express his sympathy with the Moslems in their hour of trial we must take exception to His Excellency's statement that the terms are in full accord with the "high principles" talked of in connection with the peace settlement. In a solemn speech made by Great Britain's highest representative, the Prime Minister, it was publicly proclaimed: "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race." The terms now proposed do cast this pledge away to the winds.

We are glad that prominent politicians in England take a more solemn and serious view of Mr. Lloyd George's pledge. In a letter to the *Times* Mr. Charles Roberts, the well-known friend of India, indignantly points out: "the Prime Minister may regard his own words lightly

if he chooses but he has no right to break a pledge given on behalf of the nation. It is incredible that such a pledge should not have been kept in the letter and in the spirit."

Having said this much one must confess that the Government of India and Mr. Montagu the Secretary of State have done their best from the very beginning to represent the Moslem case at its best. The Government of India's *Communique* explains that Constantinople was saved for the Turks as a concession to Indian Moslem sentiment coupled with the strong representations made by the Indian Government. It is yet possible that by further constitutional efforts the Treaty may be revised though it would be too much to hope for any strikingly favourable terms. But in any case, as we have more than once observed, it would be folly to resort to any action likely to embarrass a Government which has been distinctly on the side of the people on this question. Non-cooperation if resorted to with reference to the Indian Government will only result in paralysing order and creating confusion without in any way helping the cause of the Khilafat. Non co operation with the authors of the Treaty viz. the Allied Council, would be meaningless though more logical. We can only tender the advice of a thoughtful Mahomedan who writes in the columns of a contemporary:—

No catastrophe equal in magnitude has befallen Islam since the fall of Baghdad. But for that reason we should not allow our wounded feelings to get the better of our judgment. My humble advice to my people is to be calm and patient. Violence in deed and speech should be avoided in this critical hour. Let no one think of having recourse to means other than Constitutional.

At the same time we deem it our duty to warn the Government of the danger of giving way to panic under any circumstance. It behoves them to exercise the greatest sympathy and caution and to avoid wounding the susceptibilities of a proud people who suffer under the sense of a great wrong.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY MR. M. DE P. WEBB, C.I.E., C.B.E.

WHEN, some twelve months ago, the statesmen of the British Empire and its Allies were assembled in Paris sitting in judgment on one of the most appalling crimes in national history, devising the Peace Treaty with Germany, and drawing up the Covenant of the League of Nations, they not only attempted to secure the punishment of the chief criminals and substantial reparation by the whole of the German peoples, but they also endeavoured to bring into being a combination of the Governments of the world which would assure all mankind against a repetition of the horrors and losses of any other great war in the future, and would at the same time provide the machinery for establishing justice and fairplay between all nations and peoples, and for carrying forward the entire human race in one harmonious whole. Surely, no greater idea has ever inspired men's activities since the world began.

It is perhaps not yet widely realised that without such machinery,—without the creation of a League of Nations such as that recently conceived, civilisation must assuredly perish. For, unless some method be now provided whereby international differences can be adjusted without the barbarous expedient of war,—unless some international understanding be arrived at whereby the weaker races of the earth can be protected, strengthened, and uplifted—unless, in short, international co-operation can be substituted for unrestricted international competition and rivalry, the leading nations will assuredly attempt to safeguard themselves as best they can—each for himself; and this must mean a continuation of that secret diplomacy, of that constant effort to build up a “balance of power,” and of that piling up of armaments (on land and sea and in the air) which has been going on for centuries, which has invariably failed in the past to prevent war, and *which would inevitably fall again*. For the world has only so far learnt the mere alphabet of destruction. A great war in the future would be ten times more costly and wasteful than the struggle just ended; and the preparation for such a war would mean an expenditure of time, energy and wealth so vast that neither brains nor industrial surplus products would be available in sufficient quantities to permit of further human progress. Civilisation would be brought to a standstill. The Covenant of the League of Nations would represent the high water mark of

national endeavour from which baffled humanity would recede to yet another “dark age” not to emerge probably for centuries to come.

Happily, there need be no fear of such a calamity if only the peoples of the world will give some thought and attention to the matter, and will recognise that it is in the best interests (and therefore the duty) of every individual man and woman to promote a proper understanding, and to take a personal, active part in the work, of the League of Nations. The aims of the League are very clearly laid down in the Preamble to the Covenant of the 28th April, 1919. They are...

“to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war: by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations: by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments: and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another”...

The first and foremost object of the League, it will be noticed is the prevention of war. Articles VIII to XVII contain the provisions designed to secure this end. They cover

- (1) The limitation of national armaments.
- (2) A mutual guarantee of territory and independence.
- (3) A recognition that any circumstance which threatens international peace is a matter of international interest.
- (4) An agreement not to go to war till a peaceful settlement of a dispute has been tried.
- (5) Machinery for securing a peaceful settlement, with due provision for publicity.
- (6) The sanctions to be employed to punish a breach of the agreement referred to above in (4).
- (7) Similar arrangements for settling disputes where States not members of the League of Nations are concerned.

Article VIII makes it quite plain that the League cannot dictate as to the size of individual nations' defensive forces. It can and no doubt will make suggestions for the consideration of its members which they are quite free to accept or reject as they please.

Article XVI is specially noteworthy. It provides that if any Member of the League should resort to war in disregard of its covenants under the articles of the League, it shall *ipso facto* be

deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League which undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade and financial relations, the prohibitions of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, and personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not. Here we see the most far reaching and determined effort yet made by any group of great nations to prevent further outbreaks of war in the future.

But it is not only in the prevention of war that the League of Nations will exert powerful influence. By aiming to secure some control over national health activities, disease, and certain forms of noxious traffic,—by working to obtain “fair and humane conditions of labour for men and women” throughout the world,—by striving for freedom of communications and transit, and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members,—and by providing for the protection, education, and administration of peoples “not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world” (*vide* Articles XXII to XXV), the League of Nations will assuredly prove to be the most beneficent international organisation which the heart and brain of mankind have yet managed to evolve.

At the present day, not only Great Britain, but each of the other leading nations of the world, finds itself face to face with a group of most complicated social and economic problems—huge war debts and heavy taxation; short supplies and difficulties of transport; continuously rising prices and greatly increased cost of living; depreciated currencies and dislocated foreign exchanges; plus a widespread determination among the manual labouring classes to reduce the hardships of their lives by working less hours and obtaining increased wages. All these problems are international in their bearings, requiring international consultation and, in most cases, international co-operation if satisfactory and sound solutions are to be found. What better organisation exists for dealing with these world-problems than the League of Nations?

At the same time, it must be mentioned that the Covenant of the League of Nations has been severely criticised by certain publicists in England for the
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League of Nations, our country will be drawn into disputes that are of no concern to us,—we shall be involved in expense, and our liberty of action will be curtailed with no corresponding benefits to ourselves,—opportunities for endless international differences of opinion will be created, and our State (or Empire) will be more likely to be disintegrated than consolidated; far better for us (and for each of the other nations) to look after itself and rely upon its own strong right arm rather than depend upon a shadowy union of outsiders, &c and so on.

The consequences of a further period of international competition in armaments have been already dealt with. For the rest, it may suffice to point out that the Covenant of the League of Nations is a solemn agreement between sovereign States who have voluntarily consented to limit their complete freedom of action in certain direction for the greater good of themselves and the world at large. The suggestion that this willing co-operation is likely to produce dangerous friction between the contracting parties, and eventually the disintegration of the British Empire and other States with overseas responsibilities, can only find acceptance in minds that are out of sympathy with the trend of human progress which is now quite clearly from nationalism towards internationalism.

In strong contrast with the opinions of those who criticise adversely the Covenant of the League of Nations, are the carefully weighed views of the British Labour Party—the party, be it remembered, to whom many of India's politicians are looking for the further political development of their native country. At the British Trades' Congress held in Glasgow in September last, a Resolution was passed in support of the League of Nations, and a Manifesto signed by all Labour's leading brains was accordingly issued to the world. The Manifesto which contains a reasoned explanation of the objects of, and benefits expected from, the proposed organisation, concludes with the following words.... “The League of Nations is the greatest experiment ever tried upon the earth. In its success lies the future hope of humanity. It can only succeed if it be a real League of Peoples, not merely a League of Governments.

The League of Nations' Union should be supported by every man and woman who has at heart the ensuring of peace, the prevention of a

progress of humanity". Here we have a clear perception of what the League of Nations can do. Great ideals, it will be noticed, are not the monopoly of one class or section, but are shared by manual labour as well as by brain workers, intellectuals, and national leaders of all classes and types.

For India, the Covenant of the League of Nations has very special significance in that a representative of India has shared in its preparation and has appended to it his signature. The Covenant forms part I of the Treaties of Peace presented to Germany on May the 7th and to Austria on June the 2nd of last year. India's signature appears under that of the "British Empire" in company with the signatures of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa. Though India has not yet arrived at the status of a self-governing Dominion, it has in effect now been so recognised, so far as the League of Nations is concerned, by the Supreme Government of the United Kingdom. More significant still is the fact that although the overseas and self governing Divisions of the British Empire have not yet arrived at the stage of possessing a constitution binding them to act in unity with the United Kingdom in international affairs, five of them now appear as separate and independent parties to an international agreement providing

not merely for the security and progress of the peoples of the British Empire, but for unity of action in all matters calculated to promote the security and advancement of the peoples of the entire universe.

Critics there are whose vision cannot penetrate so far as to sympathise with all humanity. Such critics tell us that the League of Nations is far ahead of the times,—that such a League can only result in all the dissatisfied politicians of Europe, Asia and Africa wanting to appeal past their own local and imperial Governments to the Council of the League of Nations. No doubt such appeals will be made. (Some of Bombay's hot-heads already want to submit the Indian Government's present currency policy to the League of Nations:). Even so, appeals of this nature can do no harm. Their appearance will bring about a still more careful consideration of the matters that are causing unrest; and so tend not only to allay ill-feeling, but also to the adoption of the course calculated best to promote the welfare of the greatest number.

And so, in the League of Nations we see in practical shape the clearest testimony that a New Era for the peoples of the world has actually dawned. It is for every man of us to work to make this promise a reality.

IMPERIAL AND PROVINCIAL FINANCE.

THE conclusions of Lord Meston's Committee on the financial relations between the Government of India and the Provinces have been received with wide-spread disappointment, especially in Madras and the United Provinces which have been very badly and unjustly treated. The Committee were asked to advise on (1) the contributions to be paid by the various Provinces to the Central Government for the financial year 1921-22, (2) the modification to be made in the provincial contributions thereafter with a view to their equitable distribution until there ceases to be an all-India deficit and (3) the future financing of the provincial loan account. The first thing done by the Committee was to examine the budget of the Government of India. They accept the annual deficit of the Central Government at 6 crores, the figure given by the latter; they further report that they did not, as they could not, go into the question of the military policy of the Government but that proper estimate has been taken in the budget for the complications arising from the currency difficulties, the future fiscal policy and the

military requirements. It is somewhat inexplicable how they arrive at this conclusion in face of the fact that they did not inquire into the fiscal and military policy. But one important modification they suggest is the handing over of the revenues from general stamps to the Provinces, as a result of which the Imperial deficit increases from 6 crores to 10 crores. The taint of divided head attaching to stamps from the separation in the M. O. Report of general and judicial stamps is thus removed, rendering the separation of resources complete. But the chief reason for this step was that otherwise a few of the Provinces had to start with a deficit, a circumstance which would not augur well for the success of the reforms. We are of opinion that the Committee's proposals in regard to the budget of the Government of India cannot be said to have been based on a proper and thorough investigation and that, if such an inquiry had been conducted, it would have been found that the large gains from the exchange policy would have been found to more than cover the deficit.

The following table shows the results of the labours of the Committee, showing the improved

resources from the new financial arrangements, including the transfer of general stamps, the initial contributions, their proportion to the total deficit and the standard contribution which will be reached six years hence :—

Province.	Increased resources.	Initial contribution.	Proportion of 2 to 3.	Net Improvement.	Percentage Standard contribution.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Madras ...	576	348	37½	228	17
Bombay ...	93	56	5½	37	13
Bengal ...	104	63	6½	41	19
U. P. ...	394	240	24½	157	18
Punjab ...	289	175	18	114	9
Burma ...	246	64	6½	182	6½
Bihar ...	51	Nil.	Nil.	51	10
C. P. ...	52	22	2	30	5
Assam ...	42	15	1½	27	2½

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report proposed to levy the contributions on the basis of an all-round ratio of the surplus in the budgets of the Provinces. The Committee reject this plan because it reproduced existing inequalities of treatment, that the methods of arriving at normal expenditure were arbitrary and did not take into consideration the needs of the Provinces in the coming years and that economical management and thrift on the part of certain Provinces were penalised. The new basis for levy pitched upon is the improvement in resources as a result of the new re-arrangements, and it is stated that it creates a minimum disturbance. It is because the plan proceeds on the lines of least resistance, that the Committee's recommendations cannot be considered to be greatly superior to the M.C. scheme, for many of the defects of the latter are found in the former. The Committee do not recommend that additional Imperial taxation should be resorted to in order to meet the deficit on the comfortable assumption that it will be wrong to do so, because the Provinces have a large margin which could be tapped. It is further

pointed out that certain Provinces, to wit, Madras and U. P. cannot digest the additional funds all at once and it will be unwise to leave with them such large amounts. Madras public opinion will strongly resent this reflection on their ability to manage finance and it is very regrettable that having admitted that Madras has a lower level of expenditure than Bombay and that her needs are urgent and important, the Committee should have laid down the fanciful and utterly unwarranted proposition that Madras cannot for some years find profitable investment for her money. Another curious and objectionable fact must be mentioned : an all-round ratio on the improved resources is not, as one may think, proposed, but special consideration is given to Assam, C. P., Bihar and Burma. The proposals are therefore doubly iniquitous to Madras which is called upon to bear the expenditure of other impecunious Provinces.

The rate of standard contribution to be reached six years hence is shown in column 6, and it naturally is vitiated by the same blemishes which characterise the initial levies. A number of circumstances have been taken into consideration in arriving at this standard contribution: the relative capacity of Provinces, their resources, industrial development, economic condition: probability of future progress etc. But admittedly the figures are arbitrary and defy any intelligible analysis. The question of the ultimate abolition of contributions is but incidentally referred to; while they say that the Government of India have such an idea, they warn the latter not to commit themselves definitely about it. This is a most unsatisfactory state of affairs; poignancy is added to the regret by the long period over which progressive reduction is spread in regard to the heavily taxed Provinces. We think therefore that the Committee have failed in the most essential part of their duty, that is, in attempting a lasting solution of the problem. In our view, the imperial deficit is unnecessary; if it is inevitable, then the Government of India should improve their own resources which are capable of expansion unlike the Provincial sources of revenue. Madras should be freed from any liability because of the harsh treatment she has received in the past; her level of expenditure is much below than that of Bombay, for instance, and her wants are admittedly very great and pressing. If a levy is, however, decided upon, then we should protest against the scheme proposed, and insist upon a basis other than improved resources, so that justice may be done her.

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By MR. R. G. PRADHAN B.A., L.L.B., M.R.A.S.

I.

DURING my stay in England as a member of the National Home Rule League Deputation one of the tasks to which I applied myself was a study of what the average Briton knew and thought of India and of his attitude towards our demand for self-government. I addressed a number of meetings mostly attended by clerks, teachers, their wives and other female relatives, lady-typists and others who belonged to the Labour Party. At one or two meetings I was fortunate enough to have a few military men among my audience. I mixed and talked freely with them, and the conversations I had with them as well as the questions they put to me have enabled me to form a fairly correct idea of their thoughts and sentiments concerning our country and our claim to self-government. I believe the men and women I came across were the average men and women of the British race, and it is the average man and woman whose ideas and attitude can faithfully mirror the ideas and attitude of Great Britain as a whole.

At the outset, it is due to the average British man and woman to say that nothing can surpass the politeness and courtesy which he or she extends to an Indian. One of the greatest attractions for an Indian of residence in England is that he is, as if by magic, transformed into a free man, breathing the pure and invigorating atmosphere of freedom and moving on a footing of perfect equality with those with whom he comes in contact. Everywhere he meets sweet politeness and dignified courtesy. The police are patient, considerate and helpful, making a very agreeable contrast to those in India. At the Railway Station, the Coaching Clerk, the Station Master, the Guard give him the same prompt attention and the same consideration as to men and women of their own race. On the bus, in the tube, in the Post Office, in hotels and restaurants, he receives the same treatment as the English. No discrimination is made against him, making him feel that he is a foreigner and a member of a subject race. If he is invited to tea or dinner all the members of the family do their best to make him feel quite at home and as happy as possible. The thousand and one restrictions that fetter the free expression of thought and life in his own country and make his life one long continuous struggle, the annoying and often stupid Police surveillance to which a publicist in India is subjected, the official hauteur that he

often meets with here, the sense of humiliation and inferiority that gnaws at his heart at every turn, all these are absent, and he feels the glow and elevation of a free life that uplifts him to high altitudes of thought and feeling. His happiness is only marred by the sense of contrast between the free, full, efficient life of England, and the slavish, narrow, inefficient life of his own country, and the feeling of impatience that inevitably arises with the latter.

The average Englishman possesses very little knowledge about India and her affairs, and in particular about the great changes, social, political and economic that have taken place in India during the last twenty-five years. He knows something of our movement for political freedom, but knows nothing or almost nothing of what we are doing to promote our social, educational and economic progress and to develop the national spirit among the masses. He knows nothing also about those current political affairs which agitate India from time to time. For instance, the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills, the Punjab atrocities, the repressive measures taken under the Defence of India Act and the Press Act are all unknown to him. He has certain notions about India most of which are either obsolete or untrue. He still thinks that India is a caste-ridden country and knows nothing of the efforts that are being made to abolish caste and their effects in weakening its hold upon the people. He believes that there is an eternal feud between Hindus and Moslems and that they would cut at each other's throats if the British evacuated India. This belief is so deeprooted that when I narrated to an audience the story of the growing friendly relations between the two communities and mentioned the compact made at Lucknow, many of my hearers were surprised and frankly admitted that they did not know that such developments had taken place. Many of them still believe that infanticide is prevalent in India and the abolition of *Sati* resented by the people. They are still under the impression that women in India are kept in subjection and play no part whatever in national life. They still think that the depressed classes and the masses are oppressed by the higher castes and treated as chattel. It was a revelation to them when I told them that education was spreading among Indian women, that many had obtained University degrees, that some of them were doing good Educational and Social work, that a special

women's University had been established in the Province of Bombay, that they were demanding franchise and that a High Caste Hindu lady was actually in London agitating for political reform and female suffrage. They were also surprised to hear that the depressed and the backward classes had awakened, that they had started educational movements of their own and were demanding equal social rights and special representation on the Legislative Councils. The account I gave them of the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India and of the excellent work it was doing came to them as an agreeable surprise, though I am glad to say it made a very profound impression upon them, making them feel that India was on the right path to national self-realization and strength. The depth of ignorance prevalent among them with regard to India may be seen from the fact that many of them did not know that an Indian had been raised to the peerage and was actually helping to rule India as Under-Secretary of State.

11.

If we want to know the nature and extent of the knowledge of the average Englishman and Englishwoman about India, we shall find it from a book entitled 'Light and freedom' which, I have reasons to believe, is widely read and studied in England. There is in England a widespread, popular organization called 'The National Adult Schools Union'. As its name shows, it is a union of National Adult Schools. Men and women, young as well as old, meet on Sundays, either in the morning or in the evening. Their programme includes prayers, singing of devotional hymns, reading of a chapter or two from the Bible and a study of one of the lessons in the above book which is, in fact, used as a text book in the Schools. Some one is invited to deliver a lecture on the subject of the lesson. The book is described as "A Scheme of Study for the year 1919 for Adult Schools." It contains fifty-one lessons, one for each week of the year, there being no lesson for the first Sunday in January. There are seventeen lessons on 'Jesus, the Light of the World', nine on 'Sons of the Light', four on 'Wordsworth' who is described as a poet of the Light, four on 'Singers of the Light' eleven on 'Freedom' and six on 'Spreading the Light in India'. All the lessons are written from the missionary point of view with the object of advancing Christian principles and the cause of the Christian Church. The lessons on India are all written by one Mr. William Paton M.A. The first of these lessons is on 'What is India'

and its aim, as described by the writer, is "to show the complexity and magnitude of the task confronting Christianity in India and the necessity of facing it in the strength of a truly Christian thought of God". The second is on "The educated classes of India" and its aim is to show the need of those classes for Christ. The third deals with the outcastes of India and is designed to show their need for Christianity. The fourth treats of the women of India and its object is to show what Christianity has to give to them. The fifth which is perhaps the most important is called "Indian social and political issues" and its aim is to "show the political and social crisis through which India is passing and the bearing of Christianity upon it". The sixth and last deals with the Church in India and is written with the avowed object of showing the needs and the possibilities of the Christian Church in India.

As I have said, all these lessons are written from the missionary point of view; and when this fact is borne in mind, it will not be difficult to see what must be their effect upon the mind of the average Englishman and Englishwoman. Some aspects of the Indian Society are on the whole described faithfully, but the general impression they are calculated to produce is one-sided, inadequate, and in some respects positively misleading. They emphasize the dark side of the Indian Society, but fail to do justice to its bright side. The movement of social reform is referred to but its growth and influence are imperfectly realized. The difficulties of India are fully described, but very scant justice is done to the progress achieved in spite of them.

A few extracts will prove the correctness of these criticisms. I am no hater of missionaries or missionary enterprise, and I fully and frankly recognise the good work they have done and are doing in the field of education, medical relief, uplift of the masses and so forth. I am anxious to do them justice and far be it from me to assert that they deliberately and consciously misrepresent or misinterpret Indian thought and life. But their proselytizing zeal and the cardinal doctrine of their faith that nothing but the adoption of Christianity shall bring about the regeneration of India prevent them from seeing things as they really are in their true spirit and perspective. I hope my Christian readers will believe me when I say that the criticisms which I have made and which I now proceed to illustrate are not inspired by any anti-Christian spirit.

In the first lesson on 'What is India' the writer, after pointing out that the fundamental

thing about India is her religion remarks that "Society is built upon it (religion); caste, the essence of Indian Society, is perhaps the strongest thing in Hinduism and has a religious sanction behind it. With the breaking down of the caste, Hinduism would break up. To the orthodox Hindu all life is regulated by religious rule. The reformer finds his way barred not only by "vested interests" or conservatism, but by religious rule and principle."

There is a good deal of truth in all this; but when the writer says that with the breakdown of caste, Hinduism would break up, he ought to have added that in the opinion of many competent students of Hinduism, caste is not of the essence of Hinduism and that therefore, the breakdown of caste will not lead to the breakup of Hinduism. In fact, at a meeting I was asked this very question *viz*, whether caste and Hinduism were not so interwoven one with the other that the abolition of one would necessarily involve the destruction of the other, and I told my audience plainly that in my own judgment and that of many other Hindus much more competent than myself they were not.

The effect of such views as the above can only be to make the readers think that India cannot make any progress worth the name unless she gives up Hinduism.

Again in the same lesson, the fact of the illiteracy of the vast mass of Indian population is emphasized; but no mention is made of the growing demand for education and of the great indifference shown until recently by the Government in the matter. Nor is there recognition of the fact that in spite of their illiteracy, the Indian people have developed a certain amount of intellectual, moral and spiritual culture.

In the lesson on "The Women of India" occur the following:—

"Christianity represents an attitude towards woman and conception of womanhood which is not native to either Hinduism or Mohammedanism. Without denying the existence in Hindu and Moslem Society of instances where women are honoured as free personalities, it may nevertheless be contended that only Christianity has made this honouring of women a clear principle. There lies deep in Hindu and Moslem Civilization the view that woman is primarily a creature of sex."

Again "Christianity will give India's womanhood a real place in religion. Hindu sacred books, even the popular *Gita* have never given woman a place of her own and have treated her as dependent

upon her husband for religious sustenance. It was the discovery of this that first turned the famous Pandita Ramabai, born of a Brahman, in search of other religious ideals than Hinduism could offer."

What wonder is there if after reading this, the average Englishman and Englishwoman will be inclined to think lowly of Indian Womanhood, and of Indian Society and civilization in general?

In the lesson on Indian social and political issues the writer says:—

"It has to be recognised frankly that while western influence has created, in large measure, the reforming spirit, the present fashion of intolerance and bitterness towards the West and all things Western has in some quarters created a reaction against reform. If reform means approximation to western ways, down with reform!"

Again "It is hard to see how anything but the permeation of Indian life by Christian ideals can make India fit for complete self-government. So long as Hindu and Mahomedan are separated by the gulf which now lies between them, how can India be united, and what union can there be in India except in the atmosphere of religion. Hinduism is caste and caste is Hinduism. While caste remains strong, can India be united? And if caste goes, Hinduism, in any recognisable form goes too. What shall take its place?"

"Can stable, progressive and worthy government be erected on any basis but that of the conception of God as—father, Holy and moving in men's hearts by His Spirit; of man as infinitely dear to God, equal in all things that matter before Him, and capable through communion with Him of doing His Will, and of the world as a place where a real moral task is to be worked out, which is not to be escaped from but redeemed? These are Christian conceptions. They are not Hindu, or Mahomedan or Jain or Parsi or Buddhist. They come to man through Jesus Christ."

The general impression that will be conveyed by these lessons will be that India is a backward country divided into diverse races and religions, speaking many tongues, illiterate, conservative, caste-ridden, with no sense of nationality, hostile to Western influences, with her masses and women oppressed and down-trodden, with her two great communities—Hindus and Moslems—fighting with each other, unfit for self-government whose redemption, social, religious and political can only be achieved by her adoption of Christianity. It need hardly be said that such a picture of India as this is very misleading.

THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS

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BY

MR. GURMUKH SINGH SURI, M. SC., (ECON.), *Bar-at-Law.*

I.—THE PROBLEM.

It may be recalled that a little over four years ago (October 12, 1915) an influential deputation waited upon the Secretary of State (Mr. Chamberlain) on the subject of women's education in India. The deputation asked for the appointment of a committee to enquire into the whole question and to suggest methods of improving the whole situation. Mr. Chamberlain referred the matter to the Government of India, which in its turn applied to the local Governments for advice. Various considerations led the Government of India to postpone the expression of its views—based largely, no doubt, upon the opinions of the local governments—on the subject till now.

The Government of India has come to the conclusion that "the problem (of women's education) is as yet hardly an educational one. It has its roots in the very fabric of society and only a radical change in the life, customs and ideas of the country will effect its solution." Conservatism, caste, early marriage, *purda*, and the distrust of western education are given as the causes of the backwardness of women's education. And the Government shifts the responsibility upon the people: "It is on the interest evinced by the public in the education of girls that future development primarily depends." These statements deserve very careful consideration.

No one can deny that social institutions like *purda* and early marriage and conservatism, which are a natural result of illiterary and ignorance, have had their effect on the education of Indian women. But the disparity between the boys and girls in regard to education cannot be wholly or largely explained away by the existence of these social evils. It is the old ideal of women's function in life—home is the only sphere of woman's activity—that is responsible to a great extent for the slower progress of girls' education, not only in India, but throughout the world. On the other hand, it is held that boys must be prepared for the function of bread-winners of their families. That also explains why a large proportion of boys who go to school continue their education to the secondary and even University

stage, whilst the vast majority of girls who receive schooling do not even complete the primary stage. The ideal, however, is changing. It is slowly but surely giving place to a broader and more humane conception which recognises no limit except that of capacity. The rate of progress in higher education among women will depend on the rapidity with which this new ideal is accepted by the people. But even those who still cling to the old ideal realise that education is necessary to fit women for their work in the house.

There is another factor that has contributed to educational disparity between boys and girls—a narrow conception of the meaning of education. The idea of studying for the mere sake of earning a livelihood has done a great deal of harm to the country, and the British Government in India must bear its share of blame for encouraging this conception. It was to get clerks for the Government offices that schools were opened in the first instance, and although other ideals influenced the later development of the Indian educational policy, the first aim never lost its impress on the minds of the people. Indians had no chance to disabuse their minds. There was no industrial and commercial technical education provided for them. They had only service to look forward to. There were no other openings. It is, therefore, necessary to point out that the primary object of education is the harmonious development of all the human faculties. The inculcation of this conception will do a great deal in furthering the cause of women's education.

Indian public opinion has definitely declared itself in favour of giving instruction to girls. Educational organisations all over the country are doing their best to promote education among women. Leaders of the various communities are exerting their influence in furthering the cause of women's education. The whole of the educated community is solidly in favour of imparting instruction to girls. Indian women themselves are pleading for the creation of equal educational opportunities for boys and girls. The All-India Women's Deputation that waited upon Mr. Montagu, while he was in India (1917-18), specifically asked the Secretary of State to provide compulsory and primary education for boys and girls. And the men, who have had the

advantage of a decent education, cannot but recognise the supreme importance of women's education. Their whole life is a painful reminder of its urgent necessity. Their existence is blighted by uneducated wives. And the nation pays the penalty of keeping its girls—the future mothers—illiterate and ignorant. The Government, therefore, cannot plead lack of public interest in the subject.

It is not, however, alleged that there is no opposition amongst Indians to the education of girls. But, it is well to bear in mind, that the opposition mainly comes from the illiterate and ignorant persons. There is nothing strange or serious about this opposition. How can those persons who have never had the opportunity of appreciating education be expected to support women's education! All over the world there has been opposition to education—not only of the girls but of the boys as well—from the illiterate and ignorant masses, the greatest strongholds of conservatism. But that has not deterred the Governments of foreign countries from embarking on educational programmes for the advancement of women—in reality of the whole population. It is the duty of the Government to allay such opposition by persuasion and even by the show of strength, but above all by the removal of its root cause—*i.e.*—by wiping out illiteracy and ignorance.

The Resolution alleges that caste, early marriage, *purda*, conservatism and the distrust of western education are responsible for the backward condition of women's education. It is, however, important to find out how far these causes do actually hinder the progress of education among Indian women, and what measures are necessary to combat their effect.

(1) *Caste*: The Government of India—for reasons best known to itself—loves to exaggerate the influence of caste, whilst progressive Indians are working for its abolition. Mrs. Steel—the Anglo-Indian novelist—declares that unless Indians give up caste distinctions, unless Brahmin and untouchable children sit side by side in the schools, Indians cannot be considered fit for self-government. She wrote this in a letter to the *Times* during the inauguration of the campaign by the Indo-British Association against the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. But another countryman of hers thought differently. He had seen schools where children of all castes—including that of untouchables—were receiving instruction together and where the teacher was also a *Chitpavan* Brahmin. Besides, it must be remembered, social distinctions

are not peculiar to India alone. They exist in other countries as well. There are classes of persons in England who dare not send their children to the Council School, even if they can ill afford to pay for the tuition of their children in the special schools. But there elementary education is compulsory. Children must be educated at one place or the other. Social distinctions have not stood in the way of its enforcement. Why should they in India?

(2) *Early marriage*: The majority of girls are married between the ages of 14 and 16 in the Punjab. The figures are not likely to be lower for other provinces. Clearly, early marriage cannot, under these circumstances, hinder the preliminary education of girls. It, no doubt, does interfere with the higher education of girls. It is also responsible for the degeneration of physique and the higher rate of girl mortality. The educated community is for deferring the marriage as late as practicable.

(3) *Purda*: Like early marriage, *purda* system does not interfere to any appreciable extent with the preliminary training of girls, as *purda* is not generally observed by unmarried girls. Moreover, if there are to be separate schools for boys and girls, as the Resolution advocates, *purda* cannot stand even in the way of higher education of women. Recent years have seen great relaxation in the observance of *purda*, and public opinion is surely tending towards its ultimate disappearance.

(4) *Conservatism*: Enough has already been said to show that conservatism is no effectual bar in the way of woman's education, and the diffusion of knowledge is its only antidote.

(5) *Distrust of Western Education*: In the first place, it is well to point out that education is not synonymous with Western education, nor is Western education the only form of instruction worthy of being imparted to Indian women. In the second instance, there can be no question of western or eastern, as far as primary education is concerned; and surely the people can be allowed to decide what form of education they will like to give to their women. People are always suspicious of a dark and mysterious thing, and only the light of knowledge can dispel the distrust.

II — COMPULSORY AND FREE PRIMARY EDUCATION.

What is it that stands in the way of women's educational progress in India? Social institutions like caste, early marriage, *purda*, etc., or conservatism and prejudice begotten of illiteracy and ignorance—which is it?

It has been shown above that the real enemy of girls' education in India was the appalling amount of ignorance prevailing in the country. And the only sure method of getting rid of this supreme obstacle in the way of educational and other progress is the spread of healthy and useful knowledge among the people—among men and women, boys and girls. The first step towards this solution is the establishment of a general system of primary education throughout the country.

The Resolution recognises that "the most important matter for consideration in the education of girls is its wider expansion." During recent years the legislatures of Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Behar and Orissa have passed permissive measures of compulsion in connection with the primary education of boys. In Bombay and the United Provinces the provision for compulsion can be extended to girls. The Bombay Act, however, can only be adopted in municipal areas. The Government of India hopes "that these measures will bear fruit." And the Resolution goes on to suggest:

"That even at the risk of incurring expenditure which, in the first instance, might appear unremunerative, it would be well to create opportunities for education upon some systematised plan such as the founding of a girls' school in every centre which contains a secondary boys' school, whether of the middle or the high grade. Other systems will doubtless suggest themselves to local Governments as guides."

Such are the recommendations—suggestions—of the Government of India as regards the extension of education among the girls. They show a lack of real interest—a whole-hearted devotion—in the subject by the Government; and considering the amount of stress laid by the Resolution on the seriousness of the present situation and the importance of the question of girls' education, the suggestions made are most disappointing. It should, moreover, be remembered that the Government took nearly four years to make this pronouncement, and although it had consulted the local Governments before formulating its policy, still it largely leaves to them to work out plans of improving the situation.

The proposals made by the Resolution are unsatisfactory because the Government of India is afraid of meeting the situation in the face: it wishes to avoid the logical consequences of the policy enunciated by itself, the propagation of knowledge among the masses, the extension of education among the girls. When it decides to

face the problem boldly, to seriously carry out its policy, difficulties will not remain in the way. Its own experience and the experience of other countries will prove to be an easy and useful guide.

The Government of India has been trying for the last 65 years if not more (that is, since the Despatch of 1854), to spread elementary knowledge among the masses. The net result of its endeavours, as far as girls are concerned, is thus summed up in the Resolution. There were, says the Resolution, 1,264,000 girls in schools in 1917-18; that is to say, speaking broadly, one girl in ten who should be at school was to be found there. Moreover, the vast majority of girls under instruction were receiving tuition in private schools. Out of a total of 19,305 primary schools, 15,735 were managed by private bodies, 3,106 by local boards and 554 by Government. The figures speak for themselves.

In carrying out its educational policy, the Government has depended solely on the voluntary method, and a great deal upon private effort. And the result has been that one girl out of ten (of school going age) is to be found in school! But still the Government of India hesitates to recommend—after 65 years of bitter experience—the application of compulsion to girls in the Resolution. It, no doubt, hopes that the local bodies in Bombay Municipal areas and the United Provinces will take advantage of the provisions of the recently passed Education Acts to promote girls' education. But what about the other provinces?

Permissive measures, as H. B. The Aga Khan writes in his recently published book 'India in Transition,' will not meet the case. Local bodies, as constituted at present, have neither the resources, nor the enterprise, nor even the inclination or incentive to make use of the provisions contained in the permissive Acts. Measures of general compulsion are necessary in all the Provinces to make the local bodies provide for the education of girls and the people to send their daughters to school.

The local Governments need not be afraid of the opposition which general measures of compulsion are sure to arouse among the ignorant class of people. These persons are like children—stupid and obstinate, without their innocence—who do not know when a good thing is given to them. Like medicine to the young, knowledge has to be forced down their throats. That is what has been done in other countries and what requires to be done in India. * * *

There are, no doubt, practical difficulties in the way; but they can be overcome by persistent effort in the right direction. Perhaps the greatest difficulty is to persuade the Government and the people to recognise the value of co-education in primary schools. It is economically impossible for a poor country like India to run two separate schools in each village for the education of boys and girls respectively; and even if it were possible to finance separate schools for girls, there would be no teachers to conduct them. At this time,—and for a considerable time to come—enough woman teachers, fully qualified or no, cannot be obtained to run separate schools for girls all over India. Even if super-annuated male teachers were permitted to teach in girls' schools, their number would not be sufficient to staff them.

The spirit of the Resolution is against co-education. It, no doubt, recognises the practical value of allowing small girls to attend boys' schools, as over 500,000 girls—nearly 2/5th of the total number of girls under instruction—are already studying in boys' schools. "The defects of such an arrangement are fully appreciated" by the Government. In almost all foreign countries, co-education of the sexes is favoured not only from the economic but from the general educational and cultural points of view as well. In many rural schools, co-education makes proper grading possible by increasing the number of pupils, and thus makes education more efficient. It creates more common interests between boys and girls, and enriches life generally. It does away with the idea regarding the superiority of men and the inherent inferiority and consequent perpetual bondage of women, and replaces it by that of comradeship on equal terms. It has a good effect on the habits and characters of both boys and girls; the former lose much of their roughness and rowdiness, and the latter get over their shyness and mock modesty. It replaces awkwardness of demeanour by a dignified, natural manner.

The dislike of the Government of India to co-education is perhaps based on its belief as to the advisability of giving girls a different kind of education to that imparted to boys. Obviously, this question of separate types of education for boys and girls is not of great importance, as far as elementary instruction is concerned. The object of primary education is to make the pupil literate and to arouse her interest in the harmonious development of her faculties. A simple useful course of instruction that is suitable for boys in rural areas is also suited for village girls.

The Resolution does not lay stress on the financial difficulty, because "hitherto the difficulty has often been not so much in the actual provision of funds, as in the discovery of opportunity for their fruitful expenditure." Moreover, the Government of India is looking forward to getting rid of educational responsibility and shifting it to other shoulders. At any rate, it cannot now put forward the financial difficulty, because it has admitted by its acts that whenever there is urgent necessity, money can be raised "without unduly burdening the poor." These are the words of Sir William Meyer which he used in connection with the £45 million grant for war expenditure in his last Budget Speech (1918-19). This was, be it remembered, after the £100 million gift that the Government had made on behalf of India to the British Exchequer to meet the cost of the war.

India's poverty is not an excuse for retarding educational development. It is, on the other hand, a strong plea for the extension of education. Poverty in a country like India, a country rich in natural resources and man power, is largely due to the lack of knowledge, to ignorance of the ways of utilising nature's gifts and powers. There is, indeed, a very close connection between poverty and education: they move in a sort of vicious circle. Without enough funds, an efficient system of primary education cannot be organised, and without an adequate and proper system of education, poverty cannot be got rid of. Poverty hinders the diffusion of knowledge, and absence of education perpetuates poverty. This is not a Gordian knot that can be untied. It is a vicious circle that can only be cut or broken into. The only way of overcoming poverty is to organise as efficient a system of education as is possible at the time, by making the necessary sacrifices.

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Thus do the various difficulties—social, educational, financial—disappear, when rightly handled. The way is clear for the institution of a general system of primary education—compulsory and free—for both boys and girls. Space does not allow to treat the subjects of secondary and University education here. In departments of higher education, practically everything depends on the people themselves; but the way to secondary and University education of women lies through mass education. Only the diffusion of knowledge will remove the social difficulties from the path of the educational progress of Indian women.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

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BY

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ANY observer of Indian politics will notice the extreme importance attached to the representation of interests and communities in India. In no other country in the world does one find this general acceptance of the principle of communal representation and the consequent division of the nation into recognised racial groups. In the old Austrian Empire, something in the nature of a communal and professional representation existed; but it was nothing compared to the experiment in India. The small community of Sikhs, the non-Brahmin majority of Madras, the Maharattas of the Deccan and the Mohammadan community as a whole have demanded and gained separate representation in the new legislatures. Apart from this, separate representation is granted also to planting and commercial interests, both Indian and British. This latter need not concern us for the present, as it is the inevitable result of having a commercial country ruling over us. But the unique characteristic of Indian political life, this division into communal groups, is a fact worth serious examination.

It has become customary to preface all discussion of communal representation with the declaration that in principle it is highly objectionable, however expedient politically it may be. This attitude seems to me to be entirely unacceptable. To speculate on general political principles without reference to particular social conditions is vain and useless. Principles and ideas are realised only through institutions, and all general talk of fundamental principles without considering the methods of their realisation is foolish, when it is not dangerous. The same system works differently under two different sets of circumstances. Democracy in the United States is not Democracy in Mexico. Parliamentary government in England and in Italy follows different traditions. Hence to object to in principle and accept as expedient the idea of communal representation seems to me to be foolish to a degree.

We are told that communal representation is objectionable "on principle." Let us see what the principle involved is.

The demand of the advocates of communal representation is that each community in the

State ought to have its proper share of influence. The safeguarding of the interests of the minority has been the most difficult problem of democracy. John Stuart Mill in the middle of the last century recognised the danger of "class legislation" on the part of the numerical majority, these being all composed of the same class." He recognised that unless "a fair and equal share of influence" is given to minorities, the government will be contrary to the principle of democracy. He insisted that it is an essential part of democracy that minorities should be adequately represented. Even the most violent opponents of communal representation "on principle" agree that minorities ought to have their share of influence. A number of schemes like proportional representation, alternative vote etc., has been put forward and advocated, the main point of which is to disguise the fact that its object is to represent minorities. But none of these proposals are acceptable in the case of India.

What now is the objection of those who oppose communal representation "on principle"? They say that, if separate representation is given to various communities, it will perpetuate division where it ought to work for union; that the State would be split up into a number of communities, each working for its own interests, without the consciousness that all of them belong to a single nation. They also object that such a movement would be particularly disastrous in India, where group consciousness predominates so much over national consciousness, that the great process of welding the different races and peoples of India into a single community will be frustrated by the acceptance of this principle of separate representation for groups.

How far is this true? To me it seems that the objection is only partially valid. Granting that the minorities in India should be adequately represented, and taking into consideration the unquestionable fact that the organisation of these communities is based on religion and race, there seems to be no escape from the solution of communal electorates. And, from the point of view of strict political theory, wherein does the objection lie? We are all now familiar with the idea of the modification of the sovereignty of nation-states to constitute either an Empire, or a

League of Nations. If independent states could go in to make an Empire, as it effectively does in the British commonwealth, does it not stand to reason that independent units could go in to make a nation. The conception of state as a federation of groups is one that has been steadily growing in the west. Since Herbert Spencer wrote his book on *Man versus the State*, political thought has undergone such change that the problem now is *State versus group*. And in this fight a compromise seems to have been effected by the recognition given by the State to institutions like Trade Unions which control the action of their members.

The principle of communal representation—in the abstract—is merely this. Should there be the interposition of a group between the individual and the State? Political tendency everywhere has been in the direction of a decided affirmative. The Guild Socialists actually demand that the constitution of the State should be entirely on this principle. Leaving aside the vagueness of this extreme theory, we have to acknowledge that some amount of recognition has been given to this principle, even in the most conservative States. The representation of the Church in the English House of Lords is a conspicuous example. Indeed, Parliament began as a representation of classes: members for boroughs and members elected by country courts represented different and often hostile interests. The House of Lords consisting of mitred abbots, prelates and peers stood out clearly for a well defined order. In France the three Estates represented the three different interests and the great question in 1789, whether they should sit and vote separately or together, was fought on the principle of the absolute right of majorities over minorities.

There are two other objections commonly raised against communal representation. One is this. If separate representation is to be given to all communities, where is one to stop? Mill is emphatic on this point. He says that, man for man, minorities should be as fully represented as the majority. Supposing there are 65 seats for election in the Council of a province consisting of 30 million Hindus, 5 million Mussalmans, 1 million Christians, 25 thousand Jews, and 5 thousand Armenians. Out of the 65 seats then, it is obvious that 13 seats ought to go for Muslims, 1 for Christians and say 50 for Hindus and we have the remaining one seat to be divided between Jews, Armenians and other non descripts of the province. This is on a numerical basis. But

the Mohammadan claim is for representation based on political importance. We have also the question of the allotment of the Hindu seats between the various sections of that community. This is a more difficult question. The Hindu community is split up into "innumerable groups and if communal representation is pressed to that point, as the Non-Brahmin extremists of Madras desire, the whole thing would become extremely complicated. The Hindu community is almost a sociological fiction. It is a general name given to an assortment of the most varied types of society, and if the principle of communal representation is granted, there is no reason why it should not be extended to the various major groups that constitute the Hindu society. This is the difficulty of communal representation in India, and it is the vague recognition of the magnitude of this problem as it affects the Hindu society that the Indian leaders fight so strongly against it "on principle."

If a practical scheme of representation of Hindu groups could be worked out, I for one see no reason, why the whole system of election in India should not be on a communal basis. The social life of the Hindus, demands some sort of a political institution which will fall in with it. And we cannot emphasise too much that all attempts at political development, which do not take into account the social condition peculiar to the country, are dangerous to a degree. The social life of India being what it is, communal representation is not only unobjectionable "on principle," but altogether inevitable.

The other objection is that, if the principle of communal representation is so greatly extended, the outlook of our politicians will become partial and narrow; that the interests of the nation will be sacrificed to the interests of the group; that in fact we shall not be able to see the wood for the trees. I do not think that this objection is valid. We have in the Senate of the United States an assembly, the members of which represent particular groups, the independence and rights of which they are supposed to maintain against Federal encroachment. Has the history of the last 140 years shown that these members have not been able to see the general interests of the nation even as against their own groups. In Germany, the Bundesrath was a body of representatives of the constituent groups of the Empire. They were the ambassadors of their princes, but it does not seem that they forgot their national responsibilities. What reason have we to think

that the representatives elected from special electorates will not be able to see the wood for the trees. The experience in India has not so far been decisive perhaps, but it undoubtedly is towards a repudiation of the objection. Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Mazhar-ul Huque the two earliest and best known advocates of Hindu Muslim Unity were elected to the Council from communal electorate, with the possible exception of Nawab Ali Choudhuri, there is not one Mussalman member in the Imperial Council against whom the accusation of a merely Mohammadan outlook could be laid with justification.

That the desire for communal representation is one of the strongest tendencies in Indian political life will hardly be questioned. The opposition towards it has mainly come from Hindus who oppose it mainly, it seems to me, because of its implications of division within their own widefold, rather than from any disregard for Moslem claims. That the Hindus are far from opposing the reasonable demands of the Mussalmans to their share of political influence will be seen from the momentous agreement (Lucknow compact), which has now been given statutory sanction.

The Government of India have for some time past acted in accordance with the principle of communal representation in the distribution of

offices. How has it worked? The most eminent Indian Judge of the Madras High Court to-day was selected on a communal principle. Sir Abdur Rahim was imported from Calcutta, not because Madras had not men of sufficient eminence to fill the High Court Bench but because a Mussalman Judge was required on the principle of equitable communal representation. Sir Abdur Rahim is perhaps the most widely respected official to-day in Madras. All the Muslim gentleman who have been selected for high posts, either in the government of India, in the Secretary of State's council or in the Provincial Executive Councils have been proofs positive that communal representation properly worked does not involve any decrease in efficiency. Sir Ali Imam, Sir Ibrahim Rahimatoola, Nawab Shamsul Huda—these names do not stand for inefficiency and communal selfishness. Communal representation has up to this time worked only as a method of giving a chance to men of this type. While I do not blind myself to the dangers that a policy of indiscriminate communal representation might lead to, I am optimist enough to believe that, in the interests of both Hindus and Mohammadans and of the common motherland, the principle will be fairly used to bring to the service of the nation the best intellects of the Mussalman and other communities which are in a numerical minority.

Preferential Trade Within the Empire

BY

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ONE of the most unfortunate things in all discussions about Imperial Preference is that the question is viewed not from the Indian but the British standpoint. It is but natural that each nation should be allowed to chalk out and develop its policy in the best way it can. All industrially-advanced countries have once passed through the stage of protection. It was the strong protective policy of Cromwell in England and Colbert in France that laid the foundation of the industrial greatness of those countries. Even at the present day, Germany, the United States, the British Colonies, Japan etc., maintain the policy of protection. England is the only exception, but even England's Free Trade policy is consonant with the economic doctrine that raw materials should not be taxed. The conditions of England are quite different from those of India, and nothing is more suicidal than that the economic policy of one country should be determined by reference to that of another, in utter disregard of

the wants or needs of the country. Even such a doughty champion of Free Trade as John Stuart Mill admitted that, in the infancy stage of an industry, protection is useful. No doubt Free Trade is a sound economic policy for all nations in normal times but, under certain conditions, protection is not only defensible, but absolutely necessary. So long as India is on a footing of equality with England, she may try a policy of Free Trade but, as things are at present, India is a weaker country and a dependency. The struggle is between the strong industries of England and the nascent industries of India and, as a matter of fact, Indian industries are pushed out of the field by the strong arm of Britain. India is at present a purely agricultural country. Producing raw materials, she imports manufactured goods and, in the words of the economist, is like an individual with one arm which is supported by a foreign arm. The development of Indian manufactures is thus absolutely necessary for the wel-

fare of the country. But Indian Industries which are only in the infant stage are overwhelmed by foreign competition. India is at present the dumping ground of foreign goods.

A protective tariff in India is sure to assist her industries and even produce revenue so urgently required for education, sanitation, etc. As early as 1879, Mr. K. T. Telang pleaded for a protective policy for industries. The late Mr. Justice Ranade was never tired of dwelling on the necessity for the adoption of a policy of Protection for Indian industries in the infant stage. These views have been shared even by Englishmen. In his speech at the Central Asian Society in 1911, Lord Minto the Ex-Viceroy of India said that the future of India depended largely on what could be done for Indian industries. For example, Canada has become industrially advanced, only by adopting a protective tariff against her powerful neighbour, the United States.

Indian statesmen are not blind protectionists. They desire to adopt Protection as a temporary measure for the development of those Indian industries that require State support. There is no doubt that the ultimate goal of the so-called Indian Protectionists is Free Trade.

This brings us to a consideration of the important practical question of Imperial Preference. The principle of Imperial Preference, which implies that each part of the Empire should give special facilities and furnish adequate safeguards to the produce and manufactures of the other parts of the Empire, received a fresh accession of strength during the recent war. The question of Preferential tariffs in their relation to India came for consideration of the Government of India for the first time in 1903 and they were asked to report on the resolution of the Colonial Conference in favour of Inter imperial Trade. The Indian Government had two alternatives before it. Firstly, India might join the scheme of Imperial Preference on the same footing as the self-governing Colonies and impose duties of a protective character against imports from the United Kingdom and other parts of the British Empire, subject to the condition that Indians should give preferential treatment to the products of the Empire. Secondly, another alternative was that India would maintain her import duties on British goods at a very low rate and impose a higher duty on foreign goods from other countries. Any scheme of Imperial Preference on an ultimate analysis is adverse to the present economic condition of India. No preference is possible in the case of the chief exports from India to

the United Kingdom, jute, tea, wheat, hides, oil-seeds, raw wool, raw cotton, rice and lac. No preference is possible in the case of jute and lac, for there are no rivals in the world market to compete with India. As for tea which is a purely European industry, India does not stand in need of protection. In the case of the other remaining articles of food or raw materials, preference can be given to those industries only by taxing similar articles that are imported into Britain from other countries and thus raising the prices. But such a rise in the prices of those articles will not be tolerated by the Britisher. India's trade with the British Colonies is very small and any scheme of Inter-imperial preferential trade will do little good to India. More than anything else, India wants protection for her nascent industries and also protection against Great Britain, for the latter is the serious competitor with regard to the infant industries of India. As it has been well remarked, "all past experience indicates that in the decision of any fiscal question concerning India, powerful sections of the community at Home will continue to demand that their interests, and not those of India alone, shall be allowed consideration. If Indian industries are in need of or should now desire a measure of protection, protective measures would necessarily seriously affect imports from the United Kingdom and would only in a secondary degree affect those from foreign countries. We cannot imagine that the merchants of Lancashire or Dundee, to mention two interests alone, would be likely to acquiesce in such a course, even though it were accompanied by still higher duties against the foreigner or that it would be accepted by the Home Government."

It is indeed highly deplorable that the fiscal policy of India is being determined in Whitehall and Downing street. At the present stage, it is doubtful whether India would gain by the adoption of a system of Imperial preference. As Lord Inchcape remarked in the Colonial Conference of 1907, "in a financial aspect the danger to India of reprisals by foreign nations, even if eventually unsuccessful, is so serious and their results would be so disastrous, that we should not be justified in embarking on any new policy of the kind, unless assured of benefits greater and more certain than any which have so far presented themselves to our minds." The real solution of the problem from the Indian standpoint lies in securing for India fiscal freedom, so that we may be in a position to arrange the tariff in a way which is best suited to the economic interests of the country.

The ANCIENT HINDU LAW OF EVIDENCE

BY

MR. PRAHLAD C. DIVANJI, M.A., LL.M.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

IN a previous article,* I endeavoured to describe the constitution of the ancient Hindu courts and the procedure followed by them in the trial of causes coming before them for decision, and have there slightly hinted that in the third stage of a proceeding called "The trial," the party adjudged to have the burden of proof on him was called upon to adduce what evidence he possessed in support of his contentions. The purpose of this article is to focus together all such rules bearing on that topic as are contained in the various Hindu Dharma Shastras now available, with a view to show the course and extent of the development of the Hindu law in that direction, before there was any possibility of its being subjected to or moulded by foreign influence.

SOURCES.

It may be re-collected that the materials for the above-mentioned disquisition were collected principally from four Smriti works, namely, those of Manu, Yajñavalkya, Narada and Brihaspati. Those for the present one are scattered over a wider field and have consequently been garnered from a larger number of works including therein, besides these, the Dharmasutras of Gautama, Baudhayana, Vasishtha and Apastamba and the Quasi sutra work of Vishnu, of which those first-named are considered by Dr. Buhler to be the product of the period ranging from 400 to 500 B.C.

Now, as regards the nature of the materials found in these works. It will, I hope, be conceded that the development of the law of evidence, is commensurate with the growth of intelligence in each community. A simple and honest people do not stand much in need of elaborate provisions as to what would constitute relevant and irrelevant facts, what particular modes of proof only may be accepted in particular cases, how truth may be gathered from conflicting evidences, etc. In proportion as this simplicity gives way to shrewdness, and honesty to hypocrisy, the task of a judge ignorant of facts becomes taxing and

necessitates certain rules for his guidance in separating the chaff from the wheat as far as possible, in order to do justice between two conflicting claims. Viewed in the light of this hypothesis, it seems but apposite that such of the ancient Dharmasutras as have survived the tide of time, should afford scanty materials for a comparison with the highly subtle and elaborate provisions of a legislative enactment of the British Government drafted in the nineteenth century of the Christian Era, the sacred laws embodied in them having been framed for the guidance of the rulers of a people whose life, a mere link in the chain connecting the past with the future lives, was one long series of sacraments and sacrifices, inspired by a lofty ideal to accumulate as much spiritual merit as could be done in that short span, mixed up with such occasional secular activities as would be auxiliary to the former for their due discharge, and as would be absolutely indispensable in a land overflowing with bounties of the Gracious Providence. From this view-point, it also stands to reason that while as Prof. Max Muller and Dr. Buhler held, these Dharmasutras were portions of the Kalpasutras of their respective Vedic charanas (schools) the names of whose founders they go by, there did not exist any other secular schools or works in that far off Vedic age, and that consequently these were the only guides as well to the Kshatriyas as to the Brahmanas in the discharge of their respective duties. Both of them indiscriminately attended the Vedic schools of their hereditary *Shakhas*, in which instructions were given not only in the purely religious lore but also in the sciences of law, archery, medicine, mathematics, music &c., which we now call secular, but which were then considered subsidiary to the former. Another circumstance which accounts for the scantiness of the contents of the Sutras on the subject in hand, is that they admittedly touch upon only the salient points on this subject, the object their compilers had in view, being not exhaustiveness, so much as comprehensiveness, not so much to supply text-books as to furnish short memoranda enabling the students to recollect the principle features of the sacred law which was taught-orally by the teachers. With the exception therefore of the few hints that we get here and there

* "Judicial Administration in India in Ante-Mahomedan Times," published in the *Indian Review* for July 1915.

in these works, we have for this subject also to fall back upon the metrical Smritis which formed the basis of the law of procedure and the Vishnu-Sutra, which are a kind of hybrid production of a comparatively recent date.

BURDEN OF PROOF.

To begin with, then, the third stage in a judicial proceeding was the trial proper. For that to be commenced, it was necessary to determine at the outset which party should bear the burden of proof and the nature of the answer given by the defendant on being apprised of the plaintiff's claim was the key to the solution of that problem. According to the Smriti writers, there could be four kinds of answers namely, admission, denial, special plea and previous adjudication, and the general rule seems to have been that in the case of a denial the burden of proof lay on the plaintiff, while in those of a special plea and previous adjudication it lay on the defendant.

Thus Narada says:—

"What the claimant has fully declared word for word in the plaint, that he must substantiate by adducing evidence at the third stage of the trial."

"Where the defendant has evaded the plaint by means of a special plea, it becomes incumbent on him to prove his assertion and he is placed in the position of a claimant."

But all cases could not be so simple as these. Various causes of action arising out of the same transaction may be combined together in one proceeding. Although the Smritis themselves do not seem to contemplate such cases, commentators like Vijnaneshwara do and it appears from his animated and lengthy discussion of hypothetical cases in which answers may be of mixed characters that Hindu judges in later times, at least, must have had to listen to heated arguments on the question of burden of proof.

ADMISSIONS AND CONFESSIONS.

The Smriti writers are equally silent as to the effect of admissions in civil cases, and with the exception of Narada, they are equally reticent as to the value to be attached to confessions in criminal cases. Yet it seems probable that by not specially referring to those points, the law-givers meant that when a party admitted the whole or part of a claim or charge, judgment should follow at once to that extent as a matter of course. So Vijnaneshwara commenting on Yaj. II 7 (2) says:—

"Hence too, when a reply consists of an admission, there being no issue to be proved, neither the plain-

tiff nor the defendant is the claimant, and hence there are absolutely no means of proof to be stated and so with that (i.e., admission or confession) only, the judicial proceeding comes to an end,"

and quotes the following text of Harita in support of the statement, namely:—

"Whereas in the cases of the answers consisting of a plea of a previous adjudication and a special plea, the defendant should state the means of proof, the plaintiff should do so in the case of a denial, while in the case of an admission (or confession) that (i.e., the statement of means of proof) is not required."

With regard to confessions, Narada instead of leaving it to the discretion of judges, (as do the other Smriti writers and the framers of the Criminal law of British India) how far they should show clemency in case an accused person made a full and free confession, laid down:—

"The perpetrator of a wrong action or of a crime shall be let off with half the punishment due to his offence, if he admits the charge, or if he makes known the guilt of his own accord,"

while he enjoined judges to be specially strict towards one who, having pleaded not guilty, was subsequently convicted of the offence with which he was charged. He thus provided an effective inducement to make confessions, backed up by the threat of being visited with the full measure of punishment in the case of a contrary conduct, and showed how without resorting to false inducements which could have effect on raw and youthful criminals only, or to violence which is likely to cause false confessions to be made, considerable public time, money and energy could be economised. It is quite possible that in such a state of the law, there could be few, if any, cases of "retracted confessions" with which the modern courts of sessions are so frequently confronted.

MEANS OF PROOF.

In disputed cases, the next step after the ascertainment of the burden of proof was the production of evidence. Now, according to our present notions, evidence may be either oral or documentary. The Sutra works above referred to with the exception of that of Vasishtha do not however mention documents as a means of proof. From this, it may probably be inferred that the people of those times and climes, for which the other authors composed their works, were not sufficiently acquainted with the art of writing to be able to employ it in recording the transactions of their daily life. But the numerous inscriptions in highly developed characters of the third century B. C. which have been discovered and

deciphered negative that presumption, and Dr. Buhler, taking note of this omission in the other works while fixing the date of that of Vasishttha, warns us against drawing any such inference, and accounts for it by opining that it was probably due to these compilations being primarily of a religious character that the purely secular means of proof was not mentioned at all in them. This argument gains support from the fact that, even in the Chapter of Manu Smriti dealing with evidence, we do not find even a bare mention of documents, direct or indirect.

Beside witnesses and writings, the Sanskrit law-books mention (adverse) possession as one more means of proof. According to our present notions, however, possession by itself cannot serve as a means of proof but it must be proved by means of witnesses or documents other than title-deeds, showing the payment of taxes, the leasing of the premises etc., and after it is satisfactorily proved, it becomes a question of substantive law whether and how far it can hold good against a title evidenced solely by title-deeds. Possession as such, therefore is not so much a means of proof as a fact to be proved, not a *Sadhona* but a *Sadhya* which has again to be established by any one or both of the means above-stated.

RELEVANT AND IRRELEVANT FACTS.

A glance at the Indian Evidence Act (I of 1872) will show that the whole of chapter II thereof has been filled with minute provisions as to what facts may be proved, what kinds of statements are admissible, what judgments of the same or other courts in previous cases are relevant and when and how far evidence of the character of a deponent may be admitted. In the *Sutras*, on the other hand, we find no such rules either of a general or of a special character. This suggests that either our ancestors in that far off age did not feel bored by irrelevant facts and arguments being brought in, in the course of a judicial investigation, or the law-givers, having armed judges with sufficient discretionary powers, did not feel the necessity of laying down any general guiding principles. As we come to the Smriti literature, we find that the boredom or necessity had by that time begun to be felt. Thus in the *Vishnu Sutras* is met with the following rule for the admission of secondary evidence of statements made by others indirectly involving the question of relevancy:—

"An appointed witness having died or gone abroad,

those, who may have heard his deposition, may give evidence",

and a general rule regarding the scope of oral evidence, namely,

"Evidence may be of two kinds; (1) of what may have been seen; (2) of what may have been heard."

To the same effect are the following provisions in the Smriti of Narada also:—

"In doubtful cases, when two parties are quarrelling with one another, the truth has to be gathered from (the deposition of) witnesses whose knowledge is based on what has been seen, heard, or understood by them."

"If a witness dies, or goes abroad, after having been appointed, those who have heard his deposition, may give evidence, for indirect proof makes evidence as well as direct proof."

The following rules in Brihaspati, though not directly touching the point, indirectly define the same scope for secondary oral evidence.

"That witness, who communicates what he has heard to another man, at a time when he is about to go abroad, or lying on his deathbed, should be considered an indirect witness."

"He is also called an indirect witness who repeats, from his own hearing or from hearsay, the previous statements of actual witnesses."

WITNESSES; THEIR COMPETENCY AND INCOMPETENCY.

The course of development, which the Hindu law has pursued with respect to the determination of the competency or incompetency of witnesses, is very peculiar. Although this point is not like the previous one left completely untouched by the *Sutrakaras*, the provisions they have laid down are in such general terms that the judges in their times must have had to depend largely upon their own judgment. Thus Gautama says, that witnesses "must be faultless as regards the performance of their duties, worthy to be trusted by the King and free from affection for or hatred against either party," while Apastamba merely prescribes that "a person who is possessed of good qualities" (may be called as a witness). Vasishttha is somewhat more explicit when he says:—

Shrotriyas, men of unblemished form, of good character, men who are holy and love truth, are fit to be witnesses.

Baudryana, on the contrary, expressly excludes religious men and others from the class of competent witnesses; curiously enough, he says:—

"Men of the four varnas who have sons may be witnesses, excepting the Shrotriyas, the King, ascetics and those who are destitute of human intellect."

The same restrictions with the further addition of "the diseased, convicts, carpenters, actors, dependants and servants, the depraved, aged, young, deformed, persons in the lowest strata of society, the mad, afflicted, those oppressed by hunger and thirst, those overpowered with fatigue or passion, etc." are to be found in Manu's code and the Smritis of Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇu and Brihaspati. In Nārada's Smṛiti, which is more systematic and elaborate in details, the above classes of persons are said to be incompetent on account of texts of law and of depravity, and to their list are added others whose depositions would be rendered valueless "on account of contradiction, uncalled for deposition, and intervening disease of the party."

From these law-books, it further appears that there was a time when, in the opinion of some, the caste of a particular witness was considered at the time of determining his competency. Gautama who among the extant Sūtra writers is considered the earliest, while laying down that witnesses may be of any caste including the Sūdras, disregards this restriction and yet in order to maintain the privilege of the Brahmin caste, directs that a Brahmin should not be forced to give evidence at the word of a non-Brahmin, and again there is the saving clause, "except if he be mentioned in the plaint," so that, in that case, a Brahmin could not claim exemption. Vasiṣṭha agrees with Gautama so far as regards the general rule, yet he inserts what seems to be a traditional verse saying that witnesses should be of the same caste and even the same sex as the parties, while Apastamba and Bandhayana take no note of this opinion at all, not even to contradict it as the others do. As we proceed to the Smṛiti writers, we find that in Manu's code, over and besides the provisions above referred to, the same verse that occurs in Vasiṣṭha's Sūtras, as regards the restrictions of caste and sex, is incorporated, with the result that the conservatism of the earlier times, which Gautama had discarded, again gained prominence. Yājñavalkya on the other hand having once laid down that witnesses having the qualifications enumerated by him were to be selected from amongst the members of the same caste and colour as the parties, says in the alternative "or all in all cases," showing thereby that in his opinion the caste of a witness was not of material importance. Viṣṇu, Nārada and Brihaspati are like Apastamba and Bandhayana totally silent on this point. From this it can safely be inferred that,

although in the early stage of Hindu jurisprudence, some sages did propound such a conservative view, it did not at any time meet with general acceptance, because of its impracticability and impropriety in a judicial proceeding and was with the lapse of time consigned to oblivion.

Apart from this question, there were, however, occasions on which, from the earliest times, a strict scrutiny as regards the qualities, profession, ways of life &c. of the witnesses was not permitted. Gautama places, among such exceptions, cases of criminal hurt only, while Viṣṇu, Manu and Yājñavalkya add to them those of theft, abuse, assault and adultery. Manu also lays down one general exception, in the following verse, namely:—

"Any man whatever who is acquainted with the facts of a case, which may have happened in the interior of a house, in a forest, or which may be that of a murder, may give evidence on behalf of the parties."

while the next verse in his code which permits of evidence being taken of "even women, children, old persons, religious persons, relations, slaves, or servants," when no other witnesses are available, takes away the force of all the previous directions as to the examination of the competency of witnesses, and reduces them to the nature of mere recommendations, for the author's position comes to this, that the qualifications or disqualifications previously described may be examined where several classes of witnesses are at hand, and when the case in hand does not fall under any of the exceptions above-mentioned. Though judged in comparison with the broad and simple rule of the Indian Evidence Act enacted after centuries of experience, that all men are competent, to testify "unless the court thinks that one is not able to understand or give rational answers to questions put to him on account of tender years, extreme old age, mental or physical disease or any other cause of the same kind," this makes a poor show, yet if it is borne in mind that the law-givers in the self-centred Indian peninsula had no other nation's experience to guide them, it cannot but be admitted, that they were making steady progress towards the attainment of the ideal that no other consideration should weigh with a court of justice, except that of doing justice and fair play to all and sundry who appeal to it for help.

APPOINTED AND UNAPPOINTED WITNESSES.

Nārada distinguishes between eleven classes of witnesses, five of whom are grouped together under

the heading termed "the appointed" and the other six under another called "the unappointed." The first group comprises, "a subscribing witness," one who is reminded, a casual witness, a secret witness and an indirect witness." The other is composed of "the villagers, a judge, a King, one acquainted with the affairs of the two parties, one deputed by the claimants and the members of a family in the case of a family quarrel." To these eleven, Brihaspati adds one more, namely, one who has been caused to be mentioned in the deed along with the details of a writing." Vishnu also speaks of witnesses being appointed or otherwise. Yet it is not clear from these law-books what importance was attached to this distinction. From the provisions as regards secondary evidence above quoted, we can however safely infer that the appointed witnesses enjoyed the advantage of having their statements, made before death or going abroad, admitted in evidence, and from the following passage, it will also appear that some importance as regards the number of witnesses necessary in a case was attached to the class to which one belonged.

LEAST NUMBER OF WITNESSES NECESSARY.

Whereas the Indian Evidence Act Sec. 134, provides that "no particular number of witnesses shall be required in any case for the proof of any fact," the Hindu law-givers erring on the side of over-caution laid down that, except under the circumstances enumerated by them, one witness alone should not be relied upon. Of the Sutrakaras, Gautama alone has referred to this point and he too merely directs that witnesses "shall be many." Amongst the Smṛiti writers, Manu is totally silent. Vishnu's opinion is that one man alone cannot be made a witness, but if that one is virtuous, holy, learned, studious, veracious, aged etc, he can be made a witness singly. According to Yajñavalkya, witnesses should in all cases be "more than three" but "a single man virtuous may also be a witness by the consent of parties." Narada is also exactly of the same opinion. Brihaspati's opinion however varies from that of the other doctors. He seems to attach importance not only to their qualifications but also to the classes to which they belong, for he says:—

There should be nine, seven, five, four or three witnesses and two only, if they are learned Brahmans, are proper to be examined but let him never examine a single witness.

Further on he directs:—

"Of subscribing and secret witnesses there should be two; of spontaneous, reminded and family witnesses,

and indirect witnesses, there should be three, four or five."

"A single witness may even furnish valid proof if he is a messenger, an accountant, one who has accidentally witnessed a transaction, or a King or a Chief Judge."

EXHORTATION.

Immediately before their evidence was commenced to be taken, the witnesses were exhorted to state the facts exactly as they may have happened, without applying any color or varnish. The advantages and disadvantages, spiritual, moral and legal, of doing so and of not doing respectively were explained to them, and then oaths appropriate to their castes and callings were, according to all the writers, administered to them. From the Sutra of Gautama below mentioned which says:—

"Some (declare that witnesses) shall be charged on oath to speak the truth."

it appears however that at a remote period in Hindu jurisprudence, when probably it was in its nascent state, it was a disputed point whether it was necessary to administer an oath or not, but the subsequent unanimity of opinion shows that the controversy did not last long and that the teachers of all the Schools made this an invariable preliminary of examining a witness.

Although it is a moot point of ethics how far this has a deterrent effect on persons inclined by self-interest or other cause to perjure themselves, on both sides of which much can be said, the formality of taking oaths according to the several religious forms of witnesses or of making solemn declarations before proceeding to make statements in a witness-box, is made obligatory even by Sec. 5 of the Indian Oaths Act (X of 1873), and as a consequence, the practice in modern courts in this respect is much the same as that which prevailed in the Courts of the Hindu Kings, who flourished four or five centuries preceding the birth of Christ, with this difference that while in the latter case the exhortation was made quite solemnly, and in a lengthy manner, so as to assume the form of a homily, in the former it is reduced to mere formula, an anachronism which has to be observed like many others of its class because the law has made it indispensable.

The legal utility and propriety of this ceremony is however perceived when a case of perjury arises. Although it is quite possible that several shrewd perjurers should escape scot-free, yet, when, with regard to the facts of a particular case, a

deponent makes clearly contradictory statements on oath on different occasions, it is but meet that the law should, in order to preserve the solemnity of court proceedings and to prevent a repetition of the crime, visit such frivolity with adequate punishment. As might have been expected, the Hindu law-givers, who treated forensic law as a branch of the Dharmashastra (Science of Duties) and its administration as the discharge of a duty enjoined by it, looked upon this offence as a very grave one. The *Sutra* writers simply lay down in general terms that the King (or judge) should punish a witness who gives false evidence, but the authors of the *Smritis* exhort judges to mark the deportments of parties and witnesses, and describe certain indications from which a witness can be adjudged to be prevaricating, and Manu lays down the different grades of punishment for the offence as it is committed on account of greed, infatuation, fear, friendship, love, anger, ignorance and childishness, and the forms recommended are fine and sequestration of the dwelling-house of non-Brahmins and the latter only in the case of Brahmins. As an illustration of the signs, which those people considered as justifying the inference that a witness was telling a false story, may be quoted the following verses from the *Narada Smriti* :—

"One who, weighed down by the consciousness of his guilt, looks as if he was ill, is constantly shifting his position, and runs after everybody,"

"Who walks irresolutely and without reason, and draws repeated sighs, who scratches the ground with his feet, and who shakes his arms and clothes,"

"Whose countenance changes colour, whose forehead sweats, whose lips become dry, and who looks above and about him,"

"Who makes long speeches which are not to the purpose as if he were in a hurry and, without being asked, such a person may be recognized as a false witness."

One curious fact deserving of notice in this connection is that, side by side with the long exhortations to witnesses to speak the truth and the directions to Judges to punish perjurers heavily, there is to be found in almost all the books a mention of an exceptional circumstance in which false speaking was, if not expressly enjoined, at least freely permitted, and a course of penance recommended for being gone through subsequently. This circumstance was the probable death of a member of any of the four castes, and the penance was a worship of *Saraswati* by an offer of oblations to the Goddess of speech, or the

propitiation of *Agni* or *Varuna* by offering oblations to them.

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES.

As regards the topic of the examination of witnesses the treatment of which occupies the whole of Chapter X of the I. E. Act, the Sanskrit law-books are totally reticent; so that we are left completely in the dark as to the manner in which witnesses were examined in the Hindu Courts. Possibly, the art of cross-examination which is purely a creation of lawyers was completely unknown then, for the theory of Hindu jurisprudence was that every party was to appear in person and conduct his own case except in rare instances in which, too, some relationship or connection had to be shown before a stranger could be allowed to interfere and the learned Brahmins, other than the *Sabhyas* or members of the Judicial Council who attended the courts, were permitted or, more properly, enjoined to assist the court, rather than the parties, in deciding the points of law that arose in the course of a proceeding. This supposition is strengthened by the facts (1) that, as observed above, there are very scanty provisions and those too in two *Smritis* only, as regards the allied topic of the relevancy of facts; (2) that there are, on the other hand, directions in almost all the *Smritis* with respect to the manner of weighing evidence, which the present law leaves to the discretion of Judges. These rules, as expressed in more lucid terms in the *Yajñavalkya Smriti* than in the others, are :—

"When there are witnesses on both the sides, then plurality of them (decides the question); when the number is equal the qualities of the witnesses are the guide. When there are meritorious witnesses on both the sides, then he on whose side there are the most virtuous witnesses wins."

"He, whose witnesses bear out the allegations made by him, wins the case, while he whose witnesses state the contrary surely loses it." "Even if after witnesses have made their depositions, others highly virtuous or double in number say otherwise, then the former witnesses must be (taken to be) false."

DOCUMENTS.

Now as to documentary proof. It has already been observed that none of the *Sutras* except those of *Vasistha*, nor even the Code of Manu, mention writings among the means of proof. For the purpose of this enquiry, we have therefore to concentrate our attention on the remaining *Smriti* literature, including the so-called *Vishnu Sutras*.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DOCUMENTS.

Corresponding to the division of documents into public and private ones obtaining in sections 74—75 of the Indian Evidence Act, is the division thereof in Hindu laws into those executed by royal authority, and those by private individuals. One of the former class, being either a grant of land or of a stipend, was executed by a "Minister of Peace and War" on a cotton cloth or a copper plate impressed with a Royal seal, contained particularly the names of the Royal donor, his father and grand-father and that of the donee, the limits of the stipend or other subject of the grant and the double time, i.e., to say the era and also the year of the reign of the ruling sovereign, and had the attestation of the sun and the moon inscribed on it. Decrees of the judicial courts which were also included in that class were *mutatis mutandis* drawn up in the same manner by judges and their councillors. Documents of a private nature which were those of gift, purchase, mortgage, partition, agreement, bondage, debt etc., were distinguished into those written by the executing parties and those written by professional scribes. This distinction was considered of such paramount importance in this respect that those of the former category were not, while those of the latter were, required to be attested. The validity of each depended upon local usage. In each of them were to be necessarily entered particulars as to the year, month, half of a month, and day, the individual and family names of the parties and the particular terms agreed upon between them. And in the latter class of documents it was to be further added by the executing party in his own hand, "I, so-and-so, son of so-and-so, agree to what is above written," and each of the witnesses, who were to be even in number, was to add in his own hand "I, so and-so, son of so-and-so bear witness hereto at the request of both the parties," and lastly, the scribe was to write "I so-and-so have written this." It is an evident testimony, if any were needed, of the conservative nature of the Hindus that, even after the lapse of several centuries, the rise and fall of several dynasties and kingdoms and the changes of court languages and of the vernaculars of the several provinces, exactly the same method of executing documents is found to prevail to this day, at least so far as those written in Gujrati and Marathi are concerned,

ADMISSIBILITY AND INADMISSIBILITY OF DOCUMENTS.

The admissibility or inadmissibility of documents depended upon their validity. The validity of public documents was unimpeachable, if they were proved to have been executed in proper form, but, in the case of private ones, although they might appear to have been duly executed, it was open to the parties to impeach their validity on several grounds, which, as given by Yajñavalkya, are substantially the same as are stated in the Indian Contract Act Sec. 14 as vitiating a contract on account of want of free consent of any of the parties. Vishnu, Narada and Brihaspati however mention, in addition to these, other causes such as insanity, minority etc., which the Contract Act considers as affecting the very competency of a party to contract.

The one noticeable feature of the Hindu law in this connection is that, in it, women are like minors held incompetent to contract. This may perhaps lead one to suppose that we living in the twentieth century are ahead of our forefathers of that early age, for the present law does not prohibit women from entering into contracts. But this illusion will vanish when it will be recollected that the cases of defences of fraud, undue influence, misrepresentation etc. against the enforcement of contracts executed by female parties are far too numerous in modern courts to be overlooked, and that with a view to avoid such objections being raised, joint stock companies, corporations etc. require a signature of a female to be made in the presence of an Hon. Magistrate or of two respectable men, for these occurrences leave no doubt that although the British Indian law has left women free to incur obligations, people do not consider it safe to deal with them single-handed. The difference then comes to this only that while the Hindu lawgivers knowing the frail nature of women, generally, treated them on a par with children, the modern law, extending to them the same liberty of action as is enjoyed by men, has left several loopholes through which they could escape the liability incurred by themselves, with the result that society always thinks it unwise to deal with them without employing some safeguards.

One more ground on which the admissibility of a document could, according to Narada and Brihaspati, be called into question, was, want of publicity. This consisted in its "being shown or read out to meetings (of families), associations (of traders), assemblies (of co-inhabitants), or other

bodies (of persons).” If this was not done in the case of a document for a period of thirty years, it lost its validity even though the witnesses were alive. This apparently seems to be a later innovation necessitated on account of the increasing mischievous conduct of the people, because the earlier Smriti writers are totally silent on this point. This conjecture is further supported by the following advice of Narada to judges:—

“Both (sorts of evidence) must be tested with great care; . . . liars may have the appearance of veracious men, and veracious men may resemble liars. There are many different characters. Therefore it is necessary to examine everything.”

“The firmament has the appearance of a flat surface, and the fire-fly looks like fire; yet there is no surface to the sky nor fire in the fire-fly. Therefore it is proper to investigate a matter, even though it should have happened before one’s own eyes.”

ADMISSIBILITY OF DOCUMENTS.

Although in the Hindu law-books, there appears to be no direct provision, as there is in sec 70 of the Indian Evidence Act, as to what effect the admission of the execution of a document should have, yet, as is self-evident, admission obviated the necessity of formal proof.

PROOF OF DOCUMENTS.

The mode of proof of contested documents, approved of by their writers, was substantially the same as is now in vogue, namely, that the authenticity was ascertained by the evidence of the writer and the attesting witnesses, by a comparison of the writer’s handwriting with that of others known to have been written by him, a consideration of the probability of the transaction, the previous relations of the parties, the source of the alleged loan, if any, &c.

When a document was at a distant place, sufficient time was granted to enable the party relying on it to produce it; but when a document was rendered totally illegible, or unintelligible, or was destroyed by fire or torn through lapse of time, or mutilated in any other way, it was either replaced by another by consent or, in the case of a disagreement, proved by parole evidence, which it would seem was otherwise excluded when the matter was committed to writing or was required by law to be in writing, such as the transfer of an immovable property, a decree or an order of the court &c. The Hindu law in this respect, then, appears to be on a level with that of British India as laid down in sec. 91 read with secs. 63 and 65 of the Indian Evidence Act, with this drawback that the form of secondary

evidence contemplated by it is one only, namely, oral evidence. Of course, copies of documents, made by such process as type-writing, printing or even lithography, could hardly be expected to have been noticed therein, but it is even doubtful whether copies were ever made out in handwriting. This state of backwardness can easily be explained on the ground of the manufacture of paper being unknown and the other substances, cotton cloths and copper plates, used in its place, being probably dear and scarce then.

ORAL AND DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE.

The next point for consideration is that contemplated by sec. 92 of the Indian Evidence Act, which is, whether, when once a fact is proved by a document, oral evidence to vary, add to or subtract from its terms, can be admitted or not. On this point also, it may be presumed, the Hindu law had, at the time of the composition of the Yajñavalkya Smriti (A. D. 400), reached the same stage, which the British Indian law represents, for Vijnaneshwara, while commenting on Yajñ 11 22, which describes in general terms the modes of proof considered admissible, understands the author to lay down *inter alia* that a fact, directed to be proved by one kind of evidence, could not be allowed to be falsified or modified by another kind of it. Narada also, while laying down that a “writing can only be annulled by another writing,” clearly hints that an obligation stated in writing cannot be allowed to be superseded by an oral agreement to the contrary. Lastly, Brihaspati expressly stating that “a document is certainly not over-ruled by witnesses or by an order” leaves no doubt as to the state of the law in his time.

ORDEALS.

Besides witnesses and writings which constituted human proof, the Hindu law-givers sanctioned proof by ordeals, which was deemed divine proof in certain cases. Out of the four sets of Sutras, only the one ascribed to Apastamba refers to this kind of test, but it contains no further details. Out of the Smriti writers, Manu, says that “in cases in which there are no witnesses, the parties should be asked to make statements on oath,” and other Smriti writers also agree that the divine test is to be resorted to only when no kind of human proof is available, while Katyayana, as quoted by Vijnaneshwara, goes so far as to say that, even when human proof of a part only of a transaction is available, that should be accepted in preference to divine test covering the whole.

And, again, although it was admitted that the latter test was acceptable in the cases of "an offence being committed in a solitary forest, at night, or in the interior of a house, and in the cases of a heinous offence and the denial of a deposit," and that it was equally applicable in the case of those women whose morality was impeached, in cases of theft and robbery, and in all cases of denial of an obligation, yet it was understood that these provisions in the Narada Smriti were subject to the above general rule accepted by all the law-givers.

The commonest ordeal resorted to was that of swearing by a person or thing held dear or sacred by the deponent, such as nearest relations, or God or a cow. If any calamity befell the relation or the deponent within a certain period, the latter was considered guilty; otherwise, innocent. The other ordeals mentioned by Manu are those of fire and water. Other writers do not include simple oaths which were administered in light cases only among ordeals proper, which according to them are of five sorts, namely, those of the balance, fire, water, poison and sacred libation. Besides these, Narada describes two others, namely, those of rice and a piece of gold.

FINALE.

The theory of Hindu jurisprudence appears to be to make the administration of justice as simple and easy as possible, for we have seen that, in the first instance, any aggrieved party could effectually get redress from the assembly of his kinsmen, company of traders, or assembly of co-inhabitants, who meted out justice at little cost and inconvenience. If however for any cause whatever, he were to go to the King's court, there, too, his only duty was to lay the facts orally before the judges, who and whose subordinates then did, without charging any court fee, all that was required to be done till the trial stage was reached; again all parties, except in rare instances, being required to attend in person, there were no lawyers' charges to be incurred by either party. Secondly, the judicial authorities who administered both the civil and the criminal laws were freed from all other cares and considerations; in other words, the separation of the judicial and the executive functions was already an established fact. Thirdly, those authorities could be moved only by a party who felt himself wronged, but, while, on the one hand, crown prosecutions were thus prohibited, on the other, no aggrieved person, be his grievance mental or physical,

appealed in vain to the Court for help, for in Hindu jurisprudence the maxim that every wrong has its remedy was more literally true than it was in Roman law, or is in English law. Fourthly, the trial proper was, consistently with the life of the people, of as simple a character as could be. Given a few broad principles for the determination of the burden of proof, of the admissibility and the inadmissibility of oral and documentary evidence, of the course to be taken in case of absence of primary evidence, and lastly, of the weight to be attached to the statements made by particular kinds of witnesses, or contained in particular classes of documents, the judges were, in matters of details regarding the conduct of the trial, left free to use their discretion. No lengthy cross-examination to exhaust their patience! No wordy warfare to rack their brains! All was smooth sailing. They were their own masters in coming to a decision one way or the other from the plaint, the answer and the evidence put forth; while an improper exercise of that discretion was guarded against by the provisions as to holding them liable both civilly and criminally, in case such a conduct was proved. Lastly, forensic law being treated as a portion of the Science of Duties, an air of religiousness, ensuring a strict adherence to truth, pervaded the whole proceeding. The judges while engaged in their work were actuated by a sense of religious duty, to endeavour to see, not so much that the technicalities of law, of which there were a few, were satisfied, as that justice is anyhow done between the parties; parties and witnesses were exhorted to state the truth and nothing but the truth, on pain of being visited, not only with punishment by the temporal authority, but also with social degradation and spiritual perdition; and documents showing success or failure were drawn up in the most solemn manner with the attestation of the sun and the moon inscribed on them. Verily, a fascinating and desirable system, but alas! unsuited to the requirements of the country, now no longer the habitation of a single religious community, no longer separated from the rest of the world by impassable barriers, no longer too rich to afford to remain self-sufficient, and of the age in which material comforts involving numerous kinds of activities are more looked after than spiritual merit, and in which the quantum of means for the attainment of the former more than that of the latter is the norm by which the respectability of a man is determined,

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

BY

MR. T. R. VENKATRAMA SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

THE book seems primarily designed to give the general reader in Great Britain an idea of how India is being governed, what changes have come over the country and her people, and consequently what changes are necessary in the machinery and methods of Government to meet the altered conditions and improve the administration of the country. To the Indian reader conversant with the recent political history of India, there is not much perhaps that he does not already know, but the book should nevertheless be of great interest to him. It deals with a subject in which he is vitally interested. In a manner it contains the narrative of a history in the making of which he has taken and is taking a hand. He must very naturally be interested in knowing what a student of Indian history thinks of his country and himself. The author is a leading personality in one group of the Labour Party in Britain—a party which has taken a considerable interest in the political advancement of India—and it may be taken that his views represent the views of the Labour Party or may influence their views.

It is impossible to help the general reader to form an adequate opinion of the book without his reading the book for himself. However, at the end, is given a short summary of the author's proposals for the improvement of the Indian administration—which is after all the only thing in which the Indian reader is likely to be interested.

The actual proposals, which the author makes for the improvement of the administrative machinery of India, are not on the whole more satisfactory than what are now finally embodied in the Statute-Book for the better Government of India. They do not contemplate the introduction of responsibility either in the Central Government or even in the Provincial Government. The author is distinctly and decidedly against diarchy, and consequently his scheme for the provinces is in substance no better than the five Governors' proposals. His suggestions for the Central as well as Provincial Governments are that the Executive Councils should, in the coming years, consist more and more of people with legislative experience, and on the success of that "experiment" should

depend the establishment of full responsible Government in the future.

On the other hand, the author suggests that the Civil Service appointments should be confined to what they now are and new recruits to the Civil Service should be distinctly told that they have no right to any place in the Executive Council—so that ultimately the true relation between the executive council and the civil service, that subsists in England and should subsist in all democratic countries, may be established in India also. This suggestion finds no place in the Statute. The active opposition of the Civil Service to the introduction of any vital alteration has been bought off by concessions in all directions. The Civil Service will not be relegated to its proper place in a scheme of responsible Government without a further struggle between the democratic forces and the favoured Civil Service.

The author's suggestions about the association of the Native States with the affairs of British India are not such as would command ready acceptance. He recognises that the establishment of organic relations between them is impossible and undesirable. He, nevertheless, recommends that the chiefs should be allowed to send representatives to the Indian Legislature. The attainment of uniformity in the general lines of administration adopted by British India and by the Native States is fraught with considerable difficulty.

In discussing expenditure, the author suggests that the pay of the services should be fixed on an Indian scale with provision for allowances to those who come out from Britain. This is a good suggestion but has little chance of acceptance in the future. Some years ago it may have been carried out, but the strength of prescription in favour of the existing high pay and the economic difficulties, which the war has created, make it impossible to hope that any retrenchment could be effected in this direction, and with the expiration of each year the difficulty must become greater still.

The chapter on India and the Empire indicates a true appreciation of Indian feeling, and makes the suggestion that the entrustment to India of the East African people under the care of the League of Nations would be a conspicuous badge of the emancipation of India, and that it would make a just and hopeful experiment, securing to India ultimate equality among the federated

nations of the British Empire. This is a just and wise suggestion, but recent happenings in Africa and the way in which the Imperial Government is dealing with the matter give no indication that the suggestion is likely to be favourably considered.

The chapter on the Press Act correctly diagnoses the psychology of the Government of India. The last pages of the chapter are worth reproducing *in extenso*, but we must resist the temptation and leave the reader to read for himself. Recent events have proved the statement of the author that, so long as the Government remains essentially a bureaucracy, it will not consent to abolish the Press Act. If the Government were gifted with sympathy and imagination, it will start the new reforms with the abolition of the Press Act and the Rowlatt Act. But it is too much to expect it of a Government the personnel of which is the same as before the Reforms Act, and which unwillingly accepts the reforms only as an inevitable *fait accompli*.

The following summary will show, at one glance, the ideas of the author in regard to the changes required in the Indian administrative machinery.

HOME ADMINISTRATION.

The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates. The under-Secretary of State should as far as possible be an Indian. If a person with the required qualification is available, even the Secretary of State may be an Indian. The Council of the Secretary of State should be abolished. Departmental Committees should be appointed at the beginning of each session by Parliament "as part of a Scheme to associate Parliament more intimately with Indian affairs," the end to be kept in view, however, being that "Parliamentary control should slowly fade away as in the case of the Dominions."

VICEROY.

The combination in the Viceroy of the triple function of the representative of the Crown, the representative of the Home Government and the responsible head of the administration, should cease, and the Viceroy should retain only the character of the representative of the Crown endowed with the dignity of that exalted office. The President of the Council should be a separate functionary. And the Viceroy should be in touch with the India office on the one hand and the Indian administration on the other.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

The Civil Service appointments should be limited to what they now are. The claim of the

new recruits to regard these offices as belonging to the Civil Service should be terminated, and the constitutional practice should be established of the Crown appointing those who have legislative experience. Some time must elapse and something must happen before the change is fully accomplished; slowly the legislatures will be becoming more and more the sources from which the Council Members will be drawn. This democratic conception of the relation between the Executive and the Civil Service on the one hand, and the Legislative Council on the other ought at once to begin to show itself in the machinery of Indian Government.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

"The Imperial Legislative Council should be wholly composed of the representatives of Provincial Legislative Councils, with perhaps a few nominated members limited in number and named before the others are elected." It "should act as a second chamber to the provincial ones and the Viceroy should have power to ask it to consider and decide upon doubtful legislation passed in the provinces."

If direct election is to be set up, the author favours communal representation as likely to result "not in division but in unity of interest and spirit." Proportional representation would be preferable if it could be worked, but if it could not be, communal representation is the only alternative possible. There ought to be no representation of Chambers of Commerce at least so long as Indians have not free admission to them.

PROVINCES.

All Provinces should be turned into Governors' Provinces; and the Crown should appoint the Governors alternately at least from "Home." The Councils should be so composed that there shall sit on them men representing the mind of the legislatures, and not merely the mind of the Civil Service.

LEGISLATURE.

Diarchy is "clumsy and in every sense inexpedient." The executive "when appointed must be a unity." The Governors should appoint the executive, subject to this that it should include some of the legislative leaders, and watch the development of events.

Though the author prefers the English to the American model in regard to the relations between the legislature and the executive, it can only be the ultimate goal. As for powers, Local Government, Municipal affairs, education and a limited amount of financial independence may be transferred according to the author.

THE EXCHANGE MUDDLE

BY

MR. KANNOOMAL, M.A., *Judge, Dholpur State.*

THE abrupt fluctuations of exchange have taken the financial world by surprise. All the measures adopted to restore the normal state of the exchange seem to fail. The Currency Committee has suggested no remedy that suits the financial distemper. The Government of India have devised measures enough to cure it, but its efforts have proved abortive. The recommendations of the Currency Report are not what they were expected to be, or what they ought to be.

I would attempt to comment on some of its leading conclusions in this article.

The Committee is in favour of extending the legal tender of nickel eight anna coin to Rs. 5 or 10. No Indian is satisfied with a nickel coin. Two annas, four annas or one anna nickel coin might pass but the eight annas nickel coin is a nuisance. The Government have adopted all the smaller coins made of nickel and thus made all the children of the silver rupee illegitimate. If the rupee is to be retained as it is, there is no reason why the eight anna coin should not be left intact. If silver could be procured to mint the rupee, it could as well be procured to mint the half-rupee. The half rupee is not very much in vogue compared with the four annas, two annas and one anna coins but it holds a higher position than that held by the other smaller coins. If the Committee had suggested that the eight anna coin ought not to be of a baser metal, as it is the half-rupee just in the same sense as the half-sovereign which is left intact, it would have earned the approval of all right-thinking men in the financial world of India. The argument of the Committee that the high exchange has arrested the rise of prices in India is fallacious. Things were never so dear when the exchange was one shilling and four pence a rupee. The factors that really matter in regard to the rise and fall of prices are other than the exchange.

If it is once maintained that the high-exchange tends to the fall in prices, then it would be quite legitimate to infer that, when the things were cheap some four or five years ago, the exchange rate was high, which is altogether wrong. The exchange at that time was very low and weak. The view of the Currency Committee is therefore untenable and seems to have been put forward, simply to find a plea for maintaining the high exchange.

The view that the high exchange does not interfere with the development of Indian industries

is equally fallacious. The exporters of India find their goods much less paid in Indian coins than before. The value of their goods is daily diminishing in view of the high exchange. When a pound was worth Rs. 15, an exporter got Rs. 150 for his goods worth ten pounds. For the same goods he gets now only Rs. 75 or 80. This is too perceptible and tangible a loss to be overlooked. The trade of India has suffered immensely, ever since the exchange has had an upward leap. The story of its suffering is not yet ended, it is developing into a financial tragedy. What does the development of an industry mean, if it does not mean its out-turns to be large enough to be exported to other countries. But exports suffer from the blighting effects of a high exchange, which is a sufficient detriment to the development of the industry.

Would one like the prospect of another Currency Committee being installed in the near future and face all the expense, trouble and delay which it means; but the Committee makes a recommendation to this effect when it says that, contrary to expectation, if a great and rapid fall in world prices were to take place and if the costs of production in India fail to adjust themselves with equal rapidity to the lower level of prices, then it might be necessary to consider the problem afresh.

Is it not a confession of the experts of the Committee that what they have suggested is only a half-thought-out programme of action? Why the Committee should believe in make shifts and half-measures, one can not understand. What is sport to the children is death to the frogs. It is the Indian money which is spent so extravagantly in getting up such committees. There ought to be no humbugging the Indian-rate-payer, although he has no voice in the matter. There is no use wasting the Indian money in holding such committees if they think out only half-measures and leave the problem unsolved to a great extent.

India pays about 37½ crores of rupees every year for Home charges. The Committee's view is that a saving of 12½ crores would be effected in these charges when the pound is reduced to ten rupees. Is it a real saving or only an illusion? Suppose it is a real saving, the question is whence this saving comes from. It comes out of the pockets of the poor producers whose condition is getting worse and worse every day. The producers, the agriculturists, are

suffering a tremendous amount of loss by the export of their goods at such a high exchange. The saving of 12½ crores is insignificant before the immensity of their loss. If by inflicting such dreadful losses upon the cultivating classes of India and thus deepening their penury, you light upon an expedient to save 12½ crores out of the lamentable Home charges, is it not tantamount to drawing this saving out of the pockets of the producers?

The amount of loss which the exporters undergo far exceeds the saving on account of the Home charges. The saving is only nominal and affords no argument for the high exchange being maintained.

The committee has fixed the rate of ten rupees to one sovereign. A rupee weighs 180 grains, out of which 165 grains are silver and the rest, alloy. A sovereign weighs 123 27447 grains, out of which 113 0016 grains are gold and the rest, alloy. The relation between gold and silver has thus been fixed at one to fifteen. The price of one tola of gold which means 180 grains is, thus about Rs. 16. In ancient times the relation between gold and silver was fixed in Babylonia but brought into use in the time of the Persian Empire. This relation was 1 13, not 1 15 as has now been fixed.

What is worth considering is whether the relation now fixed is natural or artificial *i.e.* whether one tola of gold is actually sold for Rs. 16. None can say that gold is so cheap. Its price is 23 or 24 rupees a tola—a difference of 7 or 8 rupees a tola. In order that the rate of exchange fixed by the Government should prevail, it is necessary that gold is made cheaper. The Currency Committee suggested a course, which if adopted, would bring gold down to the required price; and it is to remove all restrictions existing on the import of gold. The Government, for reasons best known to it, has not adopted this course, and is having recourse to makeshifts to achieve the aim in view. What it is doing is selling gold in large quantities twice a month at the highest rate tendered by purchasers. This plan has not proved so successful yet. In spite of enormous sales of gold by Government in the last six months, the price of gold is still Rs. 23 or 24 per tola, whereas it ought to be Rs. 16 a tola. The most obvious reason why the Government plan has failed is that speculators in gold never want to bring down its price, as it would involve enormous loss to them on the large quantities of gold they have stored up or bargained at high prices. Such is the effect of their speculative

tendency that the Government has failed to make gold cheaper. It would take a pretty long time to reduce the price of gold by the method being pursued. The only way to do the thing is to remove all restrictions on the import of gold, as suggested by the Committee. Instead of carrying out this recommendation, the Government has passed the Gold Import Act by which the existing restrictions have received a fresh lease of life. The result is that the rate of exchange fixed by the Government has not yet prevailed in the market. Instead of a rupee being equal to two shillings, it is 2s. 3d. or 4d. It had leaped up to 2s. 9 or 10d. when the report was issued and the Government action taken on it. The loss, incurred by the exporters owing to the fluctuations of the exchange, is just the same as before. No remedy has yet given any cure. The mountain was in labour and a mouse is the result. All the high hopes of the commercial people have vanished into the fane.

The Committee suggested that, if the rate of exchange became weak, the Government of India, in order to raise it, might sell Reverse Councils without the permission of the Secretary of State for India.

The exchange is still high—in fact it has never come down to the fixed standard—but the Government has embarked upon the suicidal policy of selling these bills in enormous amounts. How are these bills paid in England? The Secretary of State is not indebted to the Government of India for any payments. He holds, however, certain Reserves in trust for the Indian Government. These Reserves contain paper securities of Indian and other Governments at 2, 3, or 3½ per cent, purchased at Rs. 15 a pound in the old days of financial stability. These securities are now taken out of their hiding place, sold at Rs. 7 or 7½ a pound and the proceeds used to pay up the Reverse Bills. Just as the value of the Promissory Note has come down from 99 to about 54 or 55 now, the value of the aforesaid securities has also considerably dwindled down in the same way. What was worth Rs. 1,000 before, has now become worth Rs. 300 or 400 only, partly for the reduction in value and partly for the towering rates of exchange. The Gold Standard Reserve of India, which is being held in London, is thus dwindling down every day. No less than ten crores of rupees have by now disappeared from it in this way. The total amount contained in this Reserve in Nov. last was £37,438,317 or Rs. 5,61,574,755 at Rs. 15 a pound. If the sale of the Reverse Councils is continued at the

present rate, the whole Reserve will disappear in no time. Indians are protesting strongly against the financial vandalism involved in this action, but it is a cry in the wilderness. The Reverse Councils are sold cheaper than the regular exchange drafts, and they are mostly monopolised by the European merchants who have to remit large amounts to England for the goods purchased there. The benefit derived from these bills goes, mostly to the European merchants. The Indians whose hoarded money is thus being frittered away have to bewail their lot.

As regards the Gold Standard Reserve itself, the Committee recommend that it should, when practicable, contain a considerable portion of gold and that half of it should be held in India. Why should not the whole Reserve be held in India? It is India's money and India is best entitled to keep it. Why should the paper securities of other countries, the value of which rises and falls with the caprices of exchange, be kept in this Reserve? Why should not there be a predominating amount of solid gold in it? If the Reserve contained gold, as its name implies, its value would have enhanced with the dearness of gold—not diminished as it has—with the ever rising tides of exchange. The Reserve should be held in India and its money used in developing the local industries and the banking business of the country. Money thus invested would bring high rates of interest without any risk. Indians who are entitled to the benefits of the Reserve are left disappointed, while business men in England enjoy them with immunity.

There is another bigger Reserve held in trust for India by the Secretary of State in London. It is called the Paper Currency Reserve with a value of Rs. 1,796,700,000 in November last. The percentage of gold and silver in it was then 44.6. The committee now recommend that this percentage should be only 40 i.e. 4.6 less than what it actually was in November last. The balance of the Reserve is held in paper securities of various Governments, which are subject to the same disadvantages and evils pointed out in connection with the securities of the Gold Standard Reserve. If the percentage of bullion is to be fixed, it should not be less than 50, and the other moiety should be invested in the same way, as suggested in regard to the funds of the Gold Standard Reserve.

The Committee recommends that all the gold and silver in this Reserve should be held in India in view of the agitation of the Indians in this matter. Should only 40 per cent.

of the Reserve be held in India? Why should not the whole Reserve be kept in this country and utilized for the benefit of the Indian? If the Reserve is kept in England, are the Indians to blame, if they say that the Government issue merely paper notes and take away all the money fetched by them to England? It is a reflection on the credit of the Government: all right thinking people know that the credit of the Government is very sound and beyond all question, but the foolish and the illiterate cannot be prevented from indulging in their own wrong conjectures. Why should the Government run the risk of this reflection—however foolish it be? It should show to the Indians that it has no selfish motives in keeping this Reserve in London, and the only way to do it is to shift the locality of the Reserve from London to Calcutta or Delhi, as it suits it.

The total amount of both the Gold Standard Reserve and the Paper Currency Reserve is Rs. 2,35,82,74,755 (it was so in November last.) This gigantic treasure is kept in London and it is the British merchants and financiers who profit by it. The first step towards assuring the people of this country of the purity of the motives of the Government is to bring down all this money to India, and keep it there for their benefit. The portions of these Reserves not actually kept in gold and silver should be utilized in the following ways, for augmenting their value:— purchasing shares of respectable companies; investing in the mortgages of valuable landed property; advancing money on loans to the Ruling Princes, Chiefs or wealthy men on adequate securities, investing in sound Government securities of the face value of rupees—not pounds or any other foreign coin, as the exchange affects such securities most injuriously, investing it in the development of the resources of the country bringing in high profits, and so on and so forth. Why should not the Government establish a Department, whose sole business it should be to look after the investment of this money? It would be its look-out to invest the money in the best possible way, so that it may increase by leaps and bounds. Why should not a portion of this Reserve be utilized in clearing the debts of England against India, on account of the interest of which so much money is sent every year under Home charges? These will appreciably be reduced, if this debt is cleared off.

It is a formula of the science of economics that a country which exports more and imports less is a wealthy and prosperous country, but it

also lays down that, if the exports happen to be raw materials only, the case is otherwise. India comes under the latter case. Its exports predominate over its imports, but they consist mostly of raw materials and the produce of the land such as grains, seeds, cotton, jute, hides, bones &c. India is not therefore a prosperous country from the point view of economics. But it is a country in whose favour, there is invariably the balance of trade.

Just look at the statistics of 1918-19 in support of the above contention.

Exports	..	£ 16,92,42,000
Imports	..	£ 11,26,89,000
Net Exports	..	£ 5,65,53,000
Imports of gold silver and bullion	..	£ 1,56,51,000

'Balance .. £ 4,09,02,000 .

This sum amounts to Rs. 4,09,020,000 at Rs. 10 per pound, to Rs. 6,13,530,000 at Rs. 15 per pound and to 45 crores at average exchange rate. This amount represents the balance of trade in favour of India. It means that other countries are indebted to India to this amount and they must pay their debts. If the exchange rate is high,

these countries profit by it because they have to pay less rupees for this sum in pounds. If the exchange is low and weak, India profits because it would receive more rupees for this sum than in the former case.

In forcing a high rate of exchange, it is intended, as people say, to pay to India as little as possible for its balance of trade. This is what is said in some quarters. The balance of trade in favour of India is being whittled down by pitching the rate of exchange, as high as it could be. In the last four years, since the exchange has taken upward leaps, India has suffered enormously and the sad tale of its suffering is not yet ended. During the War, India's exports were enormous and the balance of trade in its favour rose very high. Money had to be found to pay up this balance but it was not sufficient to clear off the debt. The plan discovered to solve this difficulty was it is said, to raise the exchange rate and thus to bring down the amount as low as possible. This is how India is to be cheated and how a creditor is to be transformed into a debtor. It would be well, if the Government were to remove all causes lending themselves to such interpretations of their financial policy.

HELLENISM IN ANCIENT INDIA*

BY

MR. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

Dr. Gauranga Nath Banerjee, the author of a monograph with the above title, holds that India has not willingly sought the treasures of foreign wisdom and has tried, throughout the long course of ages, to work out her own salvation. But the European mind nurtured in Mosaic traditions and on Greek and Roman classics could not naturally transcend the limitations of its training and environment; and the western Orientalist could not help measuring the ancient culture of India in terms of that of Greece, and finding numberless affinities, not only in language, but also in thought and culture between Ancient India and the Greek world. The general conclusion that was regarded as axiomatic and irresistible was that India had borrowed a great deal from Greece; and the only question for Indologists to answer seemed to be to determine how far and in what branches of art and culture and science the borrowings had been.

The most extreme view was that almost everything was borrowed. On the other hand, it has also become the fashion to minimise the Hellenistic influence; and Dr. Comaraswamy and Mr. Havell are vindicating the independence of Indian artistic tradition, and hold that the Gandhara sculptures influenced India only to a very limited extent and they were influenced more by Indo-Scythic than by Bactrian or Greek genius.

In the book before us, Dr. Banerjee has collected the opinions of all leading Indologists with reference to the special branches of architecture, sculpture, painting, coinage, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, the art of writing drama, religion and philosophy. He estimates Hellenistic influence in each one of these various branches of art and knowledge and comes to the following general result:—"Greece has played a part, but by no means a predominant part, in the civilisation of Ancient India. The evolution of Philosophy, Religion and Mythology has gone along parallel, but independent paths. India owes to

* *Hellenism in Ancient India*. By Dr. Gauranga Nath Banerjee, Butterworth & Co. Calcutta, 1919.

Greece an improvement in coinage and astronomy, but it had begun both; and in Lyric and Epic poetry, in Grammar, the art of writing, the Drama and Mathematics, it had no need to wait for the intervention or the initiative of Hellenism. Notably perhaps in the plastic arts and especially in the details of some of the architectural forms, the classical culture had acted as ferment to revive the native qualities of the Indian artists, without robbing them of their originality and subtlety."

The book shows patient industry and vast study, must prove very useful to the historical student and lists of authorities consulted and useful, appended to each chapter, considerably increase its value, though one might wish that original Sanskrit works and authors had been more largely consulted and quoted. Dr. Banerjee holds, as opposed to the late Dr. Vincent Smith, the view that the Indian motifs and reliefs do not owe anything to Alexandrian art, and that all that is best in Indian reliefs, their wonderfully skilful and accurate modelling of animals and plants, are assuredly Indian. He refutes the hastily drawn conclusion of scholars that the Ajanta school of pictorial art was indirectly inspired by Greece, and declares that Indian artisans assimilated perhaps foreign technique, but were inspired by their own artistic ideals and that an indigenous school of painting, was developed in the Buddhist monasteries long before the time of Ajanta. Indians had their own coinage before the advent of the Greeks; and a knowledge of the simple mechanical processes necessary for the production of rude coins originated independently in India. The author does not admit that the earlier inexact Indian Astronomy was of Babylonian origin. Hindu borrowing of their medicinal knowledge from the Greeks seems to stand on an exceedingly slender basis; and in Charaka and Susruta we find osteological knowledge such as is not found in the earlier Greek medical schools. Evidence also tells strongly against the attempt to deduce the Indian from the Greek drama, though it is an unsolved question yet, as to whether the independent Indian drama might have received an influence from the Greek theatre. It cannot be asserted that either the Hindus or the Greeks borrowed consciously from each other in their religious ideas, though the Hindu sectarian cults are often strangely like those of Greece in details. There is also not much of truth in the statements that the myths and fables of the Greeks were

deliberately borrowed from the Hindus or the Persians; but there must have been a general stock of mythical traditions among the Indo-European peoples before their final dispersion.

The author seems to take it too much for granted that every Indian author or work referring to Yavanas (Saka is a parallel term) must be placed after the third century B. C. Thus Garga, the astronomer, and Patanjali, the grammarian, are of the second century B. C. and the Yavanas mentioned in the Mahabharata as well as by these must be "the real Greeks bearing the name of Yavanas." In fact, the author considers that it would be a desperate resort to imagination to hold that the Yavanas and the Sakas mean other than the Scythians and Greeks. He however admits that the terms are used in a general way in Sanskrit books to devote the *Mlechcha* tribes on the western borders. Nobody denies that at a later time, not only Greeks, but other western nations were loosely termed Yavanas by Indians. But what was the original meaning of Yavanas? The word in Sanskrit may be taken to mean a mixed tribe—i.e. of Aryans and non-Aryans. The Matsya Purana calls them the descendants of Turvasas. One Yavana tribe is located in the south-east; it appears to have penetrated as far as Siam and Java (Yava-dvipa). Another Yavana tribe is located about the Indus delta along with Sauviras, Sindhus, Barbaras, Makaras etc. Parasara, the astronomer, locates the Yavanas in the south-west of the land. The problem of the elucidation of the meanings successively given to Yavanas has not been tackled with; and this is necessary in order that we may have a clear indication of the line between Greek influence and other foreign influences on India. Even some of the European scholars, like Weber, admit that the term was applied to the Indo-Scythic successors of the Greeks in N. W. India and further to the Parthians, Persians and Arabs; and the word was in later times commonly used to denote the Mussalmans and sometimes was synonymous with *Mlechchas*. The name of Yavana, applied to Tushaspa who must have been an Iranian (Junagadh Inscription of Rudradaman) cannot mean Greek, but must be Iranian. All these must show that the term was applied in a general way to other races besides the Greeks and Yavana influence must mean the influence of other peoples besides the Greek (Hellenic or Hellenistic).

Congress Report on the Punjab Disorders. 321

[The Report of the Commissioners appointed in November last by the Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress to enquire into the Punjab Disorders, together with the evidence taken by them, has been published in two volumes. The Report is submitted to Pundit Motilal Nehru, an *ex officio* President of the All-India Congress Committee, and the members signing it are Messrs. M. K. Gandhi, C. R. Dass, Abbas Tyabji and M. R. Jayakar. We congratulate the Congress Committee on issuing their Report even before the Hunter Committee. In the forwarding letter, the Commissioners observe that they have examined over 1,700 witnesses and have selected for publication about 650 statements. Attention is next drawn to the fact that every admitted statement was verified by one Commissioner and no statement was admitted without sufficient cross examination. Enquiry was confined to the martial law area and to the districts in which it was proclaimed. The Commissioners freely availed themselves of the evidence before the Hunter Committee in order to strengthen or correct their conclusions. Below we print the conclusions arrived at by the Commissioners. We await the Hunter Report with interest and we reserve our comments: [*Ed. I. R.*]

WE have been obliged in places to use strong language, but we have used every adjective with due deliberation. If anything, we have understated the case against the Punjab Government. We recognise we have no right to expect an impossible standard of correctness from the Government. In times of excitement and difficulty, any officer is prone to make mistakes in spite of best intentions. We recognise, too, that when the country is on the eve of important changes being introduced in the administration, and the Sovereign has made an appeal to officials and the people for co-operation, we should say nothing that may be calculated to retard progress.

But we feel that it is not possible to ignore the acts of atrocious injustice on a wholesale scale by responsible officers, as it would not be possible, no matter how bright the future might be, to ignore criminal acts of the people. In our opinion, it is more necessary now than ever before, that official wrongs should be purged as well as the peoples'. The task of working the reforms and making India realise her goal in the quickest time possible would be well nigh impossible if both the people and the officials did not approach it with clean hands and clean minds. If, therefore, we recommend that the officials who have erred should be brought to justice, we do so, not in a vindictive spirit, but in order that the administration of the country may become purified of corruption and injustice. Whilst, therefore, we believe that the mob excesses in Amritsar and elsewhere were wrong and deserving of condemnation, we are equally sure the popular misdeeds have been more than punished by the action of the authorities.

We believe, had Mr. Gandhi not been arrested whilst he was on his way to Delhi and the Punjab

and had Kitchlew and Satyapal not been arrested and deported, innocent English lives would have been saved and valuable property, including Christian churches, not destroyed. These two acts of the Punjab Government were uncalled for and served like matches applied to material rendered inflammable by previous processes.

In examining in detail the events in different districts of the Punjab, we have refrained from saying anything regarding the Government of India. It is impossible, however, to ignore or slur over the inaction, if not active participations of the Central Government in official action. The Viceroy never took the trouble to examine the peoples' case. He ignored the telegrams and letters from individuals and public bodies. He endorsed the action of the Punjab Government without enquiry, clothed the officials with indemnity in indecent haste. He never went to the Punjab to make a personal enquiry, even after the occurrences. He ought to have known, at least in May, everything that various official witnesses have admitted, and yet he failed to inform the public or the Imperial Government of the full nature of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre or the subsequent acts done under martial law. He became a party to preventing even a noble and well known English Christian of unimpeachable veracity, in the person of Mr. Andrews, from proceeding to the Punjab whilst he was on his way, not to inflame passions, but simply to find out the truth. He allowed Mr. Thompson, Chief Secretary, Punjab Government, to indulge in distortion of facts and to insult Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya whose statements made in the Council have almost all now been proved to be true, out of the mouths of official witnesses themselves. He expressed such a callous indifference to popular feelings and betrayed such

criminal want of imagination that he would not postpone death sentences pronounced by the martial law tribunal, except after he was forced to do so by the Secretary of State for India. He seems to have closed his heart against further light by shutting out questions by a responsible member of the Council like Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya. He would not visit the Punjab for local inquiry. We refrain from criticising his attitude over the Rowlatt agitation. But a sense of public safety forbids us to ignore His Excellency's inability to appreciate and deal with the situation in April. Whilst, therefore, we do not think His Excellency has wilfully neglected the interests of those who were entrusted to his charge by His Majesty, we regret to say that H. E. Lord Chelmsford has proved himself incapable of holding the high office to which he was called, and we are of opinion that His Excellency should be recalled.

We summarise below our other conclusions :—

The people of the Punjab were incensed against Sir M. O'Dwyer's administration by reason of his studied contempt and distrust of the educated classes, and by the reason of the cruel and compulsory methods adopted during the war for obtaining recruits and monetary contributions and by his suppression of public opinion, by gagging the local press and shutting out Nationalist newspapers from outside the Punjab.

The Rowlatt agitation disturbed the public mind and shocked confidence in the goodwill of the Government. This was shared by the Punjab in a fuller measure, perhaps, than elsewhere, because of the use made by Sir Michael O'Dwyer of the Defence of India Act for purposes of stifling public movements.

The Satyagraha movement and hartal, which was designed as a precursor of it, whilst they vitalised the whole country into activity, saved it from more awful and more widespread calamities by restraining violent tendencies and passions of the people.

The Rowlatt agitation was not conceived in an anti-British spirit and the Satyagraha movement was conceived and conducted in a spirit entirely free from ill-will and violence. There was no conspiracy to overthrow the Government in the Punjab.

The arrest and internment of Mr. Gandhi and the arrests and deportations of Kitchlew and Satyapal were unjustifiable and were the only direct cause of the hysterical popular excitement.

Mob violence, which began at Amritsar, was directly due to the firing at the Railway over-bridge and the sight of dead and wounded, at a time when the excitement had reached white heat.

Whatever the cause of provocation, the mob excesses are deeply to be regretted and condemned.

So far as the facts are publicly known, no reasonable cause has been shown to justify the introduction of martial law.

In each case martial law was proclaimed after order had been completely restored.

Even if it be held that the introduction of martial law was a State necessity, it was unduly prolonged.

Most of the measures taken under martial law in all the five districts were unnecessary, cruel, oppressive and in utter disregard of the feelings of the people affected by them.

In Lahore, Akalgrah, Ramnagar, Gujerat, Jallalpur, Jattan, Lyallpur and Sheikhpura, there were no mob excesses worthy of the name.

The Jallianwalla Bagh massacre was a calculated piece of inhumanity towards utterly innocent and unarmed men, including children, and unparalleled for its ferocity in the history of modern British administration.

Martial law tribunals and summary courts were made the means of harassing innocent people and resulted in an abortion of justice on a wide scale, and under the name of justice caused moral and material suffering to hundreds of men and women.

The crawling order and other fancy punishments were unworthy of a civilized administration, and were symptomatic of the moral degradation of their inventors.

The imposition of indemnity and of punitive police at various places, notwithstanding the exemplary and vindictive punishments meted out through nearly two long months to innocent men and the exaction of fines and illegal impositions, were uncalled for, unjust and added injury.

The corruption and bribery that took place during martial law form a separate chapter of grievance, which could have been easily avoided under a sympathetic administration.

The measures necessary for redressing the wrong done to the people for the purification of the administration and for preventing repetition in future of official lawlessness are—(a) The repeal of the Rowlatt Act, (b) Relieving Sir Michael O'Dwyer of any responsible office under

the Crown (c) Relieving General Dyer, Colonel Johnson, Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Sri Ram Sud and Malik Sahib Khan, of any position of responsibility under the Crown (d) Local inquiry into the corrupt practices of minor officials, whose names have been mentioned in the statements published by us and their dismissal, on proof of their guilt. (e) Recall of the Viceroy, (f) Refund of fines collected from the people who were convicted by special tribunals and summary courts, remission of all indemnity imposed on the cities affected and refund thereof, where it has already been collected, and the removal of punitive police.

It is our deliberate opinion that Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer, Colonel Johnson, Colonel

O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Sri Ram Sud and Malik Sahib Khan have been guilty of such illegalities that they deserve to be impeached, but we purposely refrain from advising any such course, because we believe India can only gain by waiving this right. Future purity will be sufficiently guaranteed by the dismissal of the officials concerned.

We believe Colonel Macrae and Captain Doveton have failed equally with Colonel O'Brien and others to carry out their trust, but we have purposely refrained from advising any public action against them, as, unlike others mentioned by us, these two officers were inexperienced and their brutality was not so studied and calculated as that of experienced officers.

THE RAKHI BOND OF PUNNA

BY K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

In Nagor, Man Singh's heart was full of grief
As Feroze Shah had come with armed hosts,
To take the fort. His sons were far away
Engaged in fighting for their suzerain King.
The age'd warriors and the ladies fair
Were all the garrison. His Godwar fort
He sought and then resolved to welcome death
When'er it came from his besieging foes.
Though Ume'd Singh, Arikanda's prince,
Was neighbouring chief, some petty bitter feud
Forbade the seeking of his valiant aid.
But Man Singh's daughter Punna, sweet and fair,
In her mind saw what she had seen before—
The prince as he through Nagor's regal streets
Did ride when he was friend and not a foe.
Such grace and might were in his face and arms.
That that bright vision was a daily joy.
She sent her bracelet unto him—a call
That no heroic soul can e'er put by.
Young Bonni took this bond of human love
That was as pure as love of soul to God.
He slipped between the watch-fires of the foe.
But soon a Muslim soldier held him fast.
A dagger freed him from the iron grip.
He found a steed and vaulted on its back
And soon distancing his pursuing foes,
He reached the realms of Arikanda's King.
There Ume'd Singh and Zalim Singh his friend
Were starting on a hunt. But Ume'd Singh,
When he the bracelet saw and joyful heard
Its silent thrilling call, he yearned to go
On wings of honour unto Punna's feet.

And Zalim with his forces joined him
And both with martial might and beating hearts
Did march to cross the crimson-seas of war
To reach the realms of glory's paradise.
Meantime a traitor showed a secret way
To scale and take the fort; but ere Feroz
Could win, the traitor's head came tumbling down
The wall. The fort was saved. And soon the hosts
Of Ume'd's and of Zalim's spacious realms
Appeared with armours glittering in the sun.
They cut off all supplies that frequent came
To Guzerat's armies round the fort, and soon
These hosts between the fort and Ume'd's Knights
Found thin starvation's spectral form arise
And ruin bring to pomps of earthly might.
Feroz resolved to storm the mighty fort
And with a mine effected soon a breach.
But the rescuing knights' victorious arms
Beat down his might and welcome succour brought.
Then he withdrew from there in grief and shame.
There rose the sounds of joy to shining skies
When Ume'd came within the rescued fort.
And Man Singh asked what he, the hero pure,
Would deign to take at his most grateful hands.
Ume'd replied: "I want from thy bright crown
The brightest diamond shining starlike there."
And Man Singh said the gem was his; but he
Would take the human gem, sweet Punna fair,
And not mere earthly gems. And in that fort
The hero great and his heart's chosen Queen
Were gladly wedded to the joy of all.

INDIAN CHEMICAL SERVICE

By SIR PRAFULLA CHANDRA RAY.

I am opposed to the creation of a Chemical Service Corps. Recruits, though selected from honours men, are so many dark horses.

During the last thirty years I have been a teacher of Chemistry, and I have noticed that honours men and even first class M. Sc's do not turn out always to be successful researchers. A researcher, like a poet, is to a certain extent born and not made. Very few men can catch the real inspiration from the teacher. Thus I have often noticed that first-class M. Sc's who have been offered research scholarships of Rs. 100 per month have run away from the laboratory the moment they have got the offer of a service dangling before their eyes. The filling of the rank and file of the Service by honours men, properly apprenticed to Research Chemists, does not augur well for the successful continuity of a race of Research Chemists. I have already said that the diffusion of teaching in pure and applied Chemistry will be best secured by improving the staff of the University profession and the importing of technological experts from abroad for these posts. The very best men could be appointed either permanently or for a term of five years, as first-class men will not care to come out on permanent service and under them meritorious students should be trained as apprentices.

It is true that the Committee suggests that the inefficient should be weeded out, but this will be found unworkable in actual practice. Once a man has been taken in, as in the Indian Civil Service, he must be provided with a job and promoted according to seniority. All that you can do is to stop his promotion when he draws the pay of Rs. 1000. The creation of a Service means, in short, that we have to run the Department with the help of good, bad and indifferent men. I am distinctly of the opinion that the chemical hierarchy, which it is proposed to create, will be a top-heavy arrangement. It will be an expensive luxury. The crying need of the country is for primary, secondary, and even higher education. The Government of India has not got an inexhaustible purse and, when it cannot spare money for these indispensable purchases, it is scarcely justified in incurring such a heavy fresh expenditure.

A CHEMICAL BUREAUCRACY

I need not proceed farther. I hope I have sufficiently indicated that the installation of a Chemical Bureaucracy in all its glory is by no means a need devoutly to be wished for, in order to secure the industrial regeneration and salvation

of India. The report states at the outset that a large proportion of the written evidence is definitely in favour of the formation of a Chemical Service. This is true so far as it goes. Whether a matter of such importance should be decided by a mere show of hands is quite another thing.

I find, at any rate, that I am fortified in the position I have taken by the reasoned and most cogent arguments of the following gentlemen, each and all of whom are entitled to speak with authority—Dr. H. S. Mann, Director of Agriculture, Bombay; the Hon. Mr. J. G. Covernton, Director of Public Instruction, Bombay; the Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, Principal, Wilson College, Bombay; Mr. P. Lewisohn, Revenue Secretary to the Government of Burma; Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram, Lahore; Lala Ruchi Ram Saini, Late Professor of Chemistry, Government College, Lahore; Mr. S. N. Jacob, Director of Agriculture, Punjab; Mr. B. H. Wilson, Agricultural Chemist to the Government of the Punjab; Rai B. N. Das Bahadur, Professor, Dacca College; Mr. M. Balaji Rane, Professor of Chemistry, Benares Hindu University; Mr. M. O. F. De la Fosse, Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces; Mr. H. O. Kershaw, Professor of Chemistry, Presidency College, Madras.

In conclusion I desire to state that, although I consider that the days of Government Services are over, and that the development of industries by the agency of a Government Service is not the most suitable way of dealing with the problem, yet I agree that if a Government Service is constituted the proposals of the Committee represent the best methods of constituting and carrying on such a Service. It is for this reason that I have attached my signature to a report, with the major portion of which I am in substantial agreement. The essence of the new scheme is the section on recruitment, which has been drawn up by the distinguished President himself and fully endorsed by my colleagues. The principle that recruitment for the Indian Services must be made in India is one which I have long upheld, hitherto without success. I shall be satisfied if this principle finds acceptance as a result of the Committee's Report, for it will afford a splendid opportunity to the youth and talent of India, and will give a vigorous impetus to the pursuit of my favourite science amongst my countrymen. (*Note appended to the Report of the Chemical Service Committee.*)

THE LATE MR. RAMANUJAM

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THE death of Mr. Ramanujam on the 26th ultimo removes, "in some respects the most remarkable mathematician in the world." From humble beginnings he won, by sheer force of genius, the much coveted distinction of a Fellowship of the Royal Society.



THE LATE MR. RAMANUJAM, F. R. S.

He was born in 1888 of a very poor Brahmin family at Kumbakonam and early in his school career gave promise of exceptional mathematical talent. Mr. Ramanujam was a failed F. A. of the Madras University. He entered the service of the Madras Port Trust and there he found recognition of his extraordinary talent which secured for him facilities for exclusive devotion to research work in Higher Mathematics.

In February 1913 the Director General of Observatories, Sir Gilbert Walker, drew the attention of the Syndicate to the mathematical work of Mr. S. Ramanujam, at that time, a clerk in the Accounts Department in the Madras Port Trust and previously an undergraduate of the Madras University. In March of the same year Mr. Arthur Davies, the Secretary to the Madras Students' Advisory Committee, forwarded a letter from the Secretary for Indian students in London

also inviting enquiry into the work of Mr. Ramanujam on a suggestion made by a tutor of the Trinity College, Cambridge, with whom Mr. Ramanujam had been in correspondence.

Luckily the Board of Studies in Mathematics recommended a decent scholarship to enable him to devote his whole time to the study of his favourite subject. Early in 1914 Mr. E. H. Neville, a Fellow of the Trinity College, Cambridge, visited Madras as a special lecturer in Mathematics, and interested himself in Mr. Ramanujam's work upon which he reported to the Syndicate and suggested that Mr. Ramanujam should be afforded an opportunity of being trained in modern methods and of coming into contact with European Scholars. Mr. R. Littlehales, then Professor of Mathematics in the Presidency College, also at the same time recommended to the Syndicate that Mr. Ramanujam, should be sent to the Trinity College, by means of a special scholarship of £250 a year.

Provided with the necessary funds Mr. Ramanujam sailed for England. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, where he attracted the attention of some of the foremost mathematicians of the day, one of whom wrote that Ramanujam discovered for himself a great number of things which the leading mathematicians of the last hundred years had added to the knowledge of schoolmen.

Prof. P. V. Seshu Aiyar of the Madras Presidency College after describing Mr. Ramanujam's researches in Pure Mathematics wrote, as far back as 1913;

"I was one of those who had the privilege of looking into Mr. Ramanujam's note books when he was here and I may say that in addition to what has been published he had in his notes many more curious and interesting results and theorems and that when he comes out with such theorems, specially a definite integral theorem at which I hear he is now working, and his theory of divergent series, I have no doubt he would astonish the mathematical world."

But this excessive application to the science told upon his constitution, never robust. With an indifferent health, he was while in England a constant source of anxiety to his friends. Nurtured with the best care possible, he yet succumbed steadily to a malady too deep for medical cure. He returned to India in March last. But he grew worse in spite of excellent Medical Aid and died at Chetput near Madras. By his death, say those who are competent to judge of his genius, India and the world of science, have lost one of the most remarkable mathematicians of the age.

EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

BY

MR. C. RAMAINGA REDDY, M.A.

Inspector-General of Education, Mysore.

TOP HEAVY NATURE OF THE EXISTING SYSTEM

ONE of the most serious charges against the present system of Education is that it does neither social nor regional justice; that it favours the urban population at the expense of the rural; that primary education is not looked after so well as the higher. This is borne out by Mr. Sharp's *Quinquennial Review* in which he proves by much statistics that education in India is top-heavy and that mass education is, relatively speaking, far less developed than the higher. Relatively speaking the State spends far more on higher than on lower education and this is inevitable, for the literate people are able to exercise influence to a degree that the others cannot and they obtain what they ask for more easily. The clamour for secondary schools, high schools and Universities is insistent, vociferous and organised and one such institution consumes the finances which would have gone to the opening of dozens of primary schools. The solution of this does not consist in opening more primary schools of the present type but in producing a better integration between the primary and the secondary grades so that in the course of time a better diffusion of higher education and public influence might be secured.

CORRELATION OF VOCATIONAL WITH GENERAL EDUCATION

There is such a thing as education through hand and eye and the best way of combining the principle of integration with that of social efficiency as opposed to clerical is by providing along with a minimum of general education which ought to be made compulsory, optional courses both general and technical, so that pupils who have an aptitude for manual occupations will have an opportunity of taking up subjects congenial to their inclination.

Let the compulsory subjects remain as they are, but find a place amongst the optionals for vocational and technical subjects, and you will have remedied the defects of too literary an education without depriving the boys going in for vocational education either of general culture or of the chances of progress to higher grades including the University.

HOSTELS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

It is not possible to provide secondary schools

make it easy for their children to come up to these schools, which doubtless will be situated in urban areas. Those of us who are acquainted with the conditions in our rural parts know how difficult it is for the children, say of agriculturists to migrate to the cities for their education. The proper provision of hostels at all centres of secondary education is very necessary if the rural children are to benefit by them.

These are the few principles which ought to be kept in view in the further development of educational policy in the country, *viz.*, integration, expansion, provision of technical instruction as optionals in the different grades, and of hostels at secondary school centres. If they can be applied with thoroughness and consistency they will result in a popular, democratic system of education, which will at the same time promote industrial and economic efficiency; Educational Liberalism will have been realised.

MORE UNIVERSITIES.

While I thus insist on the supreme importance of a thorough-going reconstruction on these lines I am not blind to the urgent necessity there is for establishing more Universities in the Madras Presidency. Even should Travancore give off, there will still be room for at least two more Universities in the immediate present. An Andhra University has long been overdue and a University for the Southern Tamil districts is no less necessary. These new Universities should be organised on very different lines from the Madras University; and the Madras University itself should take advantage of the relief thus afforded to cast off some of its obsolete features and remodel itself on the principles recommended by Dr. Sadler's Commission. You have been asking for a certain amount of decentralisation in the S.S.L.C. administration and if these new Universities are established—and I trust every effort will be made to bring them into speedy existence the decentralisation that you have been asking for will be automatically secured. * * * In any scheme of educational reform whether of content or organisation—we would do well to remember that the country is not prepared to sacrifice the principles of social liberalism and national solidarity. Unless our reforms are charged with the saving grace of equality, which is the new principle of social reconstruction, their chances of

THE TURKISH TREATY

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The Turkish peace treaty was handed to the Turkish delegates at Paris on the 11th instant. The Government of India published on the 14th a *Gazette Extraordinary* explaining the terms of the treaty and accompanied by a message from H. E. the Viceroy to the Muslim people of India. The following are the principal conditions of the peace terms as summarised in the Government of India's *communiqué*.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S STATEMENT.

THE frontiers of Turkey will be as already demarcated and where necessary revised by a Boundary Commission to be created. According to this delimitation Turkey will include the Constantinople sector of Thrace and all the predominately Turkish areas of Asia Minor.

2. The rights and titles of the Turkish Government in Constantinople will not be affected, but the right to modify this provision is reserved in the event of the failure of Turkey faithfully to fulfil the Treaty.

3. A Commission of the Straits will have authority over all waters between the Mediterranean, the mouth of the Dardanelles, the Black Sea, the mouth of the Bosphorus and of the waters within three miles of each of these mouths, also on the shores to such extent as may be necessary. The duty of the Commission will be to ensure freedom of navigation in these waters in peace and war.

4. A scheme of local self-government will be drafted for Kurdistan, including provision for the protection of Assyro-Chaldean and other minorities. The League of Nations will decide later whether Kurdistan should be granted independence of Turkey if it be proved that separation is desired by the majority of the Turkish people.

5. Certain portions of Smyrna are formed into a separate unit to be administered by Greece, the suzerainty of Turkey being continued for a period of years till the autonomous State of Smyrna decides its own destiny.

6. With the exception of the Constantinople sector, Eastern Thrace is ceded to Greece provision being made for the local self government of the town of Adrianople.

7. Certain portions of the Armenian districts of Turkey are added to the existing Armenian Republic, the boundary between Turkey and Armenia in certain districts being referred to the arbitration of the President of the United States, whose decision will be final thereon and on any stipulation regarding Armenian access to the sea.

8. Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine are provisionally recognised as independent States subject to administrative advice and assistance from a mandatory Power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The mandate for Syria

has been entrusted to France and those for Mesopotamia and Palestine to Great Britain. The mandate for Palestine will include provision for giving effect to the declaration of the 8th November, 1918, regarding the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people.

9. The Hedjaz is recognised as a free and independent State. The King of the Hedjaz undertakes to assure free and easy access to Mecca and Medina for Muslim pilgrims of all countries.

10. Turkey relinquishes all rights and titles over the Egypt and Soudan and Cyprus.

11. Turkey recognises the French protectorate over Morocco and Tunis.

12. Turkey relinquishes her claims to certain islands in the Aegean.

13. The military, naval and air forces at the disposal of Turkey will consist of the following:—

(1) The Sultan's bodyguard at Constantinople;
(2) a troop of gendarmerie for the maintenance of international order and security and the protection of minorities;

(3) special elements for reinforcement of the gendarmerie and eventual control of the frontiers.

The bodyguard is limited to 700, and the gendarmerie with special elements to 50,000.

"All warships interned in Turkish ports are declared to be finally surrendered. The Turkish fleet is limited to six torpedo boats and seven sloops." No military or naval air forces or dirigibles are to be maintained.

14. Control will be maintained over the finances of Turkey until the discharge of her international obligations has been assured.

15. Freedom of navigation and transit is secured. The following ports are declared international ports, provision to be made for free zones in each—Alexandretta, Basra, Batoum, Constantinople, Dedeagatch, Haifa, Haidar Pasha, Smyrna and Trebizond.

16. In addition to the above are numerous provisions regarding (a) the League of Nations, (b) the protection of minorities, (c) the restoration of abandoned property rights, (d) prisoners of war, (e) graves of Allied soldiers, (f) the punishment of war criminals, (g) economic questions and concessions, (h) labour conventions and (i) antiquities; but it is not necessary to detail these in the present statement.

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

The Government of India have just published the electoral rules for the Provinces, and the public is being steadily prepared for the ensuing elections under the New Reform Act. The rules comprise details regarding the constitution of the Provincial Legislative Councils, their division into constituencies, and description of the qualifications of electors and candidates. That the elections are causing considerable interest is evident from the fact that already a number of candidates have announced their constituencies. The following table published by the *Citizen*, an enterprising weekly of the Liberals of Madras, gives a bird's eye view of the arrangements as at present proposed. It will be seen from the table that "the integrity of territorial constituencies is disturbed in every Province by provision made for communal representation, 29 and 7 seats being reserved in Madras and Bombay respectively while in the Punjab 10 seats are accorded to Sikhs." The disparity in the treatment of European and Indian Commerce in the different Provinces has been much criticised; the wide

variety of qualifications of electors for the University constituencies in the various Provinces is also much objected to. The question of residence as a qualification for voters in the University constituency is obviously of some importance and it is held that "the Madras rule that the place of residence may be anywhere in India is the soundest. In Bombay, it is provided that the elector should have a place of residence in the Presidency on the 1st April preceding the date of publication of the electoral roll. Twelve months residence is required in the Punjab, while in Bengal a place of residence within the province will do. In the United Provinces, a place of residence in India in the case of Fellows and Honorary Fellows and in the province in the case of Doctors, Masters and graduates is required. Bihar appears to be the most reactionary in this respect. Fellows cannot vote there, while graduates of seven years' standing should register themselves before they can become qualified. Uniformity of procedure in all the provinces could easily have been secured with a little effort."

Province.	General-urban rural.	Mahomedan urban and rural.	Sikhs	Indian Christians.	Europeans.	Anglo-Indians.	Total communal, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.	Land holders.	Euro-commerce.	Ind.-commerce.	University.	Total special 9, 10, 11, 12.	Total elected, 2, 8, 13.	Maximum official including ex-council	Special classes.	Total nominated.	Total strength.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Madras	2-11	...	5	1	1	20	6	4	2	1	13	98	19	6	29	127
Bombay	5-22	...	...	2	...	29	3	4	3	1	11	86	16	5	25	111
Bengal	11-34	6-32	...	...	6	3	47	5	12	3	1	21	115	16	2	129
U.P.	8-52	4-25	...	...	4	...	30	6	2	1	1	10	100	18	3	123
Punjab	6-13	4-25	10	...	...	39	4	2	...	1	7	65	16	4	22	87
Burma	6-42	3-15	...	...	1	...	19	5	3	...	1	9	76	20	9	103
C.P.	7-21	4	...	...	...	4	2	2	...	1	4	54	19	5	16	70
Assam	1-20	12	...	...	...	12	...	6	...	...	6	39	7	2	14	53

* 2 to be elected by wage earners.

+ 17 nominated as result of elections in Berar.

The Turkish Question

The Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, writing to *The Asiatic Review* for April, urges that there is absolute unanimity throughout the Moslem world on the question of the retention of Constantinople and the Province of Thrace in the hands of the ruler of the Turkish State who is the religious head of the vast Sunni congregation and that the Mussalman feeling in India is a factor which no statesman should ignore. He says that the Turks have always been giving their non-Moslem subjects the fullest toleration and the fullest enjoyment of their communal and religious rights, though they have been ruthless in suppressing revolutions and risings fostered almost always from outside.

He then gives a grave and serious warning to the British Ministry in the following words :

British administrators, who have been in direct touch with the people of India, can estimate its intensity, and have already raised their voice against the danger of trampling upon it. They have shown in emphatic terms the fatuity of the idea that it is a fictitious agitation.

The fact remains that the Sunni world, which includes by far the largest proportion of Moslems, accepts him as *de jure* and *de facto* Imam and spiritual head. Constantinople has been the capital of the Caliphate and of the Turkish Empire ever since 1453. It is now covered with Moslem institutions, with Moslem shrines, mosques, mausolea. It has become a Moslem city, and is regarded as a sacred city, sacred by its associations and traditions to the Moslem world. It is certainly not so sacred as Mecca and Medina, but in the eyes of Islam, from the shores of the Atlantic as far towards the East as the Pacific, it is loved and venerated next to the Holy cities ; it is lovingly called Islambol, which is the name by which it is commonly known. This is not a new word. It has existed ever since its capture by Muhammed II, and a reference to it will be found in the well-known work of Professor Grosvenor, the American author.

Adrianople is also regarded as a holy city. To drive the Turk from Constantinople and Thrace, which is, as Mr. Lloyd George has stated, predominantly Turkish in race, would be a degradation to the Caliph and would be regarded as an insult to Islam. Is it to be wondered at, then, that the threat should create immense and vehement feeling in the Moslem world ? The French, with their practical common sense, realize this. It is strange that in England, which holds in her hands the destinies of three to four times as many Moslems as France does, there should be such violent animosity where the feelings of the King's Moslem subjects are concerned.

Christianity and New India

Mr. G. E. Phillips, writing in *the East and the West* for April, says that from the time of the Apostles Christianity has bridged the deepest chasms that separate man from man ; that the goal for individuals is the ideal human life which will be realised when all redeemed humanity in fellowship shall grow up to the measure of the stature of Christ, while the goal for society is that order of things which Christ called the Rule of God. He says : —

We thank God for raising up men of Tagore's spirit in India. We rejoice in the remarkable unity of ultimate aim which links us to them. We want to see in India just what they want to see, and we want as much as they to see Indian agency playing the largest part in the realisation of their and our ideals for India. We missionaries are not the mere proselytisers whom they take us to be, thinking only of the enlargement of our numbers and the glorification of "Foreign" Missions. We may have given ground for such ideas by certain of our methods in the past, but we are every day getting further and further from such methods. We dare not claim that our manner of work has always rightly interpreted the spirit of Jesus Christ. What we think we can claim is that with all their imperfections, Christian Missions have already proved that the spirit of Christ, to which they have never been entirely unfaithful, is the most powerful means yet discovered of moulding the New India after the noblest pattern. And if so much has been accomplished under the handicaps of the present situation, by an agency under foreign control, inadequately financed and supported, and recruited in most of the ranks of its service from the humblest orders of people in India, what will happen when India's natural leaders, with all their gifts, turn their faces to Christ direct, and without any "foreign" intervention catch His own attitude towards the lowliest, towards women, towards separation between man and man, towards the programme and final goal of humanity, and find truly Indian ways of expressing that attitude in daily life ? Can they afford to try to bring in their New India without Christ ? They may say what they like about Foreign Missions—those are only earthen vessels, within which has been brought to India a priceless treasure. They can do without the earthen pots, when once they have found the treasure. Until then we who bear the reproach of being foreigners in India, though in many cases we have lived in and for India throughout our working lives, have our course clear before us. No service to the India that we love can be so infallibly certain of producing the best results as the service of bringing men in India into vital contact with the real spirit of Jesus Christ.

The Poetic Temperament in Politics

Mr. Schapiro, reviewing the *Life of Lamartine* by Remsen Whitehouse in the pages of the *Political Science Quarterly* offers the following pertinent observations. Lamartine was by temperament first and foremost a poet; his influence over the masses was essentially poetic and he was essentially a 'Bonaparte of the crowd.' He had neither political ideas nor policies, but only sentiments; his speeches were clear and logical, but not in the ideas and policies which he was supposed to be propounding. Lamartine did not realise that there are two political worlds which never meet—the world of the masses full of emotion and sentiment and the world of interests, personal, party or class. "Lamartine was a political monist; at no time was he conscious of the existence of these two very real but different worlds. For him as for the masses principles and ideals were the only realities."

In religion also was Lamartine a poet. He was inclined to the way of faith without dogma, of a Church without temporal power and of a Christianity without supernaturalism. Like Lamennais, by whose teachings he was influenced, Lamartine came to believe in the separation of church and state. His views were far from being anti-clerical, as he argued that the Church would be more free to pursue its divine mission if the bonds which united it to the state were removed. The Revolution of 1830 put a legal instead of a divine stamp upon earthly authority. But as the Church rests upon divine authority, its intervention in temporal matters has now become an anachronism.

Lamartine's political activity lay entirely within the period of the July Monarchy. He sat in splendid isolation identifying himself with no party group or faction. He was always in opposition to Government; for in opposition alone could his eloquence find full play and field for influence. Aristocrat and poet, he detested the crowd of newly-ennobled stock-brokers and manufacturers on whom Louis Philippe relied to bolster up his regime. He resented no less the opposition in the street under the leadership of Republican and Labour agitators that was gathering to destroy the bourgeois government. His 'History of the Girondins' (1847) was a political pamphlet glorifying the French Revolution and criticising Louis Philippe. In the Provisional Government of 1848, Lamartine represented the Republicans and controlled the savage Parisian

mob by the charm of his eloquence. He gave freely of his sympathy to oppressed nationalities. But he could not control the National Workshops and the Socialists, was defeated badly in his attempt to become President and immediately sank into oblivion—because of his desire to compromise his vacillating temperament. In his latter days he became a literary drudge and when he died in 1869, his death caused no comment.

The Workmen's Right to Strike

Mr. Philip Thomas, writing in a recent number of *The Positivist Review*, lays stress on the Positivist aversion to workmen's strikes, these being acts of social and civil war, as bad as military wars among nations. Positivism however recognises labour in its true light as the fundamental basis of human society and as the beginning of that living for others which is the root principle of the Religion of Humanity. But in labour questions, whatever advances we may make in theory there will still be appeal to material force represented by the strike of workmen on the one hand and on the other the repressive power of the state soldiery.

"We would ask workmen to join with us in regarding the strike as a serious, nay sacred, weapon, and to think once, twice and thrice before using it. Comte himself who is eager to admit the workmen's right to strike gives this same counsel. He says it must be regarded as a last resource, to be used only when every other method has been exhausted, and that a strike should only be entered upon solemnly and reluctantly as an act of social war. It would conduce to our domestic peace and security, if workmen and their leaders would act upon this principle. There can be no question that a most unsocial use has been and is being made of the strike and the right to strike. Instead of being the last resource, it is made the first caprice; instead of being entered upon solemnly and deliberately, it is too often brought about hastily and lightly. This is to bring it into hatred and contempt instead of respect and fear. Workmen must be as conscientious with regard to the weapon of the strike as they have the right to demand that statesmen shall be in the exercise of military power. Hitherto, neither statesmen nor workmen have shown a due sense of their responsibilities towards their fellow-men, their own communities and the world at large."

The State of Central Europe

Vienna offers now the spectacle of a great city reduced to beggary ; it is foodless, coalless and is daily drifting into a deeper slough of despondency. The Treaty of Brest Litovsk and the simultaneous agreement with the Ukrainian Government that Austria made, were the direct results, says a writer in the March number of *Nineteenth Century* of Vienna's overpowering need for food. The collapse of the Austrian Crown has destroyed the Viennese middle class as completely as Trotsky's Letts and Chinese have exterminated the Bourgeoisie of Petrograd and Moscow. The Proletariate has been reduced to beggary, the Church, convents and monasteries are left resourceless ; but in spite of the Spartacists in Munich, and the Bela Kun Dictatorship in Buda-Pest, the Viennese have avoided Bolshevism. "The nationalities that have emerged as states cannot again be crushed into the old artificial system and the idea of a Danubian Federation seems to the Pole, the Czech and the Jugo-Slav, to be little more than an attempt to reconstitute the hegemony of Vienna and Buda-Pest. Even a customs-union is as impossible in the present state of public opinion as a political reunion. A *Zollverein* might well mean in the eyes of the new states the sacrifice of Prague, Warsaw and Zagreb to the dominance of Vienna. This does not mean that the Allies are doing a wise thing in delaying to fix the boundaries of Austria ; by delay the racial problems of Central Europe have been immeasurably embittered and its economic recovery retarded for many years. There can also be no hope of economic recovery for Austria until the country's liabilities are definitely fixed by the Reparation Commission ; and the present uncertainty in the amount and character of the indemnity makes it impossible for any reputable financier to enter into big commitments in that country. The Austrian Republic is now held responsible for a war in which every one of the constituent parts of the Hapsburg monarchy took part. The Croats fought bitterly against the Italians. The Bohemian Pan-Germans, who fought bitterly against us are now our allies ; while the anti-Prussian Austrians are our enemies.

In the present state of Central Europe, customs lines block every avenue of escape from economic bankruptcy, import and export restrictions impede the most necessary transactions ; the transport system has been cut into morsels and the currency position is very bad. The Austrian Government, doctrinaire and Social

Democrat, is dissipating the country's meagre resources by its impractical theories and experiments ; it interferes but does not control. Vienna is opposed by its own provinces politically and economically ; the provincial governments seem to be actively hostile. The predominating need is the need for disarmament in all Central Europe where the burden of armaments is ten-fold worse than before the war.

Jai Singh and his Observatory

Principal Kanwar Sain, writing in the current number of *The Vedic Magazine*, describes the life and achievements of Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur who built the modern elegant city of that name and displayed a talent for learning especially in Mathematics and Astronomy. He came to the *gadi* of his ancestors in the latter part of the reign of Aurangzib and played no mean part in the wars and turmoils which followed that Emperor's death. In spite of various chances that came to him for gaining advantages for himself, he remained loyal to the Delhi throne. Though he realised that the downfall of the Empire was inevitable, he refrained from meddling with imperial politics, and threw himself heart and soul, in beautifying his own capital, improving his administration and above all completing his astronomical works, tablets, almanacs and observatories. The *Jantar Mantar* near Sadar Jang's tomb in Delhi (literally the House of Instruments) was built by him. He is credited with having written some works on Hindu history and Hindu Law, but these works have not so far seen the light of day. His predecessors were equally illustrious before him ; Baghwan Das and his son, Man Singh acquired great power and dignity at Akbar's court, and Mirza Raja Jai Singh won high distinction and favour at Aurangzib's court and was so proud as to exclaim that both Delhi and Satara were in the hollow of his hands.

Successful in his military exploits which were not many, Sawai Jai Singh performed a Yajna in the place still marked as Yagiashala, wished to rival the Emperor's court by building at Amber palaces which in beauty of design and fineness of execution and conception excel many a famous edifice in Rajputana. Finding however the hills of Amber too rugged and narrow for his ambition he laid the foundation of the elegant city of Jaipur on the plains beneath. In this he took the advice of one Vidya Dhar, an Engineer-Astronomer hailing from Bengal.

The Antiquity of the Andhras

There is an article on the above subject in the *South Indian Research for March* by the editor of that journal. He says that mention is made of the Andhras in the Aitereya Brahmana of the Rig-Veda. In that Brahmana, mention is made of a sage Visvamitra who had a hundred sons and who out of compassion for a boy, deserted by his father, took him in adoption and assigned to him the status of the eldest son. But the fifty elder sons of Visvamitra refused to recognise the adopted boy as their 'eldest' brother, whereon the sage got angry and pronounced the following curse upon them :

'Let your progeny possess the farthest ends (of the country).'

And the Brahmana in the next line mentions "These are the numerous border tribes, the Andhras, the Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas, Mutibas. Most of the Dasyus are sprung from Visvamitra."

As this is the oldest record mentioning the Andhras, the learned editor rightly says that on the date of this Brahmana depends the antiquity of the Andhra-race, so far as textual authority is concerned.

With regard to the date of Aitereya Brahmana, Prof. Colebrooke refers to astronomical calculations of the Zodiac as mentioned in the Vedas, and infers therefrom that the date of the Brahmana was approximately the fourteenth century before the Christian era. Prof. Max Muller who has investigated the subject speaks of four distinct periods, the Chandas period, the Mantra period, the Brahmana period and the Sutra period which followed each other in regular succession. From various considerations he thinks that the earliest Sutra text could not have been written before 600 B. C. He then assigns a date of 200 years to each preceding period, thus making the age between 800 B. C. and 600 B. C. the Brahmana period.

Professor Wilson who next took up the subject thought that a limit of two hundred years was much too brief for the evolution of the appropriate ritual, for the appropriation of all spiritual authority by the Brahmins, for the distinctions of races or the institution of castes etc. The learned professor said that the general accuracy of the lists of teachers preserved by Brahminical tradition could not be questioned and as these lists would extend the limits of this age to a considerable degree, he thinks that the interval between each period was probably four or five centuries.

Dr. Haug in his introduction to the Aitereya Brahmana wants an interval of thousand years between these periods. He says that there is an interval of 500 years between Moses and David, and if we assume a similar one between the Yajur formulæ and Chandas period we shall not be in the wrong. Again, since there was an interval of 1000 years between the purely sacrificial and non-sacrificial hymns of the Chinese accounts, the learned doctor says that we would not be very wrong in presuming similar intervals to exist between the different hymns of the Rig-Veda. He also refers to the astronomical data furnished by the Brahmana in support of his view. Finally, he assigns 2400—1200 B.C. as the period of the commencement of the Vedic literature. Mr. Tilak, basing his views on the mention in the Brahmana of Prajapati (the personification of the Indian year) trying to approach Rohini (constellation) and on the well-known astronomical fact that our vernal equinox once began when the year was in Mrigasira, (i.e. the *Ritu Vasanta* was then in the month of Margasira) divides the period of the Vedas into three, 6000 to 4000 B.C., 4000 to 2500 B.C. and 2500 B.C. to 1400 B.C. Hence, even if the latest period of these is taken, we have an antiquity of 2500—1400 B.C. for the Andhras.

It is thus seen that scholars are unanimous in their opinion as to the great antiquity of the Brahmana. A period of B.C. 2500—1400 B.C. is no small antiquity, though the Indian mind is not satisfied with it. We can as a compromise take the mean between the two periods and this gives us about 2000 B.C. If the Andhras are mentioned in a book of that age, they must have been a nation earlier still, and this takes the period back to another 500 or 1000 years. We are not prepared to give any particular date to the first formation of an Andhra tribe, but must necessarily admit that a tribe which was expressly mentioned in a book must be centuries earlier than that book, or that sage Visvamitra who appears in the earliest hymn of the Rig-Veda.

Prohibition and Woman Suffrage

In Norway, as in America writes, the *Living Age* granting the franchise to women has turned the tide of ballots in favor of prohibition. The country will not be precisely 'bone-dry' as a result of the recent referendum, but it will have covered so much of the road in that direction as to make its eventual arrival at the latter destination probable. It will be recalled that the Scandinavian countries have been, for many years, the scene of experiments to deal with the liquor business by regulation, and that the Gothenburg system was at one time widely advocated in the United States.

The Future World-Polity

Writing on the above subject in the pages of *Everyman's Review*, "A Workman" draws attention to the evolution of our ideas on the relations between the State and the individual. He says that the Hegelian notion that the State is the supreme authority and the individual has only to worship it "as a god on earth" has been proved to be hollow by the events of the war.

The Nation, it is now discovered, was a lie. It did not mean the people. The peoples of the world are diverse in their qualities and graces; the Nations are uniform in a dead monotony. These latter are mere machines of production and destruction. The isolated Nations are dying, but the peoples are shaking themselves free, roused at last from their lethargy.

The writer says that the workmen's demand for an increase in their wages tells us clearly of the repudiation by the peoples of the idea of the Nation.

It throws the shabdoleth of patriotism, as opposed to Humanity, into the lumber-room of curiosities. It trumpets forth that at last the toiling millions of the earth are coming into their own.

The thunder claps and reverberating peels of Bolshevik Russia portend the birth of a new World-Polity. France was the first to suffer the agony of the throes of birth of that idea, that every man who has an interest in any institution should have a hand in shaping it. And now Russia, inebriate with a like idea, is celebrating it in drunken orgies of blood and rapine.

The writer then says, that, owing to the progress of science, the barriers of country and nation, once real and protective, have now become meaningless and cumbersome. The day is already in sight when a man will say that he is Indian or English with the same indifference and diffident antiquarian interest as he says to-day that he is descended from so and so *Rishi* or chief, or it may be, the Norman baron.

The political nomenclature of men will then be vocational, not geographical,—what they do, not where they are born. Nevertheless it is impossible to entirely displace the regional division. Hence the task before the unborn generations will be not to supersede the political personality of the country in its entirety, but rather to soften and tone down the differential accentuation that it has attained in the last few centuries. The megalomania which raises the state to the position of an all-devouring deity, to be worshipped at the cost of the happiness of the people which it ought to be its function to subserve, is

now once for all become impossible. It is a provincialism that any cultured man of the third millenium A. D. will be justly ashamed of.

The problem facing the architects of reconstruction is a harmonious weaving of the two cross-threads, regional and occupational, of political life. The writer thinks that Syndicalism limited to a country will not revive hereafter, but extended to the whole world it will come in spite of all opposition. Though labour will become more powerful by such international combination, it should recognise that excessive demands, for increase in wages, would, even if got, cause a proportionate increase in the prices of the articles they manufacture and, as one trade is interdependent on another, in the prices of other articles and necessities of life. The writer therefore suggests that a central committee embracing in its jurisdiction all the workers in each trade of all the countries of the world should have the final voice in the question of making demand for higher wages in any particular branch of labour. If prominent labour leaders are taken into the councils of the regional rulers, the chances of friction between the regional governments and the labourers will go down, as the labourers will follow their representatives in the Government more cheerfully, more completely than they will men outside their ranks.

When the above sketched international federation of labour, with a powerful voice for labour in the counsels of the regional rulers, comes into practice, the division of human activities will fall into more specialised groups than at present. There will be several sub-divisions of lawyers and naturally there will have to be special courts to deal with each sub-division of the law. Education will become specialised in the higher branches in a pronounced manner. But it should be the duty of teachers that a proper perspective of human life and its relations is imparted to the pupils in the lower standards. The writer says:—

A man is equal to every other man in respect of his common humanity, and unequal in respect of his heredity and up-bringing. The first will entitle him to fair opportunities for earning decent means of subsistence and comfort, to equal treatment before the law, and to a voice, however faint because of multitudes like him, in shaping the laws that concern him. But this equality cannot be made into a political creed and raised as the war-cry of class-conflict without the consequences recoiling upon the heads of the very people who do so.

The Military Genius of Hyder Ali

An interesting article by Mr. K. M. Panikkar, on the genius of Hyder Ali as a general 'appears in the pages of the *March* issue of the *Hindustan Review*. Mr. Panikkar says that despite his failings Hyder was the greatest general that fought in South India.

"In the two campaigns that he conducted against the British the Indian Commander out-generalled and out-maneuvred his European opponents."

The first campaign looked most unfavourable to him. The coalitions of Muhammad Ali, the Nizam, Marathas and the British; the experience and generalship of Wood and Col. Smith, commanding the English Army; and his own untutored, untrained and inexperienced knowledge of regular warfare—all these might have made another man lose heart. But Hyder was up to this. He bought off the allies from the coalition, recovered the lost fortress of Malwagal, routed Col. Wood's army, captured all the stores, baggage and guns which Wood had left at Bagur and again by an ingenious movement surprised and defeated Wood, who was marching to Kolar to replenish his stores.

Having regained the whole of his northern provinces in four days and confident of his own powers he now gave his army a moment of merited rest. Creating by numberless emissaries an atmosphere of fear and expectation, he burst into the lowlands through the strong passes of Pallikod and Tapur. The British armies were everywhere defeated. Hyder out manœuvred Col. Smith and at the head of a picked corps attacked Madras. Madras had to surrender.

"Hyder dictated the terms of peace, but even at the moment of victory, his moderation which is the highest criterion of statesmanship, was truly remarkable."

The Company did not care to keep the terms of the treaty. They violated every provision of it. The crisis at last came when they paid no heed to the ultimatum of Hyder and attacked Mahe. Hyder at once declared war.

Hyder's great march through the Carnatic in which he did not ravage 'the innocent lambs of the countryside' but 'maintained the most perfect order and discipline,' his Napoleonic tactics in getting his army between those of Munro and Baillie, and the great victory at Perumbakkam, are undoubtedly some of the most brilliant feats in history. The road to Madras was now open; but Hyder knew that Coote was coming to aid the British forces and invested

Arcot. Arcot fell: but Coote was marching upon him. Coote marched to Pondicherry. The coast was held by a French fleet under Chevalier d'Orvez. Hyder, now cut him off from Madras, by occupying the position on the communications. Coote was thus between the "devil and the deep sea."

Unfortunately however, Chevalier d'Orvez failed to do his duty and set sail, leaving the sea free. For five months both the armies watched each other. At last Hyder, weary of waiting, gave battle. The battle fought at Porto Novo was by no means a decisive one. Owing to the death of Mir Sahib, Hyder had to retreat. His losses were comparatively small. Fortune however was with Coote and after some other engagements Hyder died in 1783.

As a general, says Mr. Panikkar, "Hyder was undoubtedly the greatest that India produced in the 18th century with the possible exception of Modhoji Scindia." He concludes:—

That he usurped the Royal power in Mysore is true; but it is also true that he did so, not because he was ambitious, but because he recognised that he alone could raise order out of the chaos then prevailing. He did so because he knew that he alone could organise successful resistance towards the two foreign powers then struggling for supremacy in South India. To call him a military adventurer is to pass off as historical judgment the opinion of prejudiced adversaries. History recognises in Hyder Ali a great statesman, an efficient administrator, and, above all, a general of the highest ability.

Indian Art

Students of the Bengal School of Art have done much in recent years to revive interest in the ancient but neglected field of oriental painting and architecture. Mr. Gangoly the well known author of a standard work on "South Indian Bronzes," has now brought out an illustrated journal of oriental art under the name of *Rupam*—a handsome volume in a jacket of saffron coloured cloth and silk. We welcome this pioneer and praiseworthy attempt to publish a quarterly specially devoted to Indian Art. The first number is a superb edition containing a number of rare portraits accompanied by well informed articles. It has for its frontispiece a panel from Arjuna's Ratha in the Seven Pagodas—a magnificent specimen of the oldest Pallava style. Among other articles may be mentioned the "Continuity of Pictorial tradition in the Art of India" by E. Vredenburg; "Garuda, the career of Vishnu" by Akshay Kumar Maitra and "A Note on Kirtimukha: Being the Life-history of an Indian Architectural Ornament."

Imperial Air-Routes

H. C. Macfie, President of the Aero-Club of Australia, says in a paper published in *The United Empire* for March, that the Air-service is the foremost defence line of the future and that the venue of civil and military aviation within the Empire has been removed, owing to geographical and weather reasons from Great Britain to Egypt which is the junction of the India, Australia and Cape routes and the heart of their whole system of expansion. There are difficulties of the route from England to Egypt; the Cape to Cairo route is at present less likely to pay commercially; but the route between Egypt and India holds out many advantages; while the great span from England to Canada will be probably the last. The great chain between India and Australia must be developed; and there is also the England-West Indies route. Air-boards from the various dominions and from India must co-operate with the Air-Ministry of the Mother Country and Service and Civil Aviation must be interrelated.

Quoting from Sir F. Sykes, the writer urges Government subsidy and active action in the following passage.

Direct assistance is a necessity. Subsidised competitors are in the field. France is straining the pace, Italy is pushing her interests, the United States is grappling with the problem; Germany is making feverish efforts. The signposts are clear. An Empire policy must be formed. In the no distant future, after the crucial domestic problems arising out of the war have received first treatment, the Imperial and Dominion Governments must define and adopt a considered policy towards aviation.

It is not enough to believe—as I firmly do—that aerial transport being right is bound eventually to succeed. The seasoned tree can stand alone—the shooting sapling must be stayed. Some of the requirements of aviation on an Empire basis are:

1. The maintenance of a highly efficient fighting force.
2. The expansion of commercial aviation to promote British trade and to supplement the fighting force when necessary by a reserve of personnel and material, knowledge and experience.

3. The co-ordination and co-operation of aerial communication throughout the Empire and its relations to other countries.

4. The organisation of routes, aerodromes, ground communication, and meteorological services on an Imperial basis.

5. The energetic promotion of research and encouragement of design.

6. Money to assist the institution of experimental mail services.

6. The encouragement of land survey, forest patrol, and other work in which aircraft can be utilised.

This year will, I hope, go down to history as marking the birth of a sound, virile, and truly Imperial air policy.

The Purdha System

An Indian lady, writing in the current number of *Britann and India*, says that the purdah system has its own good features and that it prevailed among the ancient Greeks and Persians and even among the Mediæval Christians and is still found in the Islamic world and in some places in China, Korea, and South America. It was only in the Ommeyyad Kalifate 661-749 A.D. that the custom was generally extended among the Muhammadans on account of the laxity of public morals. While allowing that the lot of the purdah women in India is not as bad or as unhappy as outsiders are apt to think and that the Zenana has its own comforts, luxuries, amusements and education, the writer continues as follows:—

“With all these compensations, however, the Purdah system has many disadvantages. Life is apt to become self-centred in selfish seclusion. Healthy curiosity and observation are stifled, superstition and ignorance are encouraged, and education is retarded. Thus the influence exercised over the men is sometimes likely to be in the wrong direction. And seclusion casts a doubt on the character of the women themselves. It implies that no reliance can be placed on their virtue, and by this very doubt sometimes suggests unfaithfulness. The smug goodness, which cannot through force of circumstances ever become lowered, is very different from that true virtue which is tried in the fire and emerges victorious.

Moreover, Purdah tends to make women unhealthy. For it is only the rich who can afford private gardens and parks. The poorer women have often to pass their lives in one crowded room and become easy victims to wasting diseases.

It is time that this system should be entirely uprooted from India. It is a time-honoured custom though, and very hard to get rid of. All the more credit, therefore, to the Indian women and men who are breaking through it everywhere. There are immense capabilities for thought and action in the women of India, which have only to be given an opportunity to make them equal to the women of any nation, however cultured. Such a process will naturally be a long one, but we already see the firmly-established beginnings of it.”

Religion

F. G. Constable writing to the Editor of the *Occult Review* May, suggests that religion is an idea of obligation to an unseen power and that to refer the origin of religion to sexuality, nature-worship, earthly heroes, ancestor worship etc. is merely dogmatic; for these origins all came to existence in time and to result in worship there must have been the pre-existent sense of unseen power.

Our Lord Jesus Christ appealed to this sense in man and He left us purely spiritual directions for thought and conduct which, as before said, if followed in thought and conduct, would result in a very heaven on earth.

But what have we done? We have brought strife into the world by establishing various and conflicting dogmatic interpretations of religion. Religion is responsible for *not one* case of evil in the world. It is the strife between dogmatic forms which is responsible for the numberless foul cases of mental and bodily suffering which Christianity is generally charged with. Only a few hundred years ago any one, accepting what I will term the Church of Christ and refusing to accept any dogmatic form of religion, was likely to be burnt alive: quit as likely to be burnt alive by a Protestant as by a Roman Catholic. The unreasonable strife between dogmatic forms of religion still exists, causing not only untold mental, even physical suffering, but veiling from us all the infinite beauty of religion as revealed by Jesus Christ.

Now, when we have given to us the glorious, if mystic, religion of Jesus Christ, which, I repeat again, if accepted by all as governing thought and conduct on earth would destroy sin, cruelty and suffering, why should we seek after any new religion? Why not try to establish the Church of Christ? What we want is spiritual guidance for human thought and conduct. You yourself say that should any new prophet arise he can only rely on "the old truth upon which the world has turned its back, the truth that all men are children of a common Father." Is not this the same as saying that we have turned our back on the Church of Christ in following erroneous dogmatic forms of religion?

Mankind is craving for a purer, more human, form of worship; the astounding success of the Salvation Army marks how restrictive, how "unembracing" are the forms offered by the Churches. It would seem that we cry out for a new prophet. But I think we want a new prophet of the old, old religion our Lord Jesus Christ gave to us.

Parliament and Indian Tariffs

This is the subject of an article by Mr. Saint Nihal Singh in the March number of the *Modern Review*. Mr Singh summarises the discussions on the Tariff question during the debate on the Indian Reform Bill in the two Houses of Parliament. He then sums up the position thus:—

In future India is to have fiscal freedom *analogous* to that enjoyed by the Dominions of the Crown—*analogous* because the Government of India will not

be constituted in the manner that the Governments are constituted in the Dominions, nor will it possess the same powers. Until the Government of India becomes an Indian Government, and until its powers are enhanced—the convention regulating the fiscal policy of India cannot acquire the potency or even the meaning associated with it in the self-governing Dominions.

In the meantime, while we are pressing for the subjection of at least a part of the Central Government to British control, what means are to be devised to insure that the Government of India, which in no sense will be responsible to Indians, and which, even in its composition, will still remain mainly non-Indian, will give effect to the Indian desires in respect of fiscal matters? The question is really of vital importance, because, as I have shown, the power of initiating any proposal in this respect has been reserved to the executive, and not to the Legislature. Even if the Government of India does not have to get the previous sanction of the Secretary of State before such a proposal can be included in its Budget, or, in view of the canon of non-intervention, reference on such a subject to the Secretary of State is to be a mere formal matter—the question still remains, how an executive, overwhelmingly non-Indian and without any legal obligation to the Indian Legislature, will feel the impulse that a Cabinet in one of the Dominions would feel to translate the popular desire regarding fiscal matters into legislation and executive action.

In the proportion in which we are able to answer that question satisfactorily, Indians will be able to derive benefit from the concession that Lord Curzon has characterised as "the most important of all" offered under the Government of India Bill.

INDIA IN INDIAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

THE WORLD'S DEBT TO INDIA. By Dr. Sudhindra Bose, M.A., PH.D. ["The Modern Review," May 1920.]

THE DEBT OF MR. THOMAS HARDY TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. BY Mr. Everard G. Gilbert Cooper. ["The Hindustan Review," March 1920.]

PUBLIC HEALTH REFORM IN GUZERAT. By Dr. Sumanth Mehta, M.B. ["The Social Service Quarterly," April 1920.]

INDIAN CHRISTIANITY AND SOME NOTABLE INDIAN CHRISTIANS. By Nicol Macnicol D. Litt. ["The International Review of Missions," April 1920.]

ANCIENT HINDU LEGISLATION: ITS ORIGIN. By A. Krishna Iyer, B.A., B.L. ["East and West," April 1920.]

INDIAN DOMESTIC INDUSTRIES. By John Wallace, C.E. ["Business," March 1920.]

THE INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT. By John Pollen, C.I.E. ["The Asiatic Review," April 1920.]

General Dyer's Claim

It is the duty of every Englishman in India, says the *Times of India*, of at once repelling the monstrous libel which Brigadier-General Dyer has perpetrated on his countrymen. In an interview with the *Daily Mail*, Brigadier-General Dyer is reported to have declared that every Englishman in India, official or non-official, approved his act. On the contrary, wherever this tragedy has been discussed in whatever society, we have heard nothing, but the loathing of the horrible circumstance which has linked the slaughter of Jallianwallah Bagh with the name of an Englishman. We have not met a single Englishman or a single Englishwoman who does not feel a sense of irremovable shame, both at the tragedy of Jallianwallah Bagh, and at the excesses which were committed under the Martial Law regime in the Punjab. Brigadier-General Dyer says he should have been given an opportunity to defend himself. Nothing said in condemnation of his action surpasses or could surpass that which he has said himself. To allow his statement to stand without immediate repudiation might be to associate ourselves inferentially with it. That we will not do particularly in justice to the large circle of Englishmen and Englishwomen who equally reject his declaration with scorn and anger.

Dr. Macnicol on Patriotism and Truth

We are far too ready to prefer patriotism to truth, to side with our class and let wrong remain unrighted. We have far too much of the time-serving spirit. That is not the spirit of the Bible. I think that those who say that we held our peace in the matter of the Punjab disorders in a way that was cowardly, have justification for their charge against us. I wonder who was in that matter on the side of Christ and of the prophets of Israel—Mr. Gandhi or we.

The Magna Charta of the 20th Century

Mr. H. G. Wells has sent a letter to Sir Leo Chiozza-Money, Labour candidate for Stockport. "You stand," he says, "for the soundest principles of modern Liberalism as distinguished from the pompous sham of official Liberalism—that the great national interests of food, fuel, housing, and transport shall no longer be the prey of unscrupulous combinations and wealthy profiteers, but be owned and administered by the people for the people. Nationalisation will be the Magna Charta of the twentieth Century."

World's New Hope

The Duke of Cannought, in accepting the office of patron of the special appeal for funds inaugurated by Lord Grey, the Prime Minister, Admiral Beatty, Mr. Asquith, Lord Robert Cecil, Sir Hubert Gough, and Mr. Olynnes, has addressed the following message to the League of Nations Union:—

Mankind has drunk deeply of the bitter draught of international conflict, and must long bear a load of sorrow and suffering unparalleled in its history. The purposes of the League are well-known, and it is their hope and belief that, by submitting the causes of dispute to the judgment of an impartial tribunal, they may lessen the occasions of conflict and "make wars to cease in all the world." It is a task worthy of the wisest statesmanship and the cordial co-operation of all men of good-will, which may assuredly claim the benediction that belongs to the peacemakers, and in which it is good to have a share.

In its pursuit, even failure would be praise worthy, while its full realisation would bring to the world a new hope in the dawn of a better day—and to our generation a glory and renown that time could never dim.

India and the League

At the East India Association, Mr. Kanhayalal Gauba read a paper on the subject of the League of Nations.

He deplored the fact that the people of India were too prone to concern themselves only with their own affairs. India could not afford to be oblivious of the world around her. She must either move or go under. Dealing with the subject of mandates, he suggested that the mandate for Mesopotamia should be entrusted to India. The lecturer further contended for the immediate admission of Germany and Russia to the League.

Major David Davies, M.P., who presided, said that the allusion to the apathy of India in the matter of foreign affairs reminded him that other countries, including England, suffered in the same way, and had hitherto been content to leave foreign affairs to the Foreign Office diplomats and others supposed to know all about it. India had been recognised as a nation in the Covenant of the League of Nations, and was to be represented upon it. Our position in regard to India was that of trustee, and Mr. Montagu's Bill recognised that principle, so that the time would come when India would be self-governing.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Mr. Asquith on Liberalism and Labour

What have we done for Labour? Everything. It is due to the exertions, the sacrifices, the ceaseless energy and the idealism of the Liberals of the past that Labour is to-day an active, articulate, political force. It is due to us that it received both its political and its industrial enfranchisement, and it is due to us, above all, that it obtained and had safeguarded the free power of combination. It is not from weariness of legs and not from any growing senile weakness of heart, that I decline to follow some of our friends in their new mountaineering adventure. On the contrary, I say to you, that if it is a question of ideals, I much prefer, and I believe the people of this country much prefer, the ideal of Liberalism, which is not the predominance or special interest of any class in the country, be it great or small, be it numerically strong or numerically weak, be it powerful in material resources or in the strength of its industrial capacity and contribution to the wealth of the State—it is not any particular class or interest, but it is to-day just as when our fathers and grandfathers fought against the ascendancy of privilege and property, it is the subordination of every interest and every class to that of the community. I am prepared to set that ideal before my countrymen, set side by side with the ideal of the Labour or the Socialist or any other party, and I am perfectly certain and as confident to-day as I was when I began political life forty years ago, that when it is presented to them in its length and breadth as an ideal, I have no doubt whatever what the verdict of my countrymen will be.

Lady Bonham-Carter on Paisley

Paisley has righted a great wrong. I was with my father in December, 1918, when he saw the Party to whose service he had given his life, shattered before his eyes, not by a frontal attack from without—that it could never have been—but by a betrayal from within. He saw himself deserted by men who owed him their political existence, by men whom he had never failed, by men whom he had led from victory to victory. He saw—and this was the hardest thing of all for him to bear—he saw those who stood by him go under. The choice of Paisley, the welcome of the whole nation—for it is nothing less—has made some amends to a heart which was too great to be broken.

Lord Haldane on Labour

More and more the working people are getting to ask whether it is right that their lives and those of their families (which, after all, they have invested in the enterprise in which they are employed), should be solely at the control of those who employ them. No doubt the State interferes in some respects, but not on any very large scale. As regards conditions relating to wages, employment, and surroundings, there is an increasing demand that the worker should be consulted about the state of things in which he has to live, and should have some voice in appointing the conditions. . . . You find everywhere, you find with all the people to whom you talk, this desire that the employee, however humble, should have a voice in saying whether his life is to be spent under circumstances that may lead to its deterioration or under circumstances which will give him at least a chance of living a decent life. These things ought not to be at the disposition of individuals who are both advocates and judges in their own case. That is at the root of this question as to nationalisation."

* * *

"We are in new times, and unless we can become super-Labour—that is to say, rise to ideals so high that Labour will be compelled to work with us and we be compelled to work beside labour—we shall not make that alternative to the present Government which is required."

Mr. Lloyd George on Co-operation

I want to see more co-operation, and closer co-operation, between all those who have a common purpose. Unless you do it, the forces of anarchy; the forces of subversion will inevitably triumph. You cannot trust to luck. You cannot trust even to the merit of your case or of the system which you defend. You must in a democratic country organise support for any idea or for any system if it is to survive. That is what is lacking. There must be more organised co-operation between all those who believe, not merely in the system which has made this country great, but in the improvements in that system which alone will make it permanent. That is what I want you to devote your minds to. I want your counsel and I want your advice. I believe in co-operation between all these great forces for a common purpose.

Co-operation in Hyderabad.

The Report of the working of the Hyderabad Co-operative Department during the past year is in some respects a remarkable record. The Co-operative Movement, says the *Madras Mail*, was started in the Nizam's Dominions at a most unfavourable period—in war time—and when the crisis of Indian joint stock banks was at its height. The year itself was one of agricultural distress; the cotton crop was ruined by untimely rains and a subsequent drought played havoc with food grains. There was an epidemic of plague, and prices were so high as to threaten famine. It seems somewhat paradoxical, therefore, that the co-operative Department reports really good and satisfactory progress in all its branches, and the fact that it can do so may be taken as proof of the keenness with which the people have taken up co-operation and of the completeness with which they have realised that it is the only means by which they can free themselves from the clutches of the money-lender. How considerable that progress was may be judged by the increase in the total number of all classes of societies which took place during the year. These rose from 295 to 616, and their membership also more than doubled, from 6,255 to 15,186.

The Maharaja of Kolhapur.

H. H. the Maharaja of Kolhapur speaking on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the Maratha Boarding at Nasik on the 15th April last said:—

I am proud of my subjects having achieved credit in one particular respect. Their example has been copied elsewhere. With a just sense of pride the British people call the British Parliament the mother of Parliaments. In the same way Kolhapur has, I venture to say, deservedly come to be called the mother of students' Boardings. There are Boardings of Marathas, Jains, Lingayats, Saraswats, Mahomedans, Daiwadnyas, Panchalas, Simphis, and Kayasthas. There are institutions such as those of the Arya Samaj working on the principle of equality and fraternity. To crown all these is a Boarding of the untouchables with a regular programme for removing Untouchability. Some deserving members of the untouchables have been granted sanads to practise as Vakils. Kolhapur has not only taken a lead in abolishing artificial distinction between man and man, but has also taken a lead in equalizing the status of men and women in our society. I cannot let this occasion pass without paying just tribute to my beloved subjects.

The Nawab of Rampur

The Nawab of Rampur has intimated that he proposes to waive the recovery of the sum of Rs. 2,28,813 due to the war to the Rampur Durbar from the Government on account of expenditure incurred by them during the war on the Rampur Imperial Service Troops over and above the ordinary peace charges. His Highness desires that this amount may be considered as a war contribution to the British Government. This sum has been accepted.

Leather Industry in Cochin

Some time ago a committee was appointed to draw up the Memorandum and Articles of Association for a tannery to be established in Cochin under the patronage of the State. The committee has now concluded its work and the company has been registered under the name and style of the "Cochin Tanneries Ltd" with a capital of Rs. four lakhs divided into 40,000 ten-rupee shares. It is stated that the enquiries conducted by the State have shown that large quantities of raw hides and skins of fairly good quality suitable for conversion into high class finished leather are exported every year from Cochin. The new company will collect all the available raw leather and manufacture them into the finished article. After meeting internal demands the finished article will be exported direct to England and other foreign countries. The proposed factory will have a capacity of turning out 250 hides or about 5,000 square feet of leather per day and for this purpose, the factory will be equipped with all the necessary machinery of the latest type.

Travancore Legislation

In response to frequent representations made by the Ezhavas, the Travancore Government appointed, in 1918, a committee to enquire into the customs and practices in vogue among them in Travancore, regarding marriage, inheritance, partition of family property, management of family estates and testamentary disposition. The Committee's report was duly published and public opinion was also invited. The Government have now passed orders on the report. The Ezhavas are the untouchable and unapproachable section of the depressed classes, forming 16 per cent. of the population in the State. The Government have accepted the proposals of the committee on the above mentioned matters and have ordered a bill to be prepared by the committee for being introduced into the State Legislative Council.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Indians Abroad

Mr. C. E. Andrews writing to the press with regard to his visit to the Central East and South Africa says :

In Uganda, Zanzibar, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Indian situation is good. Indians are regarded as desirable residents and the economic value of Indian industry and commerce is recognised in Uganda as highly intelligent. The people of the country have deliberately expressed through their own Representative Council their wish for further Indian Colonists for development of their commerce. The recently published economic report is also on the whole favourable to Indian settlement

In Rhodesia, Indians have the same rights of franchise as in the Cape Province of the South African Union. In both these countries in consequence Indians are contented. In Nyasaland most of the pioneer railways and commercial works have been carried out by the Indian traders and artisans. The administration views with favour the Indian settlement.

Zanzibar has a large Indian population which is both prosperous and contented; the resident is respected by all Indians of the Island outside British territory.

I spent considerable time in Portuguese East Africa. The republican government has treated Indian residents with every courtesy and consideration. Equal rights have been granted them in practically every sphere of life and Indians from Goa have been appointed to some of the highest positions in the Colony. There are no racial distinctions.

In contrast with this, the situation in British East Africa and in Transvaal has become so strained owing to race animosity that explosion of racial passion is possible at any moment. The most careful and thoughtful statesman in the South African Union told me that Indian position in the Transvaal was far worse than that in 1913-16. I regard the atmosphere of British East Africa as no less highly inflammable, it being common belief in the past that economic causes were the chief factors in this tension, but after examining all the evidence on the spot I am convinced that the racial factor is the greatest.

I have seen with my own eyes the racial treatment of Indians which fully bears out the opinion in Natal. I met with certain surprise. There was a distinct wish in important sections to conciliate

Indian sentiment and to avoid the extreme anti-Asiatic attitude of the Transvaal. A great deal of bitterness, at the years 1913-14 had subsided but on the other hand Indian labourers on sugar plantations had not been able to rise (as they should have done) after stoppage of all indentured recruiting from India in 1910-11. Ex-indentured Indians who had served their terms of contract had not improved their lot in life. Indeed having regard to the rise in prices, their position was actually worse than in earlier days. This labouring population now is sinking below the level of the Kaffir and the Zulu. While the monthly wages of the latter have risen, the monthly wages of the Indian have fallen. I was very greatly distressed when I witnessed at close quarters the submerged and sweated condition of this ex-indentured Indian labourers. Only in very few instances has a radical improvement taken place; in a great majority of cases labourers have sunk too low to rise at all. I regard this as by far the most serious Indian problem in the whole of Africa.

Segregation of Asiatics

The Minister of Justice, Mr. De Wet, addressed a South African Party meeting on March 2.

Dealing with the Asiatic question, the Minister said that the Nationalists hoped to have used it in Potchefstroom as a political weapon, but the attempt had been a failure. It was an absolute untruth to say that either the Governor-General or the Imperial Government had in any way interfered in the matter. He (the Minister) was against repatriation because it was impracticable, and he desired to wait for the finding of the Commission which had been appointed to inquire into the entire question. He had always been in favour of segregation, with compensation, and he was glad that the chairman of the Anti-Asiatic League had come to be of the same opinion. That must be a bitter disappointment to the Nationalists of Potchefstroom.

Indians in America and Japan

Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Secretary, Advisory Committee for Indian Students, United Provinces, has compiled a pamphlet entitled "Facilities for Indian Students in America and Japan," with a view to affording assistance to Indian students who may desire to complete their Education in America and Japan. The pamphlet is published by the Bureau of Education, Government of India.

Progress of Co-operation in Madras

The principal features of co-operation in the year 1918-19 were (1) the growth of distributive co operation (2), the large expansion of non credit societies and (3), the development of non-credit activities undertaken by credit societies. In agricultural societies, very few were tenants and field labourers and thus poor men who are most in need of help have not been admitted—the more well-to-do members not caring to incur liability on behalf of persons holding no tangible security. The paucity of deposits in agricultural societies is also to be regretted, and collections of interest were very slack. The number of loans is extremely small in proportion to the number of members. Their legitimate needs are not satisfied and most societies adopt a policy of unwise caution in accomodating their members—

“The number of purchase and sale societies added to during the year was 14. Four of these new societies were village stores and five trading unions intended to do indent trade for credit societies, which form a large part of the membership. Among the other five societies, three were supply societies for hill-tribes, one a production society started with the object of preparing the members' produce for the market by jointly-owned machinery, and the remaining one a sole society for the disposal of the areca-nut produced by the garden planters of South Canara. In addition to these separately registered societies, much non-credit work was undertaken by rural credit societies. Supplies to the extent of three lakhs of rupees were distributed among members through credit societies, resulting in a profit of sixty thousand rupees, and joint sale was also undertaken by some societies. Non-agricultural societies increased in number to 465. Their membership at the close of the year was 71,011, and their working capital Rs. 48,28,681. 361 among these were credit societies, 95 of which had an unlimited liability. Though the number of credit societies increased largely during the period under report, a more interesting development was the number of new distributive societies started in the course of the year; these numbered 52, raising the total number of stores to 89. Among other new societies in this group were five weavers' societies, a dyers' society, and a cobblers' society. Only one new building society was registered during the year; while the older ones, numbering about 10, developed their work considerably. Finally, it may be

noted that the presidency had 118 societies composed wholly of Panchamas, 34 of which were started during the year, by the special officer in charge of Panchama welfare, for the purchase of land and the provision of house-sites. Municipal employees had 38 societies of their own, while amongst the backward classes, there were 45 societies for fishermen and 44 for Badagas.”

For the financing of the movement, there were, at the end of the year, 26 central banks, one of which may be classed as provincial. The Provincial Bank is being gradually transformed into a federation. There are now central banks in all the districts of the presidency, except three, while in two districts, there are more banks than one. The establishment of district banks, however, offers no final solution of the problem of rural banking.

Paper Shortage

There is now no doubt as to the grave shortage of newsprint paper in the United States. Supply has not kept pace with the new demands, partly because new forests are not planted to replace the old, and partly because the failure at Canadian Reciprocity in 1910 has been followed by provisions whereby the Dominion forbids the export of wood pulp unless it be first manufactured. This stipulation is much resented in the United States, especially by manufactures of paper, who before the embargo, had purchased Canadian forests, as sources of raw material.

The gradual exhaustion of American forests without scientific replacement, is of great importance to the Press throughout the world.

Indigo industry in Bengal

Professor Henry E Armstrong, F.R.S., writes in the *Times* very hopefully about the prospects of the indigo industry in Bengal. He says that the progress made is “so substantial and encouraging that success may now be regarded as assured.” He deals with the position in some detail and mentions recent experiments which have clearly demonstrated the superiority of the natural product. Although he expresses the hope that “ere long” indigo will again be available at home he emphatically says in an earlier part of his letter that for “many years to come” the Eastern market will absorb the whole of the Indian output.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Fallow

The exhaustion of the soil, says the *Wealth of India*, may be rectified by resting the soil and by proper tillage and other operations. By deep ploughing and hoeing, the dormant constituents of the soil may be made active and rendered available for plant life: by allowing a plot to remain fallow for sometime, it will be able to recoup its lost fertility. The benefit of fallowing cannot be said to be unknown to the agriculturists; it is not however resorted to for more reasons than one. The majority of the landholders of this Presidency being more or less peasant proprietors, holding a few acres of land, they cannot afford to allow a plot to remain fallow. Secondly, about a decade ago remission of assessment was, it appears, used to be given by Government in the case of lands which were left uncultivated or in Revenue parlance left as *Banjar* but this policy was subsequently changed for several reasons and remission ceased to be granted. This altered policy gave, for obvious reasons, to some extent a death blow to the 'fallow' system and petty landholders are, whether manuring or no manuring, forced to cultivate their land to get something out of it which will at least pay the kist due thereon. In the case of lands which are permanently planted with fruit trees, exhaustion could only be rectified by deep tillage and adequate manuring.

Milch and Agricultural Cattle

Writing on "Milch and Agricultural Cattle" in the *Indian Humanitarian*, Mr. K. M. Khandwala says:—

In India the chief agricultural cattle are bulls, cows, and buffaloes. In 1913-14 in British India the number of bulls was 4,80,00,000. Out of these almost two-thirds, that is, 3,20,00,000 were decrepit and not fit for agricultural purposes. The number of bulls which can be used for agricultural purposes was only about 1,16,00,000. This number is quite insufficient for the cultivation of land. About 22,00,00,000 acres of land are being cultivated in India every year. Thus a pair of bulls is available for every 27 acres of land. But it has been estimated that for every two acres of cultivable land a pair of bulls is necessary. Thus it is quite clear that there is not a sufficient number of bulls for proper cultivation of land in India.

After referring to the urgency of the problem of an adequate milk supply for India, Mr. Khandwala suggests the following remedies for improv-

ing the quality and quantity of milch and agricultural cattle.

(1) Establishing a live stock branch of the Agricultural Department to attend to this subject.

(2) Provision by Government of free grazing grounds or commons for each village and greater facilities for cattle to graze in the forests.

(3) Improving the water supply by digging more tanks and wells.

(4) The slaughter of healthy calves should be prohibited.

(5) Spreading scientific knowledge about rearing and breeding of cattle among agriculturists by pamphlets, leaflets, lectures, etc.

(6) Establishment of more veterinary hospitals.

(7) Universal free education for boys and girls.

When Agriculture is Profitable

To make agriculture a profitable business in this country two things are, above all others, necessary, says Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S. in the *B. B. Orissa Co operative Journal* viz—

(1) Giving the cultivator better agricultural education and teaching him the improved and scientific methods which have revolutionised agriculture in Europe and America; and

(2) Organising him for joint sale of his produce so that he may not be under the necessity of buying all the necessaries of life at a higher and higher price, while in the case of his own produce he has to sell at a loss in the cheapest market.

Sugarcane Cultivation

In the course of his evidence before the Sugar Committee, the Principal, Agricultural College, Poona, said:—

For an improvement in acreage and out-turn, it was necessary to look to improved varieties, improved extraction of juice, and better drainage. An improvement on the furnace introduced by the Agricultural Department was possible. More important work in the canal areas in the Deccan was the work on water saving. I see no reason why India should not have sugar schools similar to that at Audubon in Louisiana. Such a school would have to be put in where manufacturing was going on and the Government should have a sugar factory of its own, to which it could be attached.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

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SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.

Forty-four Months in Germany and Turkey. By Har Dayal, P. S. King and Son, Ltd., London.

Mr. Har Dayal is well known as a revolutionary and has had a chequered though quite an adventurous career. He has travelled extensively in three continents and in March 1914 was arrested in the U. S. and deported as an undesirable alien. Released on bail he escaped to Switzerland and later in the war served under the directions of the German Foreign Office. Now that is not a record with which to adumbrate in these days even the most unexceptionable truths. He is now as violent against Germany and Turkey as he was against England. Though his sudden admiration for England and abhorrence of Germany may be reasonably explained people will yet persist in reading into this amazing record of invectives. Har Dayal is of course vivacious and fluent.

The Ramayana. By Channing Arnold, B.A. (Oxon) Longmans Green & Co., Bombay.

Last month we noticed Mr. Channing Arnold's Mahabharata. We have now received its companion volume—the Ramayana—written in the same easy and simple English. Though Hindu boys are fairly familiar with a multitude of episodes from the epics they are seldom in possession of the complete story. Mr. Arnold has supplied that want and though nothing can be a substitute for the original classics in Sanskrit good translations are the next best, and we heartily commend this beautiful story of Rama and Sita to the young. In reading literature of this kind in English, Hindu boys will be at home as they live again in thought in the proud and heroic days of Dasratha. They can quickly appreciate the colour and life of their own literature and forget the strangeness of the medium.

Pundit Sivanath Sastri. By Sitanath Tattvabhushan, 210 3-2 Cornwallis St., Calcutta.

Mr. Tattvabhushan has supplied in this pamphlet an informing sketch of the life and teachings of Sivanath Sastri—a Brahmo leader of wide learning and deep piety. Sivanath Sastri might be said to be the historian of the Brahmo movement and this short biographical account of the old leader who has just passed away will be welcomed by all interested in the development of religious thought in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Great Ganga The Guru or How A Seeker Sought the Real. By Kavita Kaumudi, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London.

This is a quaintly illustrated volume of verses by Elizabeth Arnold, describing the journey of the Soul in search of salvation. The Arnolds have a genius for probing into the secrets of a great civilization and culture however alien they may be. In this volume the poetess is nothing if not oriental alike in the conception of the allegory of the Ganga Mata and in the manner of representing what ought to be the right aim in life. These verses were read in manuscript by Dwijendranath Tagore (brother of the poet) who urged her to publish them. Dwijendranath indeed is enthusiastic over them and writes to her: "I shall never forget the happy evenings I spent with you listening to your poems so reminiscent of the inspired utterances of our Rishis of old." Whatever it be, there are certainly lines of more than ordinary interest, some of which are charming in their simplicity and quaintness. "Kavita Kaumudi" is the title bestowed on the poetess by Pundit Sachchidananda Balbrahmacharyaji of Benares.

Hindu Aryan Astronomy and Antiquity of the Aryan Race. By Pandit Bhagwan Das Pathak, Rtd. Head Clerk, Aligarh Collectorate.

The author gives a brief but lucid account of the ancient Hindu Aryan Astronomy, traces its antiquity from the remotest times and verifies by calculations the results of the observations made by the ancient Hindu sages. "During the course of my researches" writes the Pandit, "I was astonished to find the degree of accuracy with which the ancient Indian astronomers made their observations and I believe that if the western scientists had made use of the ancient Brahmanical works for determining some of the astronomical constants instead of the old Greek works, they would have received much valuable help but unfortunately the general tendency of the majority of the European scholars has been and still is to ignore the ancient Indian Civilisation and to attribute to foreign influence every mark thereof, which is brought to light either by study of the ancient Indian works or by archaeological researches."

DIARY OF THE MONTH

April 22. Public meeting in London on the Khilafat question with Mr. George Lansbury in the chair.

April 23. Experiments were made in the United States to day to communicate with Mars by means of wireless messages.

April 24 The Prince of Wales arrived at Auckland to day.

May 2. Enver Pasha is reported to have placed himself at the head of the Turkish National Movement.

May 3 H R. H the Prince of Wales arrived at Wellington this morning.

May 4 Government of India's reply re Sikh representation in Councils.

May 5 The North Western Railway strike.



JOSEPH CAILLAUX.

M. Caillaux was released this afternoon.

The United States has formally recognised the independence of the Republic of Armenia

April 25. The San Remo Conference has entrusted Britain with the Mandate for Mesopotamia and Palestine, and France with the Mandate for Syria.

April 26. Debate in the House of Commons on the Irish situation

April 27. The Indian Postal Committee commenced its sittings at Simla to day

April 28. Mr. M. K. Gandhi joins the Home Rule League and becomes President of the League.

April 29. The Report of the Financial Relations Committee presided over by Lord Meston is published to-day.

April 30. The Bolsheviks are reported to have entered Azerbaijan and to be marching on Baku.

May 1. The Madras Liberal League held its first annual meeting to-day.

May 6 Mr. Montagu makes a statement in the Commons on Gen Dyer's enforced resignation.

May 7. Reports of murders and outrages in Ireland

May 8 Mr Gandhi has issued a manifesto on non co operation.

May 9. Death of H V Nijundayya, M A, M L, C I E, Vice-Chancellor of Mysore University.

May 10. Public Meeting at Madras protesting against the sale of Reverse Councils and restrictions on the import of gold.

May 11 The Turkish treaty was handed to the Turkish delegates to day at Paris.

May 12 Madras Educational Conference at Salem

May 13 H M the King invested Lord Southborough with K C S I.

May 14. Sir J C. Bose has been formally admitted to the fellowship of the Royal Society.

Literary

The Fate of Old Manuscripts

Chamber's Journal has an interesting article on the world's lost manuscripts.

"Of those literary treasures which classical authors bequeathed to the world, only a small portion has been preserved. Time, spite, and ignorance have contrived for us, the heirs, an irreparable loss; and if it be asked how this has happened, it can be replied: 'The character of the destroyer suits equally well the bigot, the block-head, and the Barbarian.' How great is the loss may be surmised when we recollect that Livy's *History* originally consisted of one hundred and forty-two books, of which but thirty-five remain. Of the twelve books of Tacitus's *Histories* there are only four extant. Chance has saved for us nineteen out of the eighty or ninety dramas of Euripides. Plautus is credited with one hundred and thirty comedies, and of these one hundred and ten have been lost. The same fate has overtaken the autographs of the Bible; and we are dependent in some instances upon manuscripts prepared many centuries after the books were first written. Nor has fortune been much kinder in the case of the writings of certain modern authors. Louis XVI destroyed with his own hands the works of Fenelon. The letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu were burned by her mother, though her Turkish correspondence was saved. Some valuable family manuscripts belonging to the Duke of Bridgewater were also destroyed by fire because, it is reported, he wished to conceal his descent from mean antecedents.

The splendid library at Alexandria was destroyed by religious fanaticism, both Christian and Mohammedan. Four thousand manuscripts (so the story goes) were used for heating the stoves by the master of the baths in the time of Caliph Omar. At Granada, Ximenes burned five thousand copies of the Koran. Twelve thousand copies of the Talmud perished in the flames at Cremona. The Persians destroyed the literature of Phœnicia and Egypt, the Jesuits that of Bohemia. Many manuscripts in the quaint Peruvian picture writing were lost for ever owing to the bigotry of Roman Catholic priests. The brilliant writings of Origen were burned by the orthodox. The ancient learning of the Irish monasteries suffered at the hands of invaders. And the ruin of what escaped the malice of man was completed by the not less certain process of decay."

Lawrence Binyon on India

Speaking for Mr. Fisher, Mr. Binyon in opening the Indian Students' Hostel in London, made among other remarks the following which is taken from the April number of *The Young Men of India*.

"Now after all these centuries East and West are again brought into contact. Since the war all nations have been forced into a closer contact. It is no longer possible for any nation to live isolated from the other, and these strange circumstances beget new and pressing problems. One of the great problems to-day is that each race should try to understand the races which are different from itself. There is the problem of nationality and the national spirit. Many, full of the horrors of the war and recognizing how vile have been the fruits of a strong national feeling, would like to cut it out altogether; but, after all, national character is something too strong to be suppressed. To my mind, it is not suppression of national character which we should aim at, but it is education. Among men the character is not necessarily the most aggressive. Europe has this strong genius for action and India has genius for contemplation. Let us recognize the extreme value and power of thought and the things of the mind. Above all, let us try and understand each other.

The Hostel is an admirable start in that direction. I think the most admirable thing about it is that it represents mutual effort, mutual advance on each side. As Sir Arthur Yapp has said, here will be a little bit of India in which England may be welcomed and may learn. We English want to understand India, and we want India to understand England.

The English are not all politicians, bankers, administrators, and soldiers. If the British Empire were swept away to-morrow, with all its achievements, there would still be left the glory of English literature, that splendid tradition which for centuries has tried to express the ideals of our race.

I should like to see on the walls reproductions of some of the finest works of Indian art side by side with some of the best work of English artists. I venture to prophesy that in years to come English and Indians alike will look back upon the start of this Hostel as an event of pregnant consequence. We have this afternoon lit a candle which I trust nothing will put out."

Mr. Binyon is in a modest way, a good student of Indian art and culture and has attempted a version of the famous drama *Shakuntala*.

Educational

Education of Women in Bengal

Miss. B. D. Gibson writing in the *International Review of Missions* says :—

Of the Arts Colleges in Bengal, two—those under Government and Anglican Missionary management—are affiliated up to the B. A. standard, and the third (Roman Catholic) only up to the intermediate. In 1917, 126 of the 179 women students were in the intermediate or higher secondary stage, thus only 53 women in all Bengal were doing true University work. The two missionary colleges draw their students largely from Calcutta and are mainly staffed by women, while the students of Bethune College come from every part of Bengal, and of the staff of ten, seven are men.

The Muslim University

At the end of March the Hon'ble the Education Member received a deputation from the promoters of the Aligarh Muslim University with a view to discussing the constitution of the future University. The result was eminently satisfactory and a complete unanimity was reached on all outstanding points. The proposals are now under consideration by the Government of India. The scheme is largely based on the Benares University Act, but contains various new features suggested by the report of the Calcutta University Commission. In view of the efforts made by the Mussalman community and the history of the movement in the past, the promoters and the new Member for Education are to be congratulated on bringing the project within reasonable distance of completion.

Forest College

Presiding at the prize-giving ceremony of the Dehra Dun Forest College, Sir Claude Hill forecasted a great development of education in the higher branches of forestry. 'I anticipate a time,' he said, 'at which the Research Institute and College at Dehra Dun will be a world centre, not only of research but of post-graduate teaching which shall have an influence on forest development and policy throughout the world.' There is no doubt that untapped sources of wealth lie unutilized in the great forests of India, especially in the Himalayas. Innumerable varieties of timber are to be found in them which can be made available for various industrial purposes. There are other forest products which are of great commercial value.

Mahomedan Education

The Bengal Mahomedan Educational Conference was held at Dinajpur during the last Easter Holidays. Nawab Nasir-ul Mamlek who presided delivered an interesting speech. Replying to the charge that the Mahomedan community is not alive to the needs of education, the Nawab said :—

"Gentlemen, if we are responsible for neglecting education or for failing to appreciate its benefits in time to come abreast of other Indian communities we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that our backwardness as Indian is also due to Government Educational Policy. Look at Japan who having recognised the indispensability of mass education has been compulsorily educating itself for years whereas we who have been under the rule of one of the most civilised countries are still waiting for it. I hope the experience gained during the last war has disclosed to Government the defects of their policy towards education—intellectual, industrial and scientific

It is no good heaping the entire blame for this backwardness in education on our community alone. No governed race or country can realise these gigantic aims without the full assistance of the Government and this assistance has everywhere taken the share of compulsion. Without that we could never have expected or can expect to come alongside of other countries and peoples or acquire that status as a nation which education alone confers either in our own estimation or in the eyes of the world at large."

Teaching of English

Sir Arthur T. Quiller-Jones, Professor of English at Cambridge University, in the course of a paper prepared for the British Association, said :—

"Of every 1,000 men, women, and children 999 thought in their mother tongue, which for the vast majority of these islands was English. Ought they not to demand of the plainest, most everyday speech, that it be clear, expressive, accurate, graceful when possible, and at any rate decent real English, not jargon? English was not adequately taught to-day. Our literature was too aristocratic, and schoolmasters for more than 300 years had divorced literature from reality. Yet men of science did wrong to misprize literature. The problem was how to bring English teaching to do hard, clean, stark service in the modern industrial State, and to humanize it through the ideas of our great ancestral literature. The obstacle was the time table."

Legal

British Indemnification Bill

In the House of Commons on May 3, moving the second reading of the Bill for Indemnification against the consequences of acts done *bona fide* but *ultra vires* in connection with war duties and also for the validation of certain laws and military and other sentences, Sir. E. Pollock said that amongst other things it was desirable for the purpose of providing against possible acts in such places as German South West Africa, New Guinea, Samoa, East Africa and Togoland, especially between the time of actual surrender and the formal handing over of territory to the Mandatories. He pointed out that where new territory was taken over by one of the Dominions or when one of the Dominions was given a Mandate for territory it was possible for such a Dominion itself to validate the acts by persons subject to its jurisdiction. There might, however, be an indefinite period for which it would be necessary to have the Imperial Parliament's sanction. After considerable criticism of domestic points and promises by the Attorney General of concessions in Committee, the Indemnity Bill passed its second reading by 100 votes to 28.

Sir E. Pollock said that an Act had been passed in India granting indemnities for acts done during a considerable period. There was no such thing under the Indian system of government as a Government Department or any officer similar to the Attorney General in England and the D. O. R. A. passed here was not applicable to India; special legislation had been provided in India, but the Secretary of State for India was a possible defendant for actions which previously could be brought against the East India Company, and power to sue him at Home still existed under the legislation of 1858 and 1915.

Referring in the House of Commons to the Indemnity Bill, Sir E. Pollock said that clause seven gave power by an order in council, to apply the Bill to India. Armitsar was not in mind when the question of extending this bill to India was considered. It might be necessary to apply the powers of this Act in order that some defence might be open to persons who could be sued in respect of actions for which there was no indemnity under the legislation already passed in India.

Rent Restriction Acts

The English Rent Restriction Acts, observes the *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, were originally passed as war measures. But notwithstanding the cessation of the war, various emergency legislations to which it gave birth do not seem at all to be on the wane. Some at any rate show signs of enough vitality to prolong their existence until real peace is restored in the affairs of men, the prospect of which seems still to be very distant. The belligerent tendency let loose by the war is now manifesting itself in an attempt by every class who can wield some power over another to use it to the fullest extent for its own advantage and to the disadvantage of his fellow beings. In this strife between classes it is the duty of every Government worthy of the name to afford protection to the weak and the oppressed. It is from this point of view that we supported the Bengal Rent Bill. The form in which it has emerged from the Bengal Legislative Council is by no means a model of legislation. Nor are we sanguine that the Act will expire automatically after three years. Should its natural or unnatural life be extended, let us hope that the Reformed Legislature may be able to present to us a measure which would afford some real protection to the poorer class of the community and not merely seek to favour a privileged few.

A Judge on Divorce

The marriage laws are fast becoming meaningless, because, says a contemporary, the more divorces a woman has to her credit, or rather discredit, the more men she is able to get. This was the opinion expressed by Judge Joseph B. David of the Superior Court of Illinois in a request to be transferred to another court because he was tired of hearing divorce cases. "Something must be done," he said, "to prevent rich couples from slipping from one State to another in search of an easy and expeditious way of untying the marriage knot. I have reached the decision to apply for transfer, Judge David wrote, because I am convinced that marriage does not mean anything any more. I have reached this conclusion after sitting here day by day for many years. Perhaps my ideas are old-fashioned, but if they are, I believe in them, and I am glad I am getting out of this court." Judge David has been for many years a strong advocate of national divorce laws as a remedy for the existing evil of easy divorces.

Medical

Women Doctors

"Nearly 3,000 women students are taking up the profession of medicine, and within a few years the practising woman doctor should be known in every part of the country," says the *Chronicle*.

"This is as it should be. If there is any profession in which women ought to be well represented, it is that of medicine. For ordinary attendance upon women and children, the services of women doctors should often be more welcome than those of men, and there are sources of information open to them which should add to their knowledge and efficiency. Medicine is a science and an art which will undoubtedly gain by co-operation between the sexes."

Rheumatism and Towel Friction

The skin, says Dr. J. B. Madison Taylor, in a recent lecture on muscular rheumatism, should be educated to protect itself and the hypersensitive muscles from chilling by friction with a dry towel on rising and on going to bed; also by gradations of exposure to air and by alternations of heat and cold as by hot and cold douches. Dry skin friction is vastly superior as a tonic to the peripheral circulation than is bathing in any form. The late Weir Mitchell frequently used a "salt towel"—i.e., a coarse "kitchen towel" dipped in salt water and dried—for friction.

Rewards for Medical Discovery

A joint committee of the British Medical Association and the British Science Guild has drafted and is distributing a report on the need of rewards for medical discovery. Sir Clifford Allbutt, Regius Professor of Medicine at Cambridge, Professor J. S. Haldane, Sir Alfred Keogh, Sir Ronald Ross, Professor Bayliss and other medical and scientific men are responsible for the recommendations, and it is understood that a question is to be addressed to the Prime Minister.

It is pointed out that medical discoveries and inventions often confer signal benefits on the community, and that those who make them not only have spent much ability and time on them, but have frequently suffered financially by giving up time which otherwise might have been devoted to paid professional work. In a very large number of cases the results of such work could not be patented, or, if it were possible to do so, have not been patented from public motives. Rewards and pensions on an adequate scale are granted to

distinguished soldiers and sailors and the rewarding of inventors is at present under consideration.

State grants, it is urged, are made for the purpose of conducting medical research, but the principle of rewarding success is not established, although many of the most remarkable discoveries have been made by men who were not financially assisted in making them. It is admitted that honours conferred by the King are a much-valued form of recognition, and no suggestion is made with regard to them. But it is urged that in addition there is need for a regular system of pecuniary reward. The precedent of the grants of £10,000 and £20,000 made by Parliament should pay compensation when due for losses incurred in achieving medical discoveries, and should provide an annual sum of not less than £20,000 for life pensions of from £500 to £1,000 a year as rewards to those who have made worthy medical discoveries. The procedure of allotment should be similar to that used for the Nobel prizes and for the honours and medals of learned societies.

The Constituents of Potato

The water in which potatoes are boiled contains 70 per cent. of the saline constituents of the potato, and if the water is thrown away valuable anti-scorbutic salts are lost. This waste can be prevented by utilising the liquid as a basis for soups, or in place of milk for making scones. In America, it is pointed out by the 'Chemist and Druggist,' the liquid is largely used in outlying districts to disintegrate the dried yeast-cakes and start fermentation in bread-making.

Japanese Mice as Disease Carriers

A peculiar disease that is still confined chiefly to certain river valleys, of Japan, but suggests possibilities of breaking loose as a widespread epidemic, is known as "tsutsugamushi." It is transmitted says the *Popular Science* *Sketchings*, by the "akamushi," an insect parasite of certain field mice. It is a fever strikingly similar to typhus. The investigators have learned that its chief occurrence is in the months of June to October, which is the time of development of the insect carriers, and the season when the peasant victims of the disease are brought into contact with the mice. The mortality, though very variable, sometimes exceeds 50 per cent. Cutting out the bitten part does not prevent the spread of the virus, while such remedies as iodine, mercury, arsenic, quinine and dyes have proven ineffective. The only hope of stamping out the disease seems to rest in the extermination of the field mice.

Science

Sir J. C. Bose and Plant Growth

Sir J. C. Bose's visit to England has created a great controversy in connection with his researches. Dr. Dehre Waller, of the University of London doubted the validity of Sir Bose's demonstrations of plant growth, in the course of a letter to the *Times*. Eight professors of the University College and the Imperial College of Science including Lord Rayleigh at once declared that they were satisfied that Sir Chandra Bose's Cresograph correctly records the growth of plants.

In a letter to the *Times*, Sir Chandra Bose himself points out that his paper on researches into the growth movement of plants was accepted by the Publication Committee of the Royal Society as the result of two years' closest scrutiny. Sir C. Bose emphasises the extraordinary difficulties of his investigations, greatly aggravated by misrepresentations and worse. He expresses his gratitude to distinguished British scientists, including Sir Francis Darwin and the late Lord Rayleigh, who stood for the principle of fair play, so that Sir C. Bose's work might be judged on its merits. The whole matter had concluded happily in his nomination to the Fellowship of the Royal Society, and a warm welcome had been extended to him by the great band of scientists in England.

Indian Chemical Service

The report of the Chemical Service Committee is signed by all the members, including Sir P. C. Roy, who has added a separate minute.

In the course of an introduction Professor J. F. Thorpe points out that so far as the Chemical Service proposed in this report is concerned it is intended that such factory experience as may be required will be given in one or other of the pioneer or demonstration factories which it is proposed to erect, but it is not suggested that this should obviate the need for University training such as that outlined in the text of the report. The committee has given its reason for recommending the establishment of Provincial Research Institutes at the chief centre of industry in each province under the control of the Provincial Governments, and the provision of a Central Research Institute under Imperial control at Dehra Dun.

The following recommendations are made:—

(1) That a Chemical Service should be constituted.

(2) That the service should be called the Indian Chemical Service. (3) That the service should be controlled by a Director General. (4) That a Central Imperial Chemical Research Institute should be erected at Dehra Dun under the Director General of the Chemical Service as Director, assisted by a number of Deputy Directors. (5) That each Deputy Director should be in charge of a separate department and that in the first instance there should be four departments: (a) Inorganic and Physical Chemistry; (b) Organic Chemistry; (c) Metallurgical Chemistry; (d) Analytical Chemistry. (6) That a Provincial Research Institute under the control of the Local Government should be erected in each province near the chief seat of industry in that province, and that each Provincial Research Institute should be under a Director of Research. (7) That the functions of the Central Imperial Institute should be as follows: (1) To create new industries and to carry out development of new processes; (2) to investigate those problems of a fundamental character arising from the work of the provincial institutes which have been transferred to the central institute by the local director of research in consultation with the Director-General.

The Latest Telephony

Electrical, optical and other physical apparatus that show the accumulated inventive progress of the war years were recently exhibited in Kensington by the Physical Society of London and Optical Society.

One of the most interesting subjects touched on is "wireless" telephony, and this was demonstrated in a lecture by Professor A. O. Rankine. It is now possible not only to project sound on a beam of light, but to photograph the sounds on a moving film and reproduce them at leisure.

The instrument used is known as the photophone. It contains a gramophone sound box with a delicately poised mirror, instead of the needle. The mirror oscillates in accordance with the fluctuations of the sound, and the beam from the mirror, travelling to the receiver, conveys these oscillations with it, the sound being reproduced in a telephone instrument by a reversal of the process. This miracle is worked by means of the element salenium.

Professor Rankine said that, with sunlight, there would be practically no limit to the range of transmitting speech through the medium of light other than that interposed by the curvature of the earth.

Personal

Mr. Lloyd George

Speaking of his fifteen years' work in office the Prime Minister said in the course of a recent lecture :—

"Personally, I am not concerned with the future; I have had fifteen years of the hardest work almost any man ever had, in every kind of office and in every kind of weather, and if any change of the political conditions could give me a respite, I would rejoice in it—not that I feel my strength failing, thank God. But I would like it. I have got to a place I never thought of getting to. I tell you this on my honour, that I have got to a place I never sought; I was put there by events over which I had no control, and I have only tried to do my duty. If I had the opportunity that would put me in a position of independence I should personally rejoice, because I should love to devote the whole of my time to the task which appeals most deeply to my nature and is most consistent with my upbringing—namely, to do my best for those who are less fortunate in life. But men have no choice in great times; they must carry on where they are placed; they must give the best counsel they can; they must devote the whole of their energies to the task which Providence has cut out for them."

The Late Dr. Vidyabhushan

It is with deep regret that we record the untimely death of Mahamahopadhyay Dr. Satish Chunder Vidyabhushan, Principal, Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Passing the M. A. Examination in 1893, he entered the Educational Service and soon made his mark by his erudition, scholarship and unflagging zeal for learning. He was the first M. A. of the Calcutta University in Pali, says the *Bengalee*, having won golden encomiums from his examiner Prof. Rhys Davids in 1901, by the high quality of his answers. "With Dr. Subrawardhy, he carried away for the first time the distinction of Ph. D., by his able thesis on the "Jain School of Logic." In Pali, Buddhist literature, philosophy and history, he was regarded as one of the highest authorities, whose weight was above challenge. His fame as a *savant*, spread abroad to academic circles in Europe and America, and his valued contribution to elucidating the dark chapters in the history of ancient India have won for him an honoured place among antiquarians."

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald writes to the *Bombay Chronicle* :—

In the batch of *Bombay Chronicle* which has come to-day I noticed the leading article in which you speak so kindly of my book on the 'Government of India.' In it, however, you find fault with me for not having appeared before the Joint Committee and given my views to it. As a matter of fact that was exactly what I was anxious to do. The Labour party asked officially that I should be examined on its behalf both before the Indian office and the Joint Committee and a similar request was made from various quarters. Lord Selborne objected and being Chairman nothing could be done. I had prepared a statement and if it did not appear, the fault was not mine. This is an interesting sidelight upon not only how India but Great Britain is governed."

Mr. Gandhi and Home Rule

Mr. M. K. Gandhi has joined the All-India Home Rule League and accepted the office of the President of the League. Mr. Gandhi writing to the press in that connection says that he would engage the League, if he can carry the members with him, in activities such as the promotion of Swadeshi, Hindu-Moslem unity, with special reference to Khilafat, acceptance of Hindustani as the national *lingua franca* and linguistic redistribution of provinces. He proposes to treat the Home Rule League as a non-party organisation and considers the Congress of which the League is auxiliary as a national organisation providing a platform for all parties. While he will not expect the League to follow him in civil disobedience methods, he expects the principles of uncompromising truth and honesty in political life accepted and acted upon by the All-India Home Rule League.

Dr. Tagore on Aurobindo

"Dr. Rabindranath Tagore writing of "Mr. Aurobindo Ghose says "that he is a great man, one of the greatest we have, and therefore liable to be misunderstood even by his friends. What I myself feel for him is not mere admiration but reverence for his depth of spirituality, his largeness of vision and his literary gifts, extraordinary in imaginative insight and expression. He is a true Rishi and a Poet combined, and I still repeat my *namaskar* which I offered to him when he was first assailed by the trouble which ultimately made him an exile from Bengal."

Political

Universal Suffrage in Japan

The demand for Universal suffrage is by no means confined to Europe and America. The movement has taken deep root in Japan and correspondents give accounts of the agitation in Tokyo, calling on the Government to approve the universal suffrage measure now before the Diet. Demonstrations and meetings have been held all over the country and the determination of the young men of Japan seems irresistible. "The Leaders of the movement" says a correspondent in the columns of the *Pioneer* "include distinguished statesmen like Mr. Yukio Ozaki, ex-Minister of Justice, who has recently returned from a tour in Europe and America. He avers that proper post-war reconstruction is impossible in Japan until the present antiquated political system is overthrown, and if this revolution is to be a peaceful one it can come only through universal suffrage. The 70,000,000 of Japan are represented by a Diet effected by only 1,500,000 voters; and naturally such an assembly does not really stand for Japanese opinion and desire. If the Diet rejects the demand of the public there is likely to be an interesting situation.

Sikh Representation

The Secretary to the Government of India, Reforms Department, in the course of a communication dated the 4th May, addressed to Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, points out that, the Sikh representation in the new Councils, cannot be further increased without unjustly diminishing the representation to be given to the more numerous Hindus. If, however, the Sikh Community think that their fortunes would be better secured by abandoning their special electorates and trusting to their voting strength in general Non-Muslim constituencies, the Government of India, on being assured that such is the clear wish of the community, will be quite prepared to support the proposal to the Secretary of State, it being understood that the resultant delimitation of the constituencies will be made only on the grounds of convenience, and not with an eye to be electoral advantage of any community. The Governor-General will, however, be prepared to consider the claims of the Sikh community to a nominated seat in the Legislative Assembly. If the Sikhs held three seats out of 140, their representation should be three times what it would be on a purely mathematical basis.

Who is a Liberal

A Liberal says (*The Times* of March 19th.) is not a man who swears only by Cobden or Bright, Gladstone or Asquith. He does not necessarily take his economics from the Manchester school, or his idea of social ethics from Bentham, Mill, or Ricardo. He is a man who believes in individual liberty as a good in itself, though a good conditioned by the duty of public service and by a sense of individual responsibility towards the community at large. He fears no change of social or economic form, provided that the substance of freedom be preserved. He would exclude none, men or women, from their full share in public life, but would strive to secure for all equality of opportunity. He believes in combating error by truth, in the employment of persuasion rather than force, but holds that, at all costs, the right of the majority to rule within constitutional forms must be upheld. In public life he is opposed to all forms of tyranny or dictation, monarchical, bureaucratic, syndicalist, communist, or semi-presidential. He has profound faith in the genius of the British people to adapt their institutions and their economic arrangements, without utter dislocation, to the changing needs of a changing time, and he believes that this genius is not the monopoly of any class or party, but that all, including the Labour or 'Socialist' Party, possess their share of it.

Burma Service

The following resolutions were passed at a meeting of the 'Upper Subordinates' Association held at Rangoon on 4th April 1920.

That the initial pay of each member of the Upper Subordinate Service selected for the new Provincial Service be fixed so that he will draw the maximum pay of Rs. 800 in the 25th year of his total service with a view to enable him to draw the full pension at the time of retirement.

That the Upper Subordinates should be given preference over the Temporary Engineers and College Engineer Students in forming the new service.

That the attention of the Local Government be drawn to the Press communique issued by the Punjab Government which stated that the Government of India have sanctioned a temporary increase of 20 percent to all non gazetted officers drawing over Rs. 75 per month and that the Local Government be requested to address the Government of India to grant a similar increase to the members of this service respectively from 1st March 1918.

General

India at the Olympic Games

The idea that Indian sportsmen should take part in the Olympic Games originated in 1910. The Deccan Gymkhana organised tournaments with a view to prepare a team. But war intervened and the idea had to be kept in abeyance.

After the declaration of peace it was announced that the next Olympic Games would be held in Belgium in 1920 and the authorities of the Deccan Gymkhana decided to take up the question of securing representation for India that had to be abruptly given up in 1914. The Indian Olympic Association was formed on 23rd November 1919, with the object of carrying out this work.

The following team has been selected to represent India at the next Olympic Games at Antwerp in Belgium.

For the Marathon and long distance races : P. D. Oughule from Belgaum, H. D. Kaikadi from Satara, B. V. Datar from Sangli. For athletics : P. C. Banerji, Calcutta. For wrestling : K. T. Navale of Poona, and D. R. Srinde, Kolhapur.

Mr. S. R. Bhagwat, General Secretary of Indian Olympic Association, accompanies the team to Europe.

The team also includes H. H. the Maharaja of Jamnagar, who has subscribed liberally and is in other ways active in organising the team. Prince Ranji is well known in the continent and his association with this team is a distinct acquisition.

The Prince of Wales

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in his Indian tour will be accompanied by Lord Cromer, who, it will be remembered, was an A. D. C. to Lord Hardinge when Viceroy and has since been Assistant Private Secretary to the King; Lieut. Colonel Clive Wigram, of the Indian Army, who was A. D. C. to Lord Elgin and Lord Curzon, and, like Lord Cromer, is an Assistant Private Secretary to His Majesty; and Lieut. Colonel Sir James Dunlop Smith, of the India Office.

Queen Victoria Memorial, Calcutta

Mr. F. O. Salisbury has been commissioned to paint twelve panels of historic incidents in commemoration of the life and reign of Queen Victoria, for the Queen Victoria Memorial, Calcutta.

Madras Liberal League

The first annual meeting of the Madras Liberal League was held on Saturday the 1st instant at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, with Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer in the chair. The annual report which was adopted, showed that the League, which began with eighteen members had now 109 members on its roll.

The League adopted the following resolution on the Khilafat question:—That while fully sympathising with Musalman fellow countrymen in their desire to save Constantinople, and the homelands of the Turkish race for the Sultan of Turkey, and to secure Musalman control over the Holy Places of Islam, the League desires to dissociate itself from, and express its emphatic disapproval of, the policy of non-cooperation which, involving as it does, refusal to serve the Crown especially in the police and military services and, to pay taxes, is fraught with disastrous consequences to the country.

Office bearers for the new year were selected. Sir Sivaswami Iyer is President Mr. L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, Vice-President, and Messrs. G. A. Natesan and T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, Secretaries.

The Course of Rivers

A recent survey of the river Hooghly and its tributaries the Bhagirathi and Jalangi has disclosed the fact that the Bhagirathi which lower down after the confluence with the Jalangi is called the Hooghly, has completely changed its course. The new river has forced a passage for itself right across its former course, now to the east of it, now to the west, and formerly where a large loop in the river flowed towards the east and is now towards the west. After the lapse of over 60 years, since it was last surveyed, such changes, says the official report, are bound to take place in course of every stream, whether large or small, flowing through the plains of Bengal, which to a great extent are alluvial in character, as it is well known that in a country of this description, streams are constantly altering their courses eating away on one bank and depositing on the other, until the channel in which they formerly flowed becomes silted up and the water is compelled to seek another course.

Indian Plays in London

Tagore's plays, Sacrifice and Chitra were played in English, with an English cast, at the Prince of Wales Theatre, London, on May 4th and were enthusiastically received. The Maharani of Cochin-Bihar was present.

